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METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1897.

ART. I.—NOTES OF AN ENGLISH RAMBLE.

WE commence our ramble under the guidance of one whose walks about London and Rome and the cities of northern and central Italy have made him famous as a pathfinder in this age of rambling, Augustus J. C. Hare. How far he may have added to his distinction by *The Story of My Life*, with which he has lately increased the number of his guidebooks, is a question which seems likely to provoke discussion; but nothing that he may write, or that others may write about him, can ever rob him of the credit of that exquisite portraiture of gentle English homes and hearts, the *Memorials of a Quiet Life*. He was born in Rome in March, 1834. A month previous had died in the same city his uncle, Augustus W. Hare. The childless widow became godmother and, the year after, mother by adoption of this second Augustus—an arrangement which greatly comforted her, and did not seriously afflict the parents of the child. About the luminous path of this aunt-mother, Maria Hare, the memorials gather—a journey over the first seventy years of our century; and with them in hand and thought even a careless rambler will find his way one of delight and inspiration.

We are at the outset in Cheshire, charmed with the quiet, well-bred, deeply spiritual life of three English rectories. Why does not some one write a book upon English rectory interiors? It is startling to note how many of them have given the world its leaders, have opened to thought and action new channels. The rectory of Stoke-upon-Terne was the home for thirty-seven years, from 1809 to 1846, of Oswald Leycester, the father of Maria Hare. She was his youngest child, her only sister Cath-

erine, seven and a half years her senior, his oldest. Two miles away was Hodnet, in whose rectory for eighteen years lived and thought and frolicked and worshiped one of the English saints, Reginald Heber. There are no more vivid pictures of the life of a godly, natural soul than those which shine through Maria Leycester's memories of the life at Hodnet rectory. Into its inmost intimacy she was welcomed, and for the most impressionable years of her life formed a part of that blessed circle and was the delighted friend of Heber. The playfulness of his spirit, its unselfishness, its beautiful transparency, its Christlikeness—how they all start out into vividness against the background of the martyrdom in India, whither in 1823 he went to the almost expected death which became certain in three years more. At Heber's home Maria Leycester first met Augustus W. Hare, whom she married in 1829. He was a cousin of Mrs. Heber, their mothers being the daughters of the Dean of St. Asaph, Dr. Shipley; another sister having married Sir William Jones, whose magnificent career had been terminated by his untimely death in 1794, when Augustus Hare was but a babe. The third of these rectories was Alderley. Here in 1805 had settled Edward Stanley, and hither five years later, when she was not more than eighteen, he brought his bride, Catherine Leycester. Their beautiful wedded life at Alderley continued over twenty-five years; and for most of this period Maria Leycester, to whom her older sister had for many years been also in the place of mother, was a frequent and happy member of this household, sharing its blessings and its sorrows as she did those at Stoke and at Hodnet. The second son of Edward and Catherine Stanley was Arthur, born in 1815, when his mother, who was his lifelong intimate companion, was twenty-three years old.

Catherine Stanley was a remarkable woman. "From childhood she had been accustomed to form her own character by thinking, reading, and digesting what she read." Her mother's ill health and death had brought to her early responsibilities, and had taught her the grace of carefulness and the strength of self-reliance. Augustus J. C. Hare thus describes her:

> To the frivolity of an ordinary acquaintance her mental superiority and absolute self-possession of manner must always have made her somewhat alarming; but those who had the opportunity of penetrating beneath

> the surface were no less astonished at her originality and freshness of ideas and her keen though quiet enjoyment of life, its pursuits and friendships, than by the calm wisdom of her advice and her power of penetration into the character and, consequently, the temptations and difficulties of others.*

A most attractive personality was Edward Stanley. Thus is he characterized by the same hand:

> A little man, active in figure and in movement, with dark, piercing eyes, rendered more remarkable by the snow-white hair which was his characteristic even while very young; with the liveliest interest on all subjects, political, philosophical, scientific, theological; with inexhaustible plans for the good of the human race in general, but especially for the benefit of his parishioners, . . . he was the most popular character in the country side. To children he was indescribably delightful. There was nothing that he was not supposed to know, and indeed who was there that knew more of insect life, of the ways and habits of birds, of fossils and where to find them, of drawing, of etching on wood and lithographing on stone, of plants and gardens, of the construction of ships and boats, and of the thousand home manufactures of which he was complete master? †

In 1837 this Alderley rector became the Bishop of Norwich, and continued indefatigable in thoughts and actions to the end of his life, in 1849, after which his widow shared the home of her then distinguished son until her death, twelve years later. To them both the son paid the filial tribute of a memoir in which the strength and beauty of their character and life are modestly but lovingly portrayed.

Of Arthur Stanley's development from timid boyhood to a manhood fearless and strong the world knows. It has not always remembered that he never, in spirit, left his mother's side. She writes of him in 1834, in the vacation after he had won for himself and Rugby and Dr. Arnold the Balliol scholarship:

> He has been translating and retranslating Cicero for his improvement, and has been deep in Guizot's essay on the civilization of Europe, besides chiefly engaged in a grand work, at present a secret, but of which you may perhaps hear more in the course of the spring. I have generally sat with him, or he with me, to be ready with criticisms when wanted, and it is delightful to be so immediately and entirely understood, the why and wherefore of an objection seen before it is said. And the mind is so logical, so clear, the taste so pure in all senses, and so accurate. He goes

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* *Thoughts that Breathe*, with a biographical sketch of A. P. Stanley by Augustus J. C. Hare.

† *Ibid.*

> on so quietly and perseveringly as to get through all he intends to get through without the least appearance of bustle and business.*

The world has confirmed the clearness of the mother's discernment, and wonders little that in the twelve years of her widowhood, the years when her son was Dean of Canterbury and professor of ecclesiastical history at Oxford, he "made her the sharer of all his thoughts, the confidante of all his difficulties; [that] all that he wrote was read to her before its publication, and her advice was not only sought but taken."

Stanley's connection with Dr. Arnold and Rugby is famous. It will not be forgotten while men read the disciple's life of his master, and boys read *Tom Brown's School-Days.* It is often overlooked how the shy boy and the masterful man came together. When the choice of a school for Arthur was a grave concern of the Alderley household, Augustus Hare, then in Naples, wrote: "Are you aware that the person of all others fitted to get on with boys is just elected master of Rugby? His name is Arnold. He is a Wykehamist and fellow of Oriel, and a particular friend of mine, a man calculated above all others to engraft modern scholarship and modern improvements on the old-fashioned stem of a public education." The suggestion was accepted. "Dr. Arnold's letter," writes Mrs. Stanley, "has decided us about Arthur. I should think there was not another schoolmaster in his majesty's dominions who would write such a letter. It is so lively, agreeable, and promising in all ways. He is just the man to take a fancy to Arthur and for Arthur to take a fancy to." Three months after Arthur had gone up to Rugby his mother visited the school. She says:

> He (Dr. Arnold) has a very remarkable countenance, something in forehead and again in manner which put me in mind of Reginald Heber, and there is a mixture of zeal, energy, and determination, tempered with wisdom, candor, and benevolence, both in manner and in everything he says. . . . He said he was gradually reforming, but it was like pasting down a piece of paper—as fast as one corner was put down another started up. "Yes," said Mrs. Arnold, "but Dr. Arnold always thinks the corner will not start *again.*" †

After a later interview she says, "What a man he is! He struck me, more than before even, with the impression of power, energy, and singleness of heart, aim, and purpose. Arthur's

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* *Thoughts that Breathe*, p. 26.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

veneration for him is beautiful; what good it must do to grow up under such a tree!" How natural that Dr. Arnold should feel of Arthur that he "always took in his ideas, received all he wished to put into him more in the true spirit and meaning than any boy he had ever met with," and that Mrs. Arnold could say she "always delighted in watching his countenance when Dr. Arnold was preaching."

How nearly impossible it seems to leave Dr. Arnold, when once one has felt the charm of his fellowship and the inspiration of his spirit! He had come to Rugby at the age of thirty-six, nine years of the Laleham quiet coming between his advent there and the thought-stirring days at Oriel. Fourteen years more, and his work ended, but they were years in which all England, from peaceful Fox How to agitated Oxford felt the thrill and power of his magnetic touch. It is a joy to see him as others saw him. In 1844 Caroline Fox meets a Dr. Dew, a former pupil of Arnold's. He says:

> Such was his power over the hearts of the boys that they dreaded doing anything wrong lest it should pain him; they looked forward to his weekly sermons with as much delight as to a holiday, and, as they were quite private, if anything remarkable had taken place in the week they knew that it would be noticed on the Sunday. The classbooks they had to study were rich in marginal notes from his pencil, which made them live and become a pleasure instead of a weariness to flesh and spirit.*

An entry in Henry Crabb Robinson's *Diary and Correspondence*,† for February 8, 1839, is suggestive: "An interesting rencontre in the studio of Phillips, R.A., where Dr. Arnold was sitting for his portrait. Bunsen was reading Niebuhr to him. Mrs. Arnold, Professor Lepsius, and Mrs. Stanley, wife of the Bishop of Norwich, came afterward." Bunsen reading Niebuhr to Arnold! When he heard of Arnold's death Bunsen exclaimed, "The *History of Rome* is never to be finished!" Of Bunsen, the successor of Niebuhr as Prussian minister to the papal court, we may not pause long to speak. He was a fructifying influence upon all these English lives. He is justly described as "the disciple of Niebuhr and the inspirer of Arnold, the counselor of statesmen, the patron of art, the historian of nations, the companion of kings, the guide of the wise, the teacher of the learned, and withal the simple

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* *Memories of Old Friends*, by Caroline Fox.

† Vol. II, p. 795.

Christian." This "chevalier" of letters and life and faith Arnold had met in 1827, in a thirteen days' visit to Rome, and for years maintained correspondence with him, ever expressing his indebtedness to him and finally dedicating to him his *History of Rome*. A few months before this "rencontre" in Phillips's studio Arnold had written:

> I cannot find what I most crave to see and what still seems to me no impossible dream, inquiry and belief going together, and the adherence to truth growing with increased affection, as follies are more and more cast away. But I have seen lately such a specimen of this and of all other things that are good and wise and holy as I suppose can scarcely be matched again in the world. Bunsen has been with us for six days.*

How sadly unfulfilled has this "craving" of Dr. Arnold's strong spirit remained in some whom he influenced!

But now, with Bunsen and his relation to Arnold in our thoughts, let us turn our steps in another direction—retrace them in part. In 1828 Arnold writes to Augustus W. Hare, then in Italy, his friend at Oxford and fellow-member of the famous Attic Society:

> But I think my greatest delight, after all, was in the society of Bunsen [whom he had met the previous year], the Prussian minister at Rome. . . . He reminded me continually of you, more than any other man whom I know, and chiefly by his entire and enthusiastic admiration of everything great and excellent and beautiful, not stopping to see or care for minute faults. . . . I have derived great benefit from sources of information that your brother has at different times recommended to me, and the perusal of some of his articles. *Guesses at Truth* has made me exceedingly desirous of becoming better acquainted with him, as I am sure his conversation would be really profitable to me in the highest sense of the word, as well as delightful.

Of the Hare brothers something must be set down here. Their older brother, Francis, was the father of Augustus J. C. Hare. Their younger brother, Marcus, by his marriage with Lucy Anne Stanley, the sister of the Bishop of Norwich, added another to the links uniting the two families. But it is Augustus and Julius whose diverse characteristics and blended lives afford the suggestive study of the influence of mind upon mind, and of men who, just missing renown, have not failed of great influence. The loss of their mother in early life left them under the care of her sister, Lady Jones, who indeed

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* *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold*, A. P. Stanley, vol. ii, p. 121.

adopted Augustus and carried him through his education. We have had glimpses of him, at the Heber's meeting Maria Leycester, ardent in his university career at New College while Arnold was at Oriel. Marrying at thirty-five, he accepted the small living of Alton Barnes, "the most primitive village in Wiltshire," a place "absolutely isolated, without any gentleman's house except the rectory, without any public house, with scarcely even anything which can be dignified by the name of a village shop." Here, for five years, he labored for a sparse and simple people, with an indefatigable patience and a Christian spirit. Out of this life came his *Sermons to a Country Congregation*, edited by his brother—sermons whose unconventional directness and earnest simplicity are said to have revolutionized the method of preaching in the English Church. Maurice says of them,* "They seem to me the most interesting and beautiful piece of cottage divinity that I ever met with."

Julius C. Hare was no truer soul than his brother Augustus. In some ways less attractive, his acquirements and tastes and intellectual sympathies brought him into closer relations with more minds. He was the same in age as Dr. Arnold, being born in 1795. In a tour with friends he came at ten years in personal contact with the sages of Weimar, and with this impulse seconding natural tastes became a devotee of the German literature. Marks of this are found everywhere. When he entered Cambridge at sixteen no student before him had at all equaled his acquirements in German. It is he who brings to Dr. Arnold's notice the merits of Niebuhr, whose historical spirit became Dr. Arnold's own. Crabb Robinson is found in his wonderful library, especially delighted with his collection of German books. His very writings—the *Vindication of Luther* and the *Vindication of Coleridge*, wherein he defends him from the charges of plagiarism from Schelling and other sources of German thought—illustrate this characteristic. He was in temperament unlike Augustus, whom he profoundly admired and loved. He was "ardent, impulsive, enthusiastic, demonstrative, . . . equally manifest in love and antipathy, vehement in language, unable to conceal a feeling of any kind, and constantly doing battle of some sort for his friends if not

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* *The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice*, by his son. vol. i, p. 213.

for himself."* So Maria Hare describes him as she came into closer contact with him, when, after her husband's death, she became one of the household at Hurstmonceaux, the living of Julius Hare from 1834 for over twenty years. He had gone up to Cambridge while his brother and Arnold were at Oxford, and for the twenty years of his residence there was one of its brightest lights. In 1826 the brothers published anonymously *Guesses at Truth*. In 1827 Julius Hare met Schleiermacher in Germany. He translates Fouqué, carries through the press Lander's *Imaginary Conversations*, with Thirlwall translates Niebuhr's *History of Rome*, and then "vindicates" him against the reviewers' attacks. John Sterling and Frederick Denison Maurice are the pupils of the later Cambridge years. The family living at Hurstmonceaux became vacant, and by agreement with Augustus, to whom it would have fallen, but who preferred his own quieter Alton Barnes, Julius entered upon it in 1834, saddened inexpressibly that his brother, who in the meantime had died, had passed beyond his call.

One of the most charming pictures of the scholar is that given of Julius Hare in the Hurstmonceaux rectory. Arthur Stanley spent a few months there, under his uncle's care, between Rugby and Oxford. Arthur's mother wrote of his influence upon her son: "I cannot speak of the blessing it has been to have Arthur so long with you. He says he feels his mind's horizon so enlarged." And Stanley describes the rectory, which stood far removed from church and castle and village:

> The very first glance at the entrance hall revealed the character of its master. It was not merely a house with a good library, the whole house was a library. The vast nucleus which he brought with him from Cambridge grew, year by year, till not only study and drawing room and dining room, but passage and antechamber and bedrooms, were overrun with the ever-advancing and crowded bookshelves. Of all libraries which it has been our lot to traverse we never saw any equal to this in the combined excellence of quantity and quality; none in which there were so few worthless, so many valuable, works. . . . And what, perhaps, was yet more remarkable was the manner in which the center of the whole was himself. Without a catalogue, without assistance, he knew where every book was to be found, for what it was valuable, what relation it bore to the rest. The library was like a magnificent tree which he had himself planted, of which he had nurtured the growth, which spread its

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* *Memorials of a Quiet Life*, vol. ii, p. 78.

branches far and wide over his dwelling, and in the shade of which he delighted even if he was prevented for the moment from gathering its fruits or pruning its luxuriant foliage.*

His nephew gives us a glimpse of his habits:

> Well remembered by the few still remaining, who shared them, are the peculiar habits of the life in these years at Hurstmonceaux rectory—the late breakfast in the sunny book-lined room, with the scent of the orange trees and geraniums wafted in through the open doors of the conservatory, the eager discussions over the letters, the vehement declamation over the newspaper, the frequent interpolation of a reading from Coleridge or Wordsworth, the constant interruption from the host of beggars who knew only too well that they were never sent away empty-handed. . . . Then Julius Hare would seize his straw hat and, while composing or meditating, would pace rapidly up and down his favorite walk between the oak trees, whence he could look across the level to the sea; . . . then would come the many hours of writing in his library . . . and the evenings, filled with interest, in which he would pace the drawing room in eager talk, snatching a volume every now and then from the bookcase to illustrate what he was saying, or would sit down and translate some German author into fluent English as he read.

In this library were busts of Augustus W. Hare, Wordsworth, Niebuhr, Schleiermacher, and Bunsen. Here Bunsen often visited him. John Sterling was his curate for a time, and afterward told Caroline Fox: "Hare possesses a wonderfully comprehensive mind, but never does himself justice, leads a recluse life, is little known, and has a very unfortunate address. He is one of our best German scholars, and has a glorious library."

Julius Hare kept up an active correspondence with Arnold, Maurice, Bunsen, and Stanley. In 1844, when nearly fifty years old, he married Esther Maurice, whom he had met through her friendship for Mrs. Maria Hare. This drew Maurice and himself closer together, and, since the latter and Sterling had married sisters, strengthened the affection with which Hare had always regarded that brilliant and pathetic soul. How genuine was his respect and love for Sterling is evinced by his memoir of his pupil, curate, friend, which was published in 1848, and which provoked into being that other *Life of John Sterling*, in which Carlyle is at his best and his worst. In Maurice he had seen at their first meeting a great mind. He wrote of him, soon after his arrival in Cambridge, that there

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* *Memorials of a Quiet Life*, vol. ii, pp. 80, 81.

was in his class room "a pupil whose metaphysical powers were among the greatest he had ever come in contact with, but that the man was so shy that it was almost impossible to know him."* How well he knew him, how deeply he loved him, afterward!

The exact balance of intellectual debt between Dr. Arnold and Archdeacon Hare cannot be struck. They helped to make each other, and were allies in arousing the intellectual life of our own time. Hare used to say that he had five popes—"Wordsworth, Niebuhr, Bunsen, F. Maurice, and Archdeacon Manning." Arnold would have recognized three of them at least. Hare edited, with painstaking fidelity, the third volume of the *History of Rome*, left by Dr. Arnold in manuscript, and in his Preface says:

> There seemed to be a kind of propriety in my undertaking the task, not only on account of my previous connection with another great historian of Rome, but also because the first letter I ever received from the author of this work was written for the purpose of making some inquiries about Niebuhr's History, of which he had heard me speak with much praise. The letter was written in 1824; and to me it is an interesting recollection that I should thus have been the means of introducing Dr. Arnold to a writer who was to exercise so powerful an influence over the whole frame of his thoughts.

He declares Arnold to have been "a dauntless lover of truth in the midst of an age when few seek or care for any truth, except such as seems to pamper their already bloated predilections and prepossessions!" "Whether differing or agreeing," he continues, "when I turn from the ordinary theological or religious writers of the day to one of his volumes there is a feeling as it were of breathing the fresh mountain air after having been shut up in the morbid atmosphere of a sick room or in the fumigated vapors of an Italian church." Every word spoken by him of Arnold is warm with the breath of ardent praise.

Julius Hare's personal relations were more intimate with Frederick Denison Maurice than with Thomas Arnold, and he reverenced him no less. Maurice was eleven years younger, but his extraordinary spiritual and mental power gave him early the rights of this high fellowship. With Dr. Arnold he was

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* *The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice*, vol. i, p. 52.

not closely associated. Much of his work and prominence came after Dr. Arnold's death. They were on the same spiritual foundations, singularly alike in certain fine traits of character, but saw many things from points of view so different that their expressed opinions are often diametrically opposed. Their direct influence upon each other, as well as that which was conveyed through such intermediaries as the Hares and the Bunsens and Trench, must have been of a positive character, and they profoundly respected one another.

Maurice came to Cambridge from a Unitarian parsonage. He was from childhood intensely spiritual, and a deep thinker. At Cambridge he touched Sterling and Hare. His was the unusual experience of residence at both universities. After three years at Cambridge and a short time in London in literary work he went to Oxford, where he took his degree in 1832, having in the meantime entered the Established Church, to which ever after he clung passionately. A year later he accepted a small curacy in Warwickshire (Bubbenhall), where he wrote his famous contribution to the Oxford discussion—seeming for the time to side with the Tractarians—the pamphlet entitled *Subscription no Bondage.* At the beginning of 1836 he took up his residence in London as chaplain of Guy's Hospital, and became a center from which radiated some of the strongest intellectual and social influences of the time. Six years before John Sterling had married, and now was living in London in poor health. Mrs. Sterling's younger sister became the devoted wife of Maurice in 1837, John Sterling officiating at the marriage. The latter had already passed through what he called the "one Sabbath" of his life, the few months' curacy under Julius Hare at Hurstmonceaux.

It may be well to pause at this date, 1835, and from it observe the people whom we have met in our ramble and the events amid which we have been moving. The Reform bill had passed three years before. The Oxford movement had been for two years stirring the religious thought of all England, and in 1835 Pusey published his famous tract on baptism, which utterly alienated Maurice from the movement, and soon after began the translations for the Library of the Fathers. Coleridge had died the year before, as had Edward Irving—of whom a word must be spoken later on—and Augustus Hare,

of whom Bunsen, who was a constant ministering presence to him in those last days in Rome, wrote to Arnold: "Our dear Augustus Hare has left us. When this arrives you will already have known that he expired yesterday, in a state of perfect bliss. . . . I saw him twice, and loved him from the first moment. His thoughts were always with his friends, his country, his Church, but above all, and up to the last moment, with his Saviour."* Julius Hare had just entered upon the Hurstmonceaux life, with the widow of his brother as a most beloved companion, and her adopted child, the future chronicler of the "blessed brotherhood and sisterhood," as Stanley calls the Hares. Arthur Stanley himself was at the threshold of his brilliant career at Oxford, his father yet rector at Alderley, but within a year or two of Norwich; Thomas Arnold in mid-course at Rugby, passing his vacations in the high fellowship of the Lake group at Fox How and Rydal, where Wordsworth was approaching his threescore and ten and kindling from his inextinguishable spirit the torches of the spiritual leaders of a coming age. Carlyle had a year before astonished the world, and presumably relieved his own mind, by the publication of his *Sartor Resartus*, and John Stuart Mill had begun to edit the *Philosophical Review.* A younger group still was emerging. Matthew Arnold and Thomas Hughes were yet in Rugby. Frederick W. Robertson was nearly ready for Oxford; and Kingsley, after two or three years at the Cornwall School, was at the rectory of Derwent Coleridge, and was soon to remove with his father's family to Chelsea, London, being then about seventeen years of age.

This London group of the period beginning with 1835 is indeed a strange one. The influence of its members upon each other is as certain as it is difficult to trace. They were very young men. Maurice was twenty-nine. Sterling and Mill were the same age with Maurice. Carlyle was forty, the exact age of Thomas Arnold and Julius Hare. Carlyle's and Mill's "conversion," as they call it, occurred the same year (1826), the year of the publication of *Guesses at Truth.* Edward Irving died in 1834, when but forty-three. He was the most notorious of the group and the least influential. Carlyle loved him—so, probably, did Mrs. Carlyle. His career in London

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* *Memorials of a Quiet Life,* vol. ii, p. 22.

was meteoric; everybody saw the blaze and the subsequent darkness. Coleridge, to whom he often went, calls him "a mighty wrestler in the cause of spiritual religion and Gospel morality." * With Irving's pathetic career Mrs. Oliphant and the Carlyle literature have made us sufficiently familiar. Carlyle said of him: "His was the freest, brotherliest, bravest human soul mine ever came in contact with. I call him on the whole the best man I have ever, after trial enough, found in this world, or now hope to find." † But we must leave him, simply keeping him in the field of vision as we make our way among his contemporaries who outlived him in a twofold sense.

With deeper interest might we trace the relations of the other two Scotchmen, Mill and Carlyle, with each other. Our present concern, however, with them both is in their personal and intellectual contact with the others whom we have been meeting. How would a man educated as was John Stuart Mill regard, for instance, men like Maurice and Sterling? How would one who, as he said of himself, "was brought up from the first without any religious belief" ‡ be affected by such a soul as Maurice's, so intensely religious as to call forth Tulloch's remark, "We can hardly think of a mind in recent times, unless it be Maurice's, more habitually under the influence of the divine than that of Arnold's." § How would one who said of himself, "I am one of the very few examples in this country of one who has not thrown off religious belief, but never had it; I grew up in a negative state in regard to it," view the religious vagrancy of a man like Sterling, who was in character so lovable as to center upon himself the ardent affections of men as antagonistic as Maurice and Carlyle, as Julius Hare and Mill, and yet was intellectually so flexible as to share at some time the opinions of them all, and at last to die a disciple of no one of them? Mill acknowledges positive influences from Maurice, Sterling, and Carlyle, at a period when he was coming to the fullness of his powers.‖ The two former made their appearance in the famous London Debating Society in 1828–29, known to be disciples of Coleridge—Maurice the thinker, Ster-

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* *Life of Edward Irving*, Mrs. Oliphant, vol. ii, p. 102.

† *Biographia Literaria*, vol. i, p. 94.

‡ John Stuart Mill, *Autobiography*.

§ *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain During the Nineteenth Century*, Principal Tulloch, p. 55.

‖ Mill's *Autobiography*.

ling the orator. Mill's opinion of them is worthy of full quotation. He says:

> I have always thought there was more intellectual power wasted in Maurice than in any other of my contemporaries. Few of them, certainly, have had so much to waste. Great powers of generalization, rare ingenuity and subtlety, wide perception of important and unobvious truth served him, not for putting something better into the place of the worthless heap of received opinions on the great subjects of thought, but for proving to his own mind that the Church of England had known everything from the first, and that all the truths on the ground of which the Church and orthodoxy have been attacked (many of which he saw as clearly as anyone) are not only consistent with the Thirty-nine Articles, but are better understood and expressed in these articles than by anyone who rejects them. I have never been able to find any other explanation of this than by attributing it to the timidity of conscience combined with original sensitiveness of temperament which has so often driven highly gifted men into Romanism from the need of a firmer support than they can find in the independent conclusions of their own judgment. . . . The nearest parallel to him in a moral point of view is Coleridge, to whom, in intellectual power, apart from poetical genius, I think him decidedly superior. . . .
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> With Sterling I soon became very intimate, and was more attached to him than I have ever been to any other man. He was indeed one of the most lovable of men. His frank, cordial, affectionate, and expansive character ; a love of truth alike conspicuous in the highest things and the humblest ; a generous and ardent nature which threw itself with impetuosity into the opinions it adopted, but was as eager to do justice to the doctrines and the men it was opposed to as to make war on what it thought their errors ; and an equal devotion to the two cardinal points of liberty and duty, formed a combination of qualities as attractive to me as to all others who knew him as well as I did. . . . Though he was never in the full sense of the word a profound thinker, his openness of mind and the moral courage in which he greatly surpassed Maurice made him outgrow the dominion which Maurice and Coleridge had once exercised over his intellect; though he retained to the last a great but discriminating admiration of both, and toward Maurice a warm affection.*

Sterling detains us a moment longer, not only by the great charm of his personal character, but by the powerful influence he exerted upon others. He certainly did not lead them, but he greatly affected them. The most sorrowful note in all Maurice's letters is that in which he expresses repeatedly his sense of responsibility for Sterling and his profound sadness at the failure of his friend's faith. Mill's opinion we have given.

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* John Stuart Mill, *Autobiography*, pp. 153–155.

Hare's tribute to him, published in 1848, was followed by Carlyle's in 1851. The relation of these two famous character sketches appears in the record made by Caroline Fox: "Long letter from Julius Hare, detailing difficulties in the Sterling memoir which we had foreseen and could well enter into. He seems almost forced to publish more than he would wish, in order to leave Mill and Carlyle no pretext for an opposition portrait." * Hare's characterization of Sterling was the occasion of severe strictures upon the founders of the so-called Broad Church party, which seems to have included nearly everyone who did any independent thinking. Carlyle's characterization has become as truly a revelation of himself as it is of Sterling. It may be surmised that Sterling understood his biographer fairly well. He discovered in 1840 what all the world has learned since, that "Carlyle's low view of the world proceeded partly from a bad stomach." "One day," writes Caroline Fox, "he was, as often, pouring out the fullness of his indignation at the quackery and speciosity of the times. He wound up by saying, 'When I look at this I determine to cast all tolerance to the winds.' Sterling quietly remarked, 'My dear fellow, I had no idea you had any to cast.'"

Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen, is remarkable as the one man whom Carlyle never found it in his heart to write down. Mrs. Oliphant, in her *Memoir of Principal Tulloch*, speaks of Erskine as "the well-known and venerable prophet of a shadowy creed which nobody could define, yet all respected and admired." Tulloch writes to a friend, from the house of Mr. Erskine at Linlathen:

> Our old friend here is as full of spiritual wisdom as ever. The long pauses amid the damp autumn leaves yesterday afternoon, as he expounded and reexpounded his favorite idea of the spiritual education under which every man and the whole race of men are, and of God as a *teaching* Father, were very picturesque, but were not very comfortable. . . . What a cheerful, hopeful, yet pathetic confidence he has! . . . You know how much he loves and admires Maurice, yet he quietly said, last night, talking of the Athanasian Creed, "I think Mr. Maurice could find good reason for anything." †

Upon Carlyle and Irving, Erskine's influence was very great; both revered him as a prophet. But it was to Maurice that

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* *Memories of Old Friends*, Caroline Fox, p. 247.

† *The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice*, vol. ii, p. 121.

the heritage of his thoughts descended. This letter of Tulloch's was written in 1865. In 1830, before leaving Oxford, one of Erskine's books, entitled *The Brazen Serpent*, came to Maurice's notice, and produced upon him a marked effect. He writes to his sister: "The peculiarities of his system may be true or not, but I am certain a light has fallen through him on the Scriptures which I hope I shall never lose, and the chief tendency I feel he has awaked in my mind is to search them more and more. I hear from those who know him that he reads nothing else himself."*

Maurice came into close personal relations with Erskine, visited him at Linlathen, maintained a long correspondence with him, and in 1852 dedicated to him his work entitled *The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament*, in a letter to Erskine, saying, "I have longed to do what I have done for many years, when an occasion should offer. I wished to tell others how much I believe they, as well as I, owe to your books; how they seem to me to mark a crisis in the theological movement of this time." The singular influence of Sterling upon men of different opinions has been noticed. It is quite as remarkable to see how Erskine of Linlathen left his impress upon men as diverse in opinion and character as Irving, Carlyle, and Maurice.

We must pursue our journey a little farther in Maurice's company. Let the date now be 1850, after a lapse of fifteen years. Coleridge's *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit* has been published ten years. Wordsworth has just died, as shortly before had the Bishop of Norwich, Edward Stanley. Thomas Arnold has been dead eight years, and for six everyone has been reading his *Life and Correspondence*, by his devoted pupil, Arthur Stanley. The latter is about to commence his six years as Dean of Canterbury, and has recently published his memoir of his excellent father. Julius Hare, now for ten years archdeacon, has been six years married; has published his *Vindication of Coleridge* and his *Vindication of Luther*, his *Mission of the Comforter*, and his *Remains of John Sterling*, and is groaning in spirit over the perversion to Rome of his fellow-archdeacon, Manning, who has followed the example of Newman, now four years a Romanist in name, as he had long been in conviction.

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* *Memoir of Principal Tulloch*, Mrs. Oliphant, p. 216.

Here then at 1850 we find Maurice, after years of controversy and obloquy, in fellowship with some who are like-minded, entering into that deep struggle of Christian socialism with which his great name must ever be connected, as truly as it is with the enlargement of religious belief. Here with him is Kingsley. How he brightens the scene! Derwent Coleridge had called him "a genuine out-of-doors English boy." * R. C. Powles says he had, as a boy, "the vehement spirit, an adventurous courage, a love of truth, an impatience of injustice, a quick and tender sympathy;" so that a college friend could say of him to his widow, "I never saw him do anything that I should have any objection to tell you." At twenty-three he settled at Eversley, on the borders of Windsor forest, where he was to reside for thirty-three years. This was in 1842. His biographer says: "At this time Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ* was put into his hands. It was in a great crisis of his life, and he always said that he owed more to that book than to any he had ever read, for by it his views were cleared and his faith established." It is worth noting that already he had been greatly influenced by Carlyle and Coleridge—*The French Revolution*, *Past and Present*, and *Miscellanies* of the former, and the *Aids to Reflection* of the latter "utterly delighting" him. Upon him, too, had fallen light from Wordsworth's heart. In 1844 he writes:

> I have been reading Wordsworth's *Excursion* with many tears and prayers, too. To me he is not only a poet, but preacher and prophet of God's new and divine philosophy—a man raised as a light in a dark time, and rewarded by an honored age for the simple faith in man and God with which he delivered his message; whose real nobility is independent of rank, or conventionalities of language or manner, which is but the fashion of this world and passes away.

Arnold's influence, too, reached him. He decided against Rugby because of the Toryism of his father and himself, and ever after deeply regretted it. One cannot help wondering what direct contact with Arnold might not have done for Kingsley. But he revered Thomas Arnold. "In plain truth," he says, "the English clergy must Arnoldize if they do not wish to go either to Rome or to the workhouse before fifty years are out. There is, I believe, an Arnoldite spirit rising. . . . I would devote soul and body to get together an

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* *Charles Kingsley, His Letters and Memories of His Life*, chap. ii.

Arnoldite party of young men." In 1848 he came into close acquaintance with Julius Hare, Bishop Stanley, Stanley the younger, and Thomas Hughes, through whom Arnold's spirit must have constantly touched him. But Maurice becomes his "master"—such is his constant name for him—his "oak of the mountain," "inspired, gigantic;" and to Maurice, Kingsley became "the freshest, freest-hearted man in England." He meets Bunsen, "such a divine-looking man, and so kind," and Bunsen finds for him an honored place among his crowding friendships.

But our ramble must cease somewhere. We set out at Stoke-on-Terne rectory, when the century was new. Let us rest at Eversley rectory, with the century half gone. To multitudes these men with whom we have been in familiar touch are as fascinating as the heroes of romance. No one of them, from Coleridge to Robertson, is without his devoted admirers among us. But to this individual attraction is given new intensity when it is seen how remarkably their lives interpenetrated each other, and how powerfully each was affected by the rest. When the history of the religious thought of the past hundred years is written, to Coleridge and Wordsworth, the philosopher and the poet of the spiritual life, standing side by side at the gate of the century, will be traced in large degree the impulse which gave to these highborn souls of a later day their key-thought and their master motive. It would indeed be vain to assert that the path over which we have now journeyed is the one royal road upon which truth has come down to our own mighty day; yet, without doubt, our ramble has taken us through the seedplot wherein has started much of the best growth for those fields of social reform, education, and theological thought which the men of the next century will, with hope and ardor, cultivate—from which they will reap for the world harvests abundant and rare.

Frank Mason North

ART. II.—SHOULD METHODISTS "SING LOW?"

THE somewhat recent demand that Protestants should enjoy fuller religious liberty in the South American republics* has elicited an utterance from a certain Roman Catholic publication which is worthy of examination. The editor of *The New York Freeman's Journal*, the Rev. L. A. Lambert, LL.D.—who some years ago deservedly secured world-wide fame for his noble contribution to Christian literature, *Notes on Ingersoll*—has recently been studying Methodist history. The editorial in his paper plainly indicates that the man who pursued Ingersoll "step by step, piercing him with keen Damascus blade at every turn, aye, dissecting him to the very marrow of his bones," has written in great haste and not in the best spirit.

After quoting the statement of a Methodist exchange that two registered letters had been "addressed by Methodist ministers to the pope, calling attention to the fact that Protestants in certain South American countries, where [Roman] Catholicism is supreme, have no religious liberty," Dr. Lambert says: "It seems to us, in view of the record of the founder of Methodism on religious toleration, that Methodist ministers should sing low." He then affirms, "Had they had their way, and followed the inspirations of John Wesley, this free republic would have had no existence." Having told us that "the Methodists have never been sufficiently numerous to shape the laws or policy of any nation on earth," he next declares: "Had Methodism been always the religion of the people of the South American States, as Catholicism has been, we have no doubt a missionary going there to teach any other form of worship would have a hard and dangerous time of it." Because John Wesley wrote a letter, in 1780, which called forth a great deal of criticism, he is surprised that Methodist ministers should be so "imprudent in pushing themselves forward as champions of toleration," and regards it as a "strange" procedure that they "are now

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* In 1894 a committee was appointed by the Chicago Methodist Ministers' Meeting to direct a movement toward securing larger religious freedom for Protestants in South America. In the prosecution of its work it received letters, strongly indorsing the effort, from such representative characters as Dean Farrar, Neal Dow, Algernon Charles Swinburne, General O. O. Howard, Justin McCarthy, W. E. H. Lecky, Bishop A. C. Coxe, Miss Frances E. Willard, and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe. The present article has been prepared by one actively engaged in that movement.—ED.

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appealing to the pope in behalf of religious toleration in South America." Very humorously indeed he asks: "Would it not have been more prudent, and more modest in them, to have left the appeal to the pope in the hands of the Quakers, or some other sect whose founder was not so conspicuous a persecutor of Catholics?" After pleasantly reminding us that "any conduct on the part of Methodist ministers that is calculated to recall the intolerant record of their founder is bad economy," he fearlessly asserts, "The inflammatory addresses of John Wesley were the prime cause of the great London anti-Catholic riots in 1780, which resulted in the death of nearly five hundred people." Then, taking a calm survey of the entire situation, he proceeds to deliver the following admonition: "In view of these facts it is meet for Methodist ministers to set their music to the key of B flat, and sing low."

His assertions suggest a few questions to which our common Christianity may profitably give attention:

I. What is "the record of the founder of Methodism on religious toleration?" Is it such that Methodist ministers should "sing low?" John Wesley wrote a well-known letter, in the opening days of 1780, a letter which Dr. Lambert will admit is the very quintessence of mildness itself when compared with the awful historic facts which made such a letter possible. Its facts are like those contained in the letter written by Lord Acton, an English Roman Catholic, to Mr. Gladstone, and published in the London *Times* of November 9, 1874, facts the very recital of which called forth such a storm of indignation that Lord Acton, "in order to repel the charge that the facts were invented for a theory," resolved that he would "furnish the means of testing certain statements" made by him "in a letter of November 8 to Mr. Gladstone," and so addressed a letter to the editor of *The Times*, which was published in the issue of that paper for November 24, 1874, a letter that stirred the world profoundly from the Thames to the Tiber. Let Dr. Lambert read in its entirety the letter found in Tyerman's Life of Wesley,* and then read the letters of Lord Acton in the London *Times*. We give the three following sentences from Lord Acton's letter to Mr. Gladstone as a sample of religious toleration—not toleration as it was understood by the man who

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* Tyerman's *Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.*, vol. iii, pp. 318–320.

said, "The world is my parish," but toleration as it was understood by occupants of the papal throne:

> One of the later popes has declared that the murder of a Protestant is so good a deed that it atones, and more than atones, for the murder of a Catholic.
>
> Now Pius V, the only pope who has been proclaimed a saint for many centuries, having deprived Elizabeth (queen of England), commissioned an assassin to take her life; and his next successor, on learning that the Protestants were being massacred in France, pronounced the action glorious and holy, but comparatively barren of results.
>
> He (Gregory XIII) implored the king during two months, by his nuncio and his legate, to carry the work on to the bitter end, until every Huguenot had recanted or perished.

Dr. Lambert will not deny that such utterances as these—the utterances of popes—should move "any government, Protestant, Mohammedan, or pagan," to consider the question, If self-existence is to be our policy, what course shall we pursue toward the adherents of a Church whose head advocates an exterminating policy for those who do not believe in the teachings of that Church? When John Wesley, whose "genius for government," Macaulay says, "was not inferior to that of Richelieu," was brought face to face with this most difficult question, he did not advocate the persecution of Roman Catholics, but would concede to them both civil and religious liberty.

His letter moved the Rev. Arthur O'Leary to enter into controversy with Mr. Wesley. All will admit that O'Leary's "quaint jocularity and rounded periods are amusing;" but does the editor of the *Freeman's Journal*—a master spirit in controversy—think that they furnish "the slightest answer to Wesley's allegations?" We shall now let Mr. Wesley, in the final paragraph of his closing letter to Father O'Leary, speak for himself:

> Would I then wish the Roman Catholics to be persecuted? I never said or hinted any such thing. I abhor the thought; it is foreign to all I have preached and wrote for these fifty years. But I would wish the Romanists in *England* (I had no others in view) to be treated still with the same lenity that they have been these sixty years; to be allowed both civil and religious liberty, but not permitted to undermine ours. I wish them to stand just as they did before the late act was passed; not to be persecuted or hurt themselves, but gently restrained from hurting their neighbors.*

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* Tyerman. *Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.*, vol. iii, p. 322.

To the present day, according to Tyerman, "the arguments in Wesley's letter of January 21, 1780, remain unanswered."

John Wesley's record on "religious toleration" is a noble one. He marched through life endeavoring to discover good everywhere. Is it not a fact that he admired the piety of members of the order of La Trappe, and saw in their experience the work of God—a work of righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost? Did he not commend and publish the life of Thomas Firmin, an English Unitarian, "whose real piety, notwithstanding his erroneous notions on the Trinity, he says he dares not deny?" Did he not even go the length of saying that he "makes no doubt that Marcus Antoninus, the heathen emperor of Rome, shall be one of the many who shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God?"

II. Is it true that "the inflammatory addresses of John Wesley were the prime cause of the great London anti-Catholic riots in 1780, which resulted in the death of nearly five hundred people?" What strange things we are now told concerning the man who, during his lifetime, was said to be "a Jesuit, a correspondent of the pope, in league with France, and in the pay of Spain!" John Wesley's "inflammatory addresses" the "prime cause of the great London anti-Catholic riots in 1780!" What reputable historian makes such an assertion as this? It is not Knight, nor Stanhope, nor Green, nor Lecky, nor even the Roman Catholic historian, Justin McCarthy, who, in his *History of the Four Georges*,* says: "Not Mark Antony, not Charles XII, not Napoleon ever went through such physical suffering for the love of war, or for the conqueror's ambition, as Wesley was accustomed to undergo for the sake of preaching at the right time and in the right place to some crowd of ignorant and obscure men, the conversion of whom could bring him neither fame nor fortune." Could McCarthy pay a nobler tribute than this even to the saint who, tradition asserts, banished the snakes from Ireland?

In a sermon preached in 1891, the pastor of the Channing Unitarian Church, at Newton, Mass., also said: "John H. Newman, in one of his works, selects John Wesley as the only man known to him in the Church of God who stood forth as

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* Vol. II, p. 133.

one who might deserve the title of saint."* If John Wesley had been "a persecutor of Roman Catholics," and if at the age of seventy-seven his "inflammatory addresses" had been "the prime cause of the great London anti-Catholic riots in 1780, which resulted in the death of nearly five hundred people," would Cardinal Newman have regarded him as "one who might deserve the title of saint?"

III. Are Methodist ministers, in "pushing themselves forward as champions" of religious toleration, acting a part that is not in accord with the genius of Methodism? The genius of Methodism is, as Dr. Chalmers said, "Christianity in earnest." Cardinal Manning, in his work *England and Christendom*,† tells us that though the early Methodists were "hated and ridiculed" "for their piety," yet "in thirty years they had won their position" and "changed the aspect of society." This Roman Catholic tribute to Methodism stands side by side with that heathen tribute to the great Galilean, "Truly this man was the Son of God." Methodism has ever been the champion of toleration in its highest and holiest sense. She will fight the battle of religious toleration for the oppressed, and not leave in the hands of her most excellent friends, the Quakers, what she ought to do herself. Like her founder, she aims at the spiritual elevation of the people, and in order to accomplish this she never wastes her energies on imaginary wrongs. But, let there be wrongs that are real, wrongs that cry to heaven for redress, wrongs that in piteous tones seem to say to her, "Wilt thou not plead my cause?" and then will be seen the truthfulness of the words of Bishop Huntington, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, "Methodism works for results, and they are generally results worth working for."

The following preamble to the resolution of the Methodist Ministers' Meeting at Chicago, April 2, 1894, clearly indicates the evils that Dr. Lambert's "champions of toleration" are determined to remove: "It has been made evident to us that our Protestant brethren in the republics of Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia labor under oppressive disabilities that affect, not only the profession of their faith and the public worship of God according to the dictates of their conscience, but also their civil and inalienable right to be legally married without being com-

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* *Zion's Herald*, February 25, 1891.

† Pp. 36, 37.

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pelled to forswear their religious convictions." This is more than a battle for Methodism or Protestantism; it is a battle for humanity; it is a battle that will win as sure as on the throne sits He of whom we sing, "Allelulia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth." That the wrongs referred to in this preamble actually occur on this American continent, in these closing years of the nineteenth century, is not fiction but fact. A letter received by the Chicago committee from the papal Secretary of State, dated Rome, November 30, 1895, asserts that "the constitution of Peru recognizes no other form of marriage as valid than that prescribed by the Council of Trent," and that "the same condition of things relative to marriage exists in Bolivia and Ecuador." In the opening days of December, 1895, the sad intelligence reached this country that in Peru the Lima authorities, roused to action by Roman Catholic priests, had ordered the expulsion of Peters and Jarrett, two missionaries who had scrupulously obeyed the law, and were very popular among the people of Cuzco, where they had labored with considerable success. An Associated Press dispatch, dated Lima, Peru, February 28, 1896, stated that the Rev. Dr. Thomas B. Wood labored in Peru at the peril of his life; that *El Obrero*, a paper published in Callao, contained threats against the missionary, and that steps to provide for his safety were eventually taken at the instance of the United States and Great Britain. From Callao, under date of February 4, 1896, Dr. Wood writes of the attacks made by the priests on our educational work, which aim at nothing less than our banishment from Peru, as in the case of the expulsion of Peters and Jarrett from Cuzco. He says that we have just suffered defeat in one of our suburban centers, where all meetings are now completely closed under stress of "persecution carried to the length of pouring kerosene in at the window and attempting to fire the place."

If Roman Catholics in this republic were cruelly denied their "civil and inalienable right to be legally married without being compelled to forswear their religious convictions," the pope and the Roman hierarchy would ceaselessly toil in order to have this "oppressive disability" removed; and their laudable efforts in this direction would be nobly supplemented by Methodist ministers who, acting in accord with the genius of

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Methodism, would push themselves forward as champions of toleration. What is the great distinction between Methodism and Romanism in reference to liberty of conscience? When Methodism speaks of "liberty of conscience" she means that every man shall be permitted to worship God in accordance with his own convictions. When Romanism speaks of "liberty of conscience" she means that every man shall be permitted to worship God in accordance with the convictions of the pope. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, the author of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," in a letter says: "We have occasion enough to see that religious freedom, in the acceptation of the Church of Rome, means only freedom for Roman Catholics. It will meet Protestants nowhere on fair and equal ground." Let him who doubts this remember that the late Cardinal Manning, in a sermon * preached at Kensington, represented the pope as saying: "I claim to be the supreme judge and director of the consciences of men; of the peasant that tills the field, and the prince that sits on the throne; of the household that lives in the shade of privacy, and the legislature that makes laws for kingdoms. I am the sole, last supreme judge of what is right and wrong." With the Roman Catholic hierarchy the phrase "liberty of conscience" means simply "the right to embrace, profess, and practice the Roman Catholic religion" in Protestant countries; with them it does not mean "the right to embrace, profess, and practice" the Protestant religion in Roman Catholic countries. In illustration of this the New York *Independent* † thus expresses itself concerning an editorial comment in the Baltimore *Catholic Mirror* on the subject of religious toleration in South America:

> These remarks are another evidence that the Catholics of this country, enjoying the most perfect religious freedom that the Church has anywhere, have some lessons yet to learn. That they should uphold the State or the civil authority in persecuting Protestant missionaries or ministers, shows that, while they are willing to enjoy to the utmost the blessings of the fullest religious liberty in Protestant countries, they have not quite learned tolerance where conditions are reversed.

IV. Is it true that "the Methodists have never been sufficiently numerous to shape the laws or policy of any nation on earth?" When we compare this statement of Dr. Lambert

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* *Sermons on Religious Subjects*, vol. iii, p. 79.

† Issue of May 10, 1894.

with his assertion about Methodist ministers that, "had they had their way, and followed the inspirations of John Wesley, this free republic would have had no existence," are we not justified in concluding that the Methodist ministers were giants "in those days," and that the Methodist people in these degenerate times "are but a feeble folk?" We have already quoted Cardinal Manning as saying that, in the short space of thirty years, the early Methodists had "changed the aspect of society." Does not this assertion prove that the Methodists were "sufficiently numerous" more than a century ago, in the best and truest sense, to accomplish this result? It is true that neither the Methodists nor any of their bishops have ever attempted to "shape the laws or policy of any nation on earth" as Pope Pius IX attempted to shape the policy of Mexico, when, in a letter to the unfortunate Maximilian, he said: "The [Roman] Catholic religion must, above all things, continue to be the glory and the mainstay of the Mexican nation, to the exclusion of every other dissenting worship."* Yet it is also true that Abraham Lincoln thought, when a delegation from the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in May, 1864, assured him of the attitude of that Church in the life-and-death struggle for the preservation of our republic, that the Methodists were "sufficiently numerous" to be a mighty instrument in the hands of God for the preservation of one "nation on earth." To that delegation the President not only said that the Methodist Episcopal Church "is, by its greater numbers, the most important of all," but also declared, "It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to heaven than any."†

V. In the light of the past are we justified in concluding that a Roman Catholic missionary "would have a hard and dangerous time of it" in teaching his "form of worship" where Methodism had "been always the religion of the people?" To this question the answer of the editor of *The New York Freeman's Journal* is, "We have no doubt." Yet we are confident that such a missionary would not "have a hard and dangerous time of it" anywhere on this American continent,

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* Appleton's *Annual Cyclopedia*, 1864, p. 526.

† *Abraham Lincoln's Complete Works*, by John G. Nicolay and John Hay, vol. ii, p. 522.

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wherever Methodism—aye, or a healthy Protestantism—is the religion of the people. In support of this confidence let us take as an illustration the land in which we live, a land Cardinal Gibbons truthfully designates as "the giant republic of the West."[*] The following facts tell their own story:

1. Cardinal Gibbons asserts that during the time he was Bishop of Richmond "fourteen per cent" of all the persons confirmed by him in the diocese of Richmond had formerly been Protestants.[†]

2. He also affirms that of the persons he confirmed in North Carolina "about thirty-five per cent" had formerly been Protestants.[‡]

3. In the light of an experience extending over many years, he likewise says in the preface to his latest work, *The Ambassador of Christ*, "I do not think that any age or country ever presented a more inviting field for missionary labor than that which the United States exhibits to-day."[§]

4. An editorial, "A Field for Missionaries," in the New York *Catholic Review* declares: "We have heard that a Catholic missionary in North Carolina has a congregation every member of which was a convert to the Roman Catholic faith."[‖]

5. Cardinal Satolli is reported by the Baltimore *Catholic Mirror* to have said that his "experience" has confirmed him in the belief that this land is "the country, of all others, in which Roman Catholic truth may have the largest field of action."[¶]

6. The Rev. Walter Elliott's article on "Missionary Experiences," in the *Catholic World* for May, 1895, gives no hint of Roman Catholic missionaries having "a hard and dangerous time of it" when toiling among Methodists. He tells us that, quite recently in Toledo, O., Roman Catholic missionaries conducted a mission in "big Memorial Hall;" that not even General Booth, "riding on the wave of sympathy which his stupendous movement has aroused, drew better audiences than we did;" that in a hall which could "accommodate a maximum of three thousand, and was packed at every meeting," "we certainly averaged above a thousand Protestants each night, and

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[*] *The Catholic Mirror*, Baltimore, July 3, 1886.

[†] *The Catholic Church in the United States*, by John O'Kane Murray, p. 585.

[‡] *Ibid.*, p. 585.

[§] Page v; see also pp. 344, 347.

[‖] Issue of February 26, 1876.

[¶] Issue of July 6, 1894.

some meetings had as high as fifteen hundred;" that the audience which assembled, night after night, was "an attentive, respectful audience, full of interest in religious questions;" that Alexander, a town of "fifteen thousand people, not a thousand of whom are Catholics," is "an excellent field for these missions;" a field where "the pastor averages eight converts a year;" that, in Lamson, "at all the meetings the proportion of Protestants was over half;" that, there, "the missionaries dined with the mayor and his family on Thursday, having been cordially invited." Judging from the way that Father Elliott and his band of missionaries were treated at the hospitable home of "the mayor and mayoress, who are Methodists," it is not unreasonable to infer that these Paulist fathers would enjoy their missionary labors in any country on this American continent where Methodists could be found.

Will Dr. Lambert remember that the entire history of Methodism proves that she accords to every man freedom to worship God in accordance with his own convictions? If a Methodist should so far forget himself as to lay an ungentle hand on a hair of a Roman Catholic missionary's head, the Methodist press would in strongest terms denounce that act. We are sorry that the Roman Catholic press does not pursue this course also. In *The New York Freeman's Journal* * there appeared, some years ago, an editorial in which the editor—not Dr. Lambert, we are happy to say, but Professor Maurice Francis Egan, who is now Professor of English Literature in the Roman Catholic University at Washington, actually advocated the killing of Protestant missionaries in Mexico. †

VI. What are the historic facts concerning Methodists and "this free republic?" Dr. Lambert assures us that, if Methodist ministers had "had their way, and followed the inspirations of John Wesley, this free republic would have had no existence;" and, in the light of this supposition and "Wesley's Tory enthusiasm," he considers that "it is proper for his American followers to be modest." In the long and desperate struggle for the preservation of the Union what attitude did John Wesley's "American followers" adopt? To this question

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* Issue of September 24, 1887, p. 4, column 5.

† See also editorial, "The Killing of Protestants in Mexico," in *The Independent*, New York, October 6, 1887.

let Abraham Lincoln's noble utterance, in May, 1864, to the delegation of the General Conference, be a reply. In the long and desperate struggle for the establishment of American independence, what attitude did John Wesley's "American followers" adopt? We invite Dr. Lambert's most careful attention to this subject, while we state what distinguished Roman Catholic ecclesiastics say, and then present the incontrovertible facts of the case. Archbishop Kain, of St. Louis, states * that the "loyalty" of "the followers of John Wesley" was not what it should be; and Cardinal Gibbons asserts that, in the struggle for "the cause of independence, Methodists, with John Wesley, sided with England." †

Assertion is one thing; proof is quite another. Cardinal Gibbons a few years ago wrote a *brochure* designated *The Catholic Church in America.* In that pamphlet reference is made, not to the attitude of Roman Catholics in England toward "the cause of independence," but to the attitude of Roman Catholics in this country. Methodists in England, John Wesley included, were loyal to the English government, as Cardinal Gibbons will assert that Romanists in England, the then head of the Anglo-Roman Church included, were also loyal to the English government. In *The Catholic Mirror* ‡ appeared an article by Cardinal Gibbons on the Roman Catholic Church, in which his reference to the attitude of Methodists toward "the cause of independence" was—like his reference to the Roman Catholics—not to Methodists in England, but to Methodists in this country. He said, "Methodists sided with England," and yet when the present writer forwarded the proofs to Baltimore that such was not the case the editor of the *Mirror*—the cardinal's own paper—after thinking that "our esteemed correspondent" did "an injustice in assuming that Cardinal Gibbons attacked the loyalty of the Methodist Church as a whole during our Revolutionary struggle," said that "the loyalty of the Methodists of the Revolution had never been impeached." The following assertion and comment are also worthy of note: Monsignor Quarantotti, when secretary of the Propaganda, in one of his letters to the English cabinet said: "Roman Catholics would not rebel

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* *The Catholic Mirror*, Baltimore, March 11, 1893.

† *Ibid.*, December 26, 1891.

‡ Issue of December 26, 1891.

against his gracious majesty, King George III, as witness the significant fact that in the recent unfortunate rebellion in America it was the Protestant colonies that rebelled, while the Catholic colony of Canada remained faithful to his gracious majesty." Commenting on this utterance of Monsignor Quarantotti, before an immense audience of Irish Roman Catholics at the Academy of Music, New York city, on Sunday evening, January 22, 1888, the Rev. Dr. McGlynn said: "That shows what the Roman machine would have done if it could. It would have made impossible our glorious American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence." *

If we compare John Wesley's *Calm Address to our American Colonies* in 1775 with Pope Pius IX's letter to Jefferson Davis in 1863, we observe on the one hand the action of a subject, and on the other the action of a ruler—the action of a subject who, in later years, acknowledged that he saw an "uncommon train of providences" in the final outcome of that struggle that resulted in the achievement of American independence, and the action of a ruler who, if he did, in later years, see an "uncommon train of providences" in the final outcome of that struggle which resulted in the preservation of the American Union, had not the courage to acknowledge it. Wesley, a subject of King George III, who blundered when he penned his *Calm Address*, did, some years later, see so clearly the hand of God in history that he declared: "By a very uncommon train of providences, provinces in North America are erected into independent States. The English government has no authority over them, either civil or ecclesiastical." †

Pius IX's interference in our political affairs during the dark days of the civil war, "following soon after Archbishop Hughes's visit to Rome in the second year of the war, coupled with the facts that, after that, the enlistments among the Roman Catholics nearly ceased, and the papal population became hostile to the war, are very significant." ‡ This interference was not the interference of an English subject, but the interference of

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* *The Converted Catholic*, New York, vol. v, p. 128; vol. vi, p. 123. See also Dr. McGlynn's address in Cooper Union, New York city, February 24, 1889, on "The Public Schools and Their Enemies."

† Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. vi, p. 161. The author's last revision.

‡ *Romanism versus the Public School System*, by Daniel Dorchester, D.D., p. 324.

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a powerful ruler, an interference deserving the strongest possible censure. Why employ the word "blundered" in reference to John Wesley's *Calm Address to our American Colonies*, and the phrase "the strongest possible censure" in reference to Pius IX's letter to Jefferson Davis? When John Wesley spoke, or wrote, it was the utterance, Christendom believed, of a good yet fallible man. When Pius IX spoke, or wrote, it was the utterance, he believed, of "the living Christ." * That this act of Pope Pius IX, to which we apply the language "the strongest possible censure," may be seen in its true historic light, we invite attention to a paragraph in the Lincoln "Memorial Address" of George Bancroft, delivered before both houses of Congress on February 12, 1866. In this address the historian said:

> It was the condition of affairs in Mexico that involved the Pope of Rome in our difficulties, so far that he alone, among sovereigns, recognized the chief of the Confederate States as a President and his supporters as a people; and, in letters to two great prelates of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, gave counsels for peace at a time when peace meant the victory of secession.†

Associate this startling fact with the following assertion, made in a letter received a few years ago from Lord Robert Montagu, a man to whom Mr. Gladstone, in his work entitled *Speeches of Pope Pius IX*, applies the language "champion of the papal Church:" ‡ "I know, from personal experience in 1863, that your great war, by which you lost thousands of brave citizens and immense capital, was planned and promoted by Jesuits." § After Pius IX—a man who was a pope—penned his letter to Jefferson Davis indorsing the Confederacy, what action did the Roman Catholic Church in America take? None whatever. But after John Wesley—a man who was no pope—penned his *Calm Address to our American Colonies*, what action did the Methodist Episcopal Church in America take? To this question let the following paragraph from *The*

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* *Speeches of Pope Pius IX*, by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., p. 6.

† Page 34.

‡ Page 40.

§ Lord Robert Montagu returned to the Anglican Church in 1882, assigning as his reason "the shock which was experienced at the discovery of the gross immoralities of the Romish priests, and then the knowledge that the prelates of Rome taught the doctrine of rebellion, excused dishonesty and murder, fomented agitations, disregarded the sacred and binding character of oaths, and were always carrying on political intrigues."

Catholic Mirror,* penned by the writer of this article, give reply:

> The Methodist Episcopal Church was the first religious body in America to recognize, in its organic law, by a solemn declaration of its Articles of Religion, the new republic. The Methodist Episcopal Church was the first religious body in America which officially and formally recognized George Washington as President of the United States. Bishops Coke and Asbury dined with Washington, at Mount Vernon, May 26, 1785, and the hours spent by these Methodist bishops with the Father of his Country were employed in discussing the wickedness of slavery. The date of their second visit was June 3, 1789, and the object of that visit was to present a congratulatory address, bearing date of May 29, 1789, to the man who, only a month before, had been inaugurated President of the United States.

A calm reflection on the foregoing undeniable historic facts ought to move Dr. Lambert, not only to "appeal to the pope in behalf of religious toleration in South America," but also to reexamine the editorial "Sing Low, Gentlemen," and modify the following sentence: "In view of these facts, it is meet for Methodist ministers to set their music to the key of B flat, and sing low."

John Lee.

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* Issue of March 5, 1892.

Art. III.—THE PRIMARY IMPRESSION OF PREACHING.

One of the primary objects of all public address, in the nature of the case, is to make a deep and lasting impression on the mind of the hearer. Most of all should the preaching of the Gospel seek and secure such an impression, and in failing to effect it may be said to fail in its essential purpose. Its themes are so sublime and sacred, and the ends it contemplates so momentous and practical, that nothing short of a positive and pronounced influence should attend it. We speak of a certain school in modern art and literature as "Impressionists." First and last, the preacher should be an impressionist, so presenting divine truth to the minds of men that it shall be permanently potent in them and over them, and, under the cooperative agency of the Spirit, transform and govern their characters. No graver and juster charge can be made against the average sermon of the modern Church than that it is devoid of the virtue of impressiveness, leaving the hearer, to all intents and purposes, just where it found him, neither wiser nor better by what he has heard, and least of all awakened and stimulated to the highest ideals and activities of Christian living. "The first question to be asked with regard to an author's style," writes a late American critic, is, "Is it vital? Has it life?" And this is the first question to be asked with regard to the sermon as a written product—Is it vital? Has it life, natural and supernatural, so as to vitalize everyone who hears it? Does it beat and throb with a divine idea and with the sanctified personality of the preacher? A more vital theology and a more vital order of preaching constitute one of the urgent needs of the American Church, and if these exist vital piety will be a necessary product.

I. In noting, more specifically, the possible impressions sought in preaching, it may first of all be stated, negatively, that the primary impression should not be intellectual, should not be of "man's wisdom." *A priori*, all true preaching must be, to an extent, intellectual, in the sense that it must be intelligent, instructive, the result of careful thinking and study, marked by judgment and good understanding. Through and through it must be characterized by common sense and educated

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sense. The Bible is the thought of God revealed to men endowed with mental faculty, and must be examined and applied in obedience to such an origin. No argument is in place here as to the need and desirability of an educated ministry. The preacher is presumably a teacher, and, therefore, should not be a novice either in the subject-matter or the art of teaching. He must have wisdom and knowledge, must have his mental powers disciplined and enlarged. Lay preachers have their place and work, but it is not of them that we are now speaking. There are times in the history of the Church when God sees fit to use an ignorant ministry and bless their work, but such agencies are purely exceptional and nowhere represented in Scripture as a normal ministerial order. Far too much has been made of the fact that, as a class, the apostles of the early Church were "unlearned and ignorant men." The days in which they lived and the conditions under which they preached were strictly exceptional, not to speak of the fact that the visible presence of Christ in his divine and gracious personality was an inexpressibly important element in explanation of any spiritual result. In such an age as this least of all, when "the schoolmaster is abroad" as never before, can the ministry afford to be mentally unfurnished. Students and thinkers they must be, knowing the Bible from cover to cover, and knowing as much of all related truth as time and talent will allow. We are living in a day when the clergy, as never before, must command the respect of thinking men; must speak with authority and power; must leave no doubt among the people that, when brains were distributed, they were present and received their due share; and that they have increased their original endowment by individual effort, and propose to keep in line with every progressive mental movement. Hence there should be no busier man than the preacher, making thinking and study his business, and absorbed from head to foot in his great mission. "If God hath no need of our learning," says South, "he can have still less of our ignorance."

Intellectual preaching, however, in the sense in which we are now interpreting it and condemning it, is something different from all this. It is an order of preaching in which the intellectual is made purposely prominent; in which the study is transferred to the pulpit and made conspicuous therein; in which

mental processes as such are magnified above the truth sought by such processes; in which dialectics and logic appear in technical form; in which the sermon is, first of all, scholarly and but incidentally adapted to meet the common needs of the average hearer. In such a method the abstract is preferred to the concrete; the process is professional, even to the verge of pedantry; and profound philosophic discussion marks the manner of the preacher. Intellectual preaching, in this sense, insists on presenting simple truth through scholastic *media*, through the terms and formulæ of the schools, insomuch that, ere the preacher is aware, the didactic method of the Academy and the Porch becomes the adopted method of the pulpit, and the mind of the ordinary hearer is at the limit of its tension in attempting to follow the complex logic of the teaching. "You must judge for yourselves," said the devoted Doddridge, "but permit me to say, for my own part, I would not for ten thousand worlds be that man who, when God shall ask him at last how he has employed most of his time while he had the care of souls, shall be obliged to reply, 'Lord, I have restored many corrupted passages in the classics and illuminated many which were before obscure; I have cleared up many intricacies in chronology and geography—these are the employments in which my life has been worn out.'" In plain English, intellectual preaching, in this sense, is quite above the heads of the people, the preacher forgetting, as is so often done, that the elevation of the pulpit above the level of the audience is not meant to be either mental or homiletic, but purely architectural and material. Of the various false methods of preaching—the platitudinarian, the latitudinarian, and the altitudinarian—the last is the most objectionable, for, as the old Welshman tells us, "We might as well be dumb as not to be understood." Preaching may have range and reach, but must not be out of reach. The Bible in its origin is a supernatural book, but the method in which it is mediated to men must be natural and not beyond the bounds of what Locke has called "human understanding." Moreover, in listening to such a method it is not a little difficult to free ourselves from the idea that there is an intended parade of learning, a kind of mental exhibit to the uninitiated, not altogether devoid of mental pomposity. In such cases abstruse reasoning and a highly technical nomenclature are used,

mere "words to no profit but to the subverting of the hearers." As we listen we exclaim to one who has something to say, as did Falstaff to Pistol, "I pr'ythee now, deliver them like a man of this world." The extent to which in the English language, and especially in the sphere of technical terms, a man may use high-sounding phrases and say nothing is as disheartening as it is common. Able sermons, so called, may be anything but apostolic, and were never less needed than now. The sermon from the hearing of which an audience rises only to say that it was a masterly mental effort is a failure from the biblical point of view, and in the view of those hearers who have come to the house of God for practical ends. The English divine, Dr. Barrow, was a preacher of this order, of whom Charles II remarked that he was most unfair because he exhausted every subject. This he did, and in the process exhausted the hearer, being in favor at the court largely because he never touched the conscience of the king. His method was due in part to the academic habit he had formed as a professor of Greek and of mathematics at Cambridge. It is often said that professors as a class, theological and academic, are unacceptable preachers because too scholastic in their method. The criticism is a just one, and there are good reasons for it; nor should an order of men whose regular work is professional be subject to rigid comment at this point. For a man whose profession is technical teaching to be a generally acceptable preacher demands special talent and special tact and grace, and is a veritable mark of genius. Of the great court preachers of the time of Louis XIV, Bourdaloue was the most intellectual. Richard Hooker, Bishop Butler, and Archbishop Whately of England were such preachers, and hence succeeded in reaching but a limited number of hearers.

II. We remark, further, that the primary impression of preaching should not be literary—should not be "with enticing words." Here, again, it is in point to state that all preaching is and must be, to an extent, literary, in good taste. It must have what Cardinal Newman has called "a note" of dignity and refinement. In diction, structure, method, and general style the sermon should commend itself to well-bred and well-read men. In this sense it should have in it the evidences of culture, and should address itself acceptably to men of culture,

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in so far, at least, as not to offend their sense of propriety by the violation of the accepted principles of literary art. The course of liberal training through which the American clergy as a class are supposed to go is of itself sufficient to insure the essential presence of correctness in language and in the general conduct of the discourser. An illiterate ministry is a contradiction in terms, as much so as an ignorant ministry. Such an order of preachers is indeed at times honored of God in special exigencies and for special ends; yet it is strictly exceptional, is under special providential oversight, and in no sense is a precedent for the imitation of the growing Church. The Bible is a book among books, the thought of God in written form, and, as such, has a literary type of its own—its prose and verse, its history and parable, its semiepic and semidramatic poems. Hence the increasing emphasis now laid on the distinctively literary study of the Bible, not only by way of a destructive criticism on the part of the higher critics, but by way of constructive criticism on the part of devout students of the word. Hence the preacher of the Gospel must be conversant with the Bible on its human side, and in his interpretation of it must be loyal to its literary character.

Literary preaching, however, in the sense now understood and condemned, is a something different from all this—in which the literary element is emphasized as the prominent one, by which the pulpit is transformed into the library, and books and authors are the conspicuous feature of the place and hour. The preacher now assumes the attitude of the well-read man, the man of letters, and wishing to be so understood. In the preparation and presentation of divine truth the imagination is exalted, the poetic instincts of the hearer are addressed, sacred discourse is reduced to one of the fine arts, and frequent citations from authors are made a specialty. Such an order of preaching is æsthetic rather than instructive; in good form for the sake of the form; applying to all the clergy the irony of Emerson as to city pastors, that "they may have piety, but must have taste." Sermons replete with quotations from secular literature invariably lose something of their specific spiritual impression, and this is especially so if the citations be from the more psychological and obscure authors, such as Browning and Carlyle, rather than from such simple and nat-

ural writers as Cowper and Lamb, Irving, Whittier, and Longfellow.

Here, again, there is the appearance of literary conceit, by which the attention of the hearer is gradually diverted to purely secular matters, and from the truth preached to the person and attainments of the preacher. What the apostle calls "excellency of speech" may be the paramount purpose, the preacher aiming to be, as Ezekiel expresses it, "a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice." Every minister is, as John the Baptist was, the voice of God to men, but not exclusively voice; a mouthpiece of God, but not exclusively mouth; a man who speaks when he speaks out of "the abundance of the heart" and in obedience to the message that has been given him of God. Of the famous preachers of the time of Louis XIV, Massillon was the most pronounced of the literary order. Jeremy Taylor, of England, was such a preacher, with his rich Asiatic style, captivating the imagination of the hearer and addressing himself directly to his taste. Blair and Guthrie, of Scotland; Tillotson, of England; and Nott, Chapin, and Channing, of America, may be here included. Finished sermons, so called, may be a total failure. The sermon of which the most that can be said is that it is in exquisitely good taste is not the ideal sermon, and violates that fundamental law of simplicity which is nowhere so essential as in the Christian pulpit. We are living in a time when societies of ethical culture are the *media* through which some teachers of the truth are pleased to fulfill their ministry. To these orders there are but two objections, the one being that they are ethical only, and the other that they have primary reference to culture. It was the signal characteristic of the preaching of the early Church that, surrounded as it was by the highest models of Hellenic taste and art, it addressed itself, in simplest terms, to the deepest needs of men, quite irrespective of the artistic canons of the schools of Greece. In the pulpit, at least, what Mr. Arnold calls "the sense in us for conduct" must always take precedence of "the sense in us for beauty," and must control throughout the method of our sermonizing and the spirit of our preaching.

III. We are now prepared to note, positively, the primary impression of preaching, that it be spiritual, "in demonstration

of the Spirit." Whatever may be the intellectual and literary element, the spiritual should dominate and predominate. In answering the question as to what is meant precisely by spiritual preaching we may say, in general, preaching begotten of the Spirit as a divine teacher, developed and applied on methods sanctioned by the Spirit, and always seeking that the Spirit may be honored in it and by it as the Spirit of grace and truth.

In noting more specifically the nature and purpose of such preaching, we state, first, that it is preaching to the conscience. Such a purpose is strongly emphasized in Scripture and in the history of the Church. The word of God is "quick and powerful." It is a trumpet sounding out its solemn warnings, and a light, full-orbed and searching. Such was the preaching of John the Baptist to Herod, and of Paul to Felix and Agrippa. So Peter preached at Pentecost, and Christ himself to scribes and Pharisees. So preached the English and continental reformers to princes and worldly potentates, it being to the lasting honor of some of the court preachers of the seventeenth century in France that they stood up in the very center of Parisian profligacy and warned the great monarch and his courtiers against prevailing sins. In these days, when the time-serving spirit is in the house of God, and the "bondage of the pulpit" is no misnomer, nothing less than a Pauline and Puritan order of preaching will answer, so as to make it morally impossible for sinful men to live on good terms with their consciences. If the preaching of the time is to meet the requirements of the time it must be spiritual in the sense that it is from the conscience to the conscience; pungent and penetrating; searching as the light; breaking in pieces as the hammer of God all that is callous; burning its way as a fire from heaven through all defilement; its language, plain and telling; its method, direct and personal; its injunctions, final. Such is the desperate depravity of the natural heart, and such the leveling of moral standards, as the world goes and as the Church goes, that preaching must be awakening and convincing rather than conciliatory, pneumatic rather than artistic. It is of conscience that Ben Jonson speaks when he says that "the priests of God, if effective in their service, must make their pulpits ring and the aisles of their churches ring with that round word."

Spiritual preaching also seeks to affect and determine the

will as the executive faculty in the city of Man-Soul. In this sense persuasion is the end, a direct bearing on the principle of moral determination in man, to the intent that reflection may ripen into repentance, and repentance into permanent action. Conscience may be reached and the will be untouched. Conviction may be secured this side of any committal of the soul to overt moral conduct, and the hearer may stand as a kind of outside observer of this serious conflict between his moral sense and his personal activity. Hence the need of executive preaching, appealing to the most interior motives of the soul, if so be they may be embodied in the manifest forms of the religious life. In this sense preaching must be practical. In the best sense of the term it must be preaching for effect.

Still further, spiritual preaching addresses itself to the affections. God is love, and a lost world is to be saved by love. Hence, preaching must be affectionate, as expressed by the apostle to the Thessalonians: "But we were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children: so being affectionately desirous of you, we were willing to have imparted unto you, not the Gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because ye were dear unto us." There is here Paul's paternal and even maternal interest in men, if so be he might reach them. What are we to say, in this scientific and undemonstrative age, to such a type of sacred teaching? "Rivers of water run down mine eyes," said David, "because they keep not thy law." Nor do we know that, even in this day, we are so wise as to have outlived the desirability of impassioned sermons, begotten out of an inexpressible love for sinful men. In the light of such an order of preaching how insignificant and unworthy appears a merely intellectual and literary effort from the Christian pulpit! Spiritual preaching must thus awaken the conscience, excite to action the dormant will, and appeal with directness to the deepest emotions of the heart. Such preachers were John Owen and John Knox and John Wesley, Doddridge and Baxter and Fénelon, Saurin and Robert Hall and Robert South, Edward Payson and John Summerfield and Bishop Simpson—while in such a gifted herald as Frederick William Robertson, of Brighton, the desirable combination of the intellectual, literary, and spiritual was exhibited, and always with the spiritual so controlling the speaker as to send every

hearer away with the deep impression that he had been under the teaching of a man of God and a master of assemblies, and wholly for spiritual ends.

Such a type of preaching is the most pressing need of the modern Church, and how to make it acceptable to the people is the important problem of the modern pulpit. How to make a spiritual Gospel acceptable to men is the question of moment. It is said that the modern Church is not reaching the people, though having a ministry of high intellectual power. Here is an ideal for the sanctified ambitions of the rising ministry, in which are needed liberal and theological training, knowledge of human nature, an experimental acquaintance with the art of presenting truth to men, personal piety, special possession of the spiritual mind, and ability to commend the Gospel to "every man's conscience in the sight of God." To preach the Gospel as Spurgeon preached it is an ambition well worth time and strength and self-denial and prayers and tears to compass it, if so be the world may be won to Christ. Toward the realization of this ideal it occurs to us to say that preaching, from first to last, should be spiritually helpful to the hearer, whether Christian or unchristian. It is a loving and timely help for which worshipers are waiting. Be the sermon able or indifferent, on the intellectual side; be it finished or unfinished, on the artistic side, it should be a word of cheer and comfort, a word in season to the sinful and sorrowing and struggling. In the versatile history of the Church great sermons may have a place. The call is for good sermons, instructing, warning, solacing, and encouraging, so that the house of God will be the synonym of all that is brightest and best in life. It is possible by divine help so to present the Gospel to the people that they shall see it to be just what they need and impossible for them to live worthily in the world without it. It is because this is the work of the ministry that there is no calling on earth comparable to it in the wealth and quality of its gracious recompenses.

J. W. Hunt

ART. IV.—THE FUNCTION OF DOUBT.

TENNYSON, in the long, sweet requiem over his dead friend, Arthur Hallam, dares to say:

> There lives more faith in honest doubt,
> Believe me, than in half the creeds.

While we wonder what he means he continues:

> He fought his doubts and gathered strength,
>   He would not make his judgment blind,
>   He faced the specters of the mind
> And laid them; thus he came at length
> To find a stronger faith his own.

The man who has never been face to face with doubt is gifted with rare simplicity, or he has never been very far from home. He has not stood much by the world's great highways. Giant Despair still keeps open house at Doubting Castle, and it is a well-worn path that leads up to his door. To be sure, much of our uncertainty—the fertile source of doubt—may be removed by demonstration. The traveler who returns from a voyage around the world sets at rest any question as to the shape of the earth. The telescope verifies the conjecture of Copernicus in reference to the moonlike phases of Venus, and reveals the rings of Saturn which so bewildered Galileo and baffled Huyghens. The sneer of the *English Review* that steam travel is an absurdity has been answered by ten thousand bustling locomotives. There are, however, some questions that cannot be answered, some doubts that cannot be dispelled, some specters that will not down.

Max Nordau, in his famous work *Degeneration*, speaks of Tolstoi's skepticism regarding the genius of Shakespeare, and of Ibsen's suggestion that in the planet Jupiter our mathematical laws may be subverted and twice two may equal five, as the insanity of doubt. This same writer declares that the Oxford movement and modern revival meetings are also signs of degeneration. In his *Conventional Lies of Civilization* he further characterizes religion as a functional weakness, and brands the biblical conception of the universe as childish. Thus he is ready with the thumbscrew for any incredulity in refer-

ence to facts of literature or science, and he keeps the same instrument of torture for any credulity in reference to spiritual things. He is a doubter on principle in the realm of the supernatural, but he cannot tolerate doubt outside that realm. His is the doubt of the iconoclast—the sworn enemy of the truth—the skepticism of the advocate and not of the judge; and it is not this to which we refer.

The honesty that discovers and confesses a difficulty when seeking the truth; the spirit that prefers the sunny side of the street and will walk on the shady side only because the end of the journey seems to lie that way; that asks the way to Zion with face thitherward—it is this of which we would speak. Nor is it our purpose to discuss "philosophic doubt," as Mr. Balfour calls it—the doubt, for instance, of Hume, who brands as sophistry and delusion all knowledge except that which is gained through "mathematical demonstration" and "experimental reasoning;" the doubt of John Stuart Mill, who sees in the natural world nothing but the "possibilities of sensation;" and the doubt of Herbert Spencer, who sees nothing but the "unknowable." We are dealing with common men and with the common facts of existence, facts that every preacher meets and questions that threaten the peace of every soul in whom is the spirit of inquiry.

For instance, the very existence and nature of God are surrounded by much uncertainty. It has never been proved that God is. There is no attempt at such proof in the Bible. His existence is assumed, not demonstrated. We feel that there is a God. In spite of any lack of proof, and even aside from Christian consciousness, it is easier to accept the fact of Deity than to reject it. The late Professor Romanes passed through every phase of belief on this subject. At his graduation from Cambridge he received a prize for an essay on "Christian Prayer in Harmony with Natural Laws." Later in life he lost his bearings and said, "There can be no longer any doubt that the existence of God is wholly unnecessary to explain the phenomena of the universe." But when his splendid powers had reached maturity he came back to his early faith and wrote: "The soul at its best cannot think God out of its life. A belief in him furnishes the only reasonable explanation of the universe." To explain away God would leave a countless number

of other things unexplained. We may not understand him, but we must admit that he is if we would understand in any degree the world in which we live. Nature is God, if there be no other, and all her parts are played with surpassing skill. Nature is a great artist whose genius is seen in sunset sky and autumn woods. Nature is a skilled engineer whose machinery keeps the sun and stars in place with more than chronometer accuracy. Nature is a trained chemist, for no poison on druggist's shelves, nor explosive in the alembic of the alchemist, is more correctly weighed nor more carefully listed than the elements that form the air, or fire, or water. Some intelligent mind must have arranged all this, and some cunning hand must have wrought these effects. If there be no God, then, all hail, Nature! whatever that may be—Nature pronounced with an orotund voice, Nature written with a capital N; for Nature is henceforth our God.

We know, however, that these phenomena are but the manifestations of personality. Just as beyond the pulsing air-waves is the musician, and over the vast reaches through which the light-ripple has come is the star, so back of the trailing vines and tossing waves of the natural world "standeth God within the shadow;" and it is his hand that regulates all these rhythmic changes which we sophomorically call the process of natural law. And yet there is so little of him that we can see! His face is veiled and his steps are mufiled. He makes "darkness his secret place." He is a God that hideth himself. There are shadows over the path that leads into his presence. Thus the most vital question of our life is capable of a doubtful answer. The most important landmark in all the chart of truth may lie within the territory of doubt.

Even if we admit the existence of God there is much left unsettled. The government of God is so often a consternation to us and an apparent impeachment of the divine goodness. If there be any system, it so often seems to be a heartless one. If the world is not an accident, then it often looks like an inquisition. If nature is not a fate, is it not sometimes a fury? The philosopher Mill has said that "nearly all the things for which men are imprisoned or hanged are nature's everyday performances." Alexander Pope refers to the apparent indifference of the Creator in the familiar lines:

Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,
A hero perish or a sparrow fall,
Atoms or systems into ruin hurled,
And now a bubble burst, and now a world.

From their birth to their death agony life among animals is a struggle. Heat and cold, hunger and thirst, storm and flood —this is the dread gauntlet all must run. Strong enough to be the aggressor to-day, they become the prey of a foe yet stronger to-morrow. Nearly forty thousand species have been swept away in this pitiless struggle for existence. And this not as the result of man's sin, as certain theological schools once taught. This was the order ages before man came into being. Indeed, this Ishmaelitism in the animal kingdom was more pronounced, or at any rate more formidable, in geologic eras than at present. No explanation can be given of this except the law of selection, and there is no pity, no bowels of mercy, in selection. It is bald, grim science. But the same problem meets us when we consider humanity. In Longfellow's poem we are told of the ship that sailed up to the Acadian village and drove forth the farmers to wander and die in alien lands. They said among themselves,

Man is unjust, but God is just; and finally justice
Triumphs.

Yet, in their sad lives that justice never came. Here we have it—the old, new story of evil, of misrule, of heartbreaking. If there be a God at the head of affairs, what sort of a God is he? Why is it that so often the useful, the precious are the victims of death, while the weak or the dangerous are left to cumber the ground? Why does he allow war to tramp through the land and leave the print of an iron hoof in so many desolated homes? Why are the prayers of mothers and wives unheeded, while evil men and a mercenary government go on setting traps for son and husband, and blighting their lives with alcoholic poison? What earthly king could be party to such measures without being branded as a Borgia or a Chosroes II? If this be God's world, it seems to have swung a long way from God's heaven, and to have become a dangerous place for God's children. If nature be one of God's servants, she seems to have but little respect or affection for his other servants. Can anyone help asking what all this means? And, if this be all, can we help

questioning the wisdom and the benevolence of such a cosmic system?

There are difficulties in accepting the sacred Scriptures as the sure word of God. They have come to us from a remote past. We cannot trace an unbroken line of succession from the original manuscripts; the earlier links of the chain are lost, and we must depend upon fragments gathered here and there in tradition and in patristic literature to supply the deficiency and prove the genuineness of that which we have. These Scriptures are full of strange, unprovable things, apparent contradictions, and unnatural situations. Very much of their contents is contrary to our ordinary experience, and the greater part beyond the reach of human comprehension. They tell of the new birth of the soul, which doctrine on its face seems an absurdity; of three persons in one God, which seems a contradiction; of fire in a furnace which did not burn; of a man who walked the waves and did not sink; of the dead coming to life. The Bible is not a reasonable book. It does not attempt to convince, nor even to conciliate. It scorns the axioms, repudiates the formulas, and resents the assumptions, of reason. It maintains a lofty reserve. It manifests a haughty indifference to human opinion. It makes no concessions, and asks no favors. Its dictum is, "He that believeth . . . shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." And this with the cool declaration, "What I do, thou knowest not now;" "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed." Mystery there is everywhere, laughing in our face, entangling our feet, and challenging our faith.

What should be our attitude toward these things? It is not necessary that they be treated in the pulpit; at any rate their frequent treatment is not advisable. The pulpit cannot afford to become a transparency for all the unfaiths and mental stumblings of the race. Many a man hears about a new skepticism for the first time in the Sunday morning sermon. Many of our most skillfully adjusted arguments are boomerangs. Many of our great cannon carry shot clear over the enemy into the further camp of our friends. And yet these questions cannot be put out of court. Nor does it meet the situation to point to the analogy of nature. The mystery surrounding life and growth and matter does not quiet the unrest caused by the

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mystery in God and his government, and in the book in which he claims to reveal himself. It does not solve one problem to show that others exist. The gainsaying lips may be closed, but the anxious heart is not satisfied.

It may be said that many of these questions are answered by increased spiritual insight. The mature Elisha can see the translation of the prophet when the young theological students at Jericho are blind. The Ithuriel spear of Christian insight not only may transmute a toad into a demon of evil, but it not infrequently resolves what seems to be a demon into nothing worse than a harmless, useful toad. Still, there is a wide margin. Even Elisha could follow his Master but a short distance, and then "he saw him no more." There were bounds which even he could not pass. It is true that "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, . . . neither can he know them." It is also true that there are many things which even the spiritual man cannot receive or know. There must be a reason for this aside from the limitations of the finite mind, and it is found at once in the very resolve and effort to make the search. There is no danger of spiritual and intellectual stagnation to the soul that seeks for reasons. This very uncertainty brings into exercise faculties that would fail if not exercised. To neglect a power is to lose that power. Not only are there blind fish in the Mammoth Cave, but the mice and spiders and beetles there are also blind. Surrender eyes, all ye who enter here. "Unto every one which hath [in use] shall be given; and from him that hath not [in use], even that he hath shall be taken away from him." Men have looked for that which they could not see, but have needed, and not only have they discovered new continents, but have developed new powers. And the new continents discovered may be less in importance than the new powers born. Necessity has been "the mother of invention," and she has also been the foster nurse of the inventor. Because of the contradictions in divine government we have such men as Job with his questionings and his faith, Milton with his matchless poem—the purpose of which is to "justify the ways of God to men"—and Butler with his unanswerable *Analogy*. Because of the obscurities in the Bible commentaries have been written, grammars compiled, sermons preached, and arguments marshaled, until the destruction of the

literature inspired by the Bible would well-nigh produce a famine in the reading world.

No land on earth has been studied as Palestine has been. Here are the waters that, contrary to natural law, were once trodden by human feet; here the sepulcher whence, contrary to all human experience, came forth the dead; here grew the fig tree that withered at a word. Egypt also has been put under the microscope. Temple and tomb and pyramid have been required to tell all they know of a people who here wore chains, and who, according to the written records, trod unharmed a dry pathway through the sea. Mount Sinai has been visited by eager scholars. Men have stood with bared heads where once the cloud rested, and have looked among the rocks for a print of the feet which stood upon a "paved work of a sapphire stone." The very rubbish heaps upon the site of Solomon's temple have been sifted, and the absence of bits of marble and other débris of building has been accepted as proof of the statement that the stone was made ready at the quarries, and that no tool of iron was heard in the building. In 1 Chron. viii, 38, are the words: "And Azel had six sons." Surely there can be no esoteric meaning in this simple sentence; yet one of the rabbis observes that "what the wise men have said about these six sons of Azel would load thirteen thousand camels."

As a result of this research there are renewed proofs of the integrity of the Bible and enlarged faith in the wisdom and truth of God. The doubt has provided an antidote for doubt; the darkness itself has manufactured a star. Xenophon tells us that, in the retreat of the ten thousand, the arrows shot by the enemy into the camp of the Greeks were used as fuel and kept the soldiers from perishing with cold. The attacks upon the Bible, provoked by its apparent discrepancies, have awakened inquiry; and, as a result of that inquiry, the book has stood forth in greater glory, while they who, like the queen of Sheba, came to see if such things be so have said with her, "Behold, the half was not told me."

Moreover, it will be remembered that Bishop Butler speaks of doubt as a probation. There are those whose chief temptation is to doubt. They are correct in life and clean in heart, and without the besetment of doubt they would be without besetment. This is the only point at which they are vulnerable.

The struggle on their part to believe the truth is equivalent to the struggle on the part of others to obey the truth. They are willing to submit to the law when they know the law, and it becomes their duty in general to learn their duties in particular. It is our business to understand our moral relations; and he who makes no effort to discover the truth about a commandment which seems equivocal to him, or an obligation which to him seems obscure, is as guilty as he who disobeys that commandment when apprehended or repudiates that obligation when known.

It is well to remember that God does not promise to make everything plain. He does not guarantee to be always the kind of deity we may imagine him to be. He is not under contract to carry out any program we may arrange for him. Herein is a prolific source of doubt. Here is a man who blames God because he has no employment and there is no bread in the family cupboard. His God is a master workman, whose business it is to keep his men employed. Here is a mother whose child is taken away, and at once God is impeached. What God? Her God, or rather God as she apprehends him, who is to be held responsible for the accidents of the nursery and the ignorance of physical laws. There are people who think it is God's business to keep things straight in the world. To them he is no better than a convenient, ubiquitous chief of police, who must look to it and see that murders are not committed and that saloons are not opened on Sunday. And so when disorders arise, of course, God is derelict, and must submit to an investigation of his methods. We make the mistake of applying our time measurements to eternal principles. We do not allow for point of vision. When Donatello finished the statue of St. Mark which now stands in front of the Or San Michele, Florence, it was inspected by the linen-workers who were responsible for its construction. They at once said it was out of proportion, that it was awkward in shape, and that it lacked fidelity to life. They further demanded that the necessary alterations be made. The artist readily complied. The statue was then in the studio. When next the linen-workers came it had been lifted to the niche for which it was intended. The worthy critics were entirely satisfied and congratulated themselves upon their artistic taste. The figure had not been touched with the chisel. We

make the same blunders in our judgments of God. We get him out of proper perspective. We persist in bringing him down to sea level. He is so much larger than "the measure of man's mind." The limitless circle of his purpose sweeps in scarce perceptible curve above and beyond our mathematics and economics. To be sure, he does not forget the sparrows upon the housetops, but the stars that look down all night upon the sparrow's nest are his stars. He is holding the world for righteousness. His plans strike their roots down deep into two eternities. He steps from mountain peak to mountain peak in his progress toward the end of the path. We must come out into the open air. We must get our souls into a large place. We must walk all around God before we can judge him. When we thus know him in all the magnitude of his plans, and in all the tenderness of his mercy, then we shall not fear the mysteries of life and of providence, for back of it all will be a loving God.

John A. Kelley

ART. V.—GEORGE ELIOT—A SKETCH.

FEW, if any, luminaries in the bright galaxy of modern English novelists outshine that peculiar and vivid orb the splendor of which still burns steadily across "the dark backward and abysm of time," though the glory of Trollope, Lytton, Kingsley, and even Dickens and Thackeray seems to wane through the passing decades which have quenched so many lesser lights. On the night of December 22, 1880, George Eliot conquered "the fever called living," and entered into her rest, only a few months after the literary Grundies were convulsed with astonishment at the announcement of the marriage of this eminent woman with Mr. J. W. Cross, a London banker, formerly resident in New York. It has been stated that Mary Ann (or Marian) Evans was the daughter of a poor clergyman who at one time was attached to the Church of England, but eventually became a Presbyterian minister. It has been declared, also, that she was adopted in early life by another clergyman of considerable wealth, who afforded her opportunities for securing a first-class education. These statements are entirely inaccurate. The facts of her early life are little known, and she herself was characterized by the reticence of genius concerning her own biographical data.

Mary Ann Evans was born at Arbury Farm, in Warwickshire, England, November 22, 1819. She remained in the parental home, first at Griff, on the same estate, and afterward at Coventry, until 1849. Her father, Robert Evans, was a land agent and surveyor, and served for many years as agent for the estates of more than one old Warwickshire family. In the Midlands he is still held in kind remembrance as a man of sterling probity and uprightness of conduct. Undoubtedly this father was the prototype of more than one admirable character in the stories of his gifted daughter. George Eliot's early years were passed in the regions haunted by the memories of Shakespeare. Though it is not clear just how or where her education was obtained, she seems to have received very careful and adequate mental training. Leaving home, she came to London while yet a young woman, and devoted herself to serious literature. She became associated with John Stuart Mill, Her-

bert Spencer, George Henry Lewes, John Chapman, and other writers in the *Westminster Review*, and in time came to sustain an editorial connection with that publication. In her twenty-sixth year she published a translation of Strauss's famous *Life of Jesus*, her first important work. Eight years later appeared her translation of Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity*. The dialectic nature of the products of her pen introduced her to the philosophic society of that period, of which she soon became a leading member. It is a question whether the abstruse studies in which she engaged were of any great advantage to her in her equipment as a novelist, though doubtless in mental poise and accuracy in the use of language she was steadied and guided by the discipline which she received in her philosophic researches.

Such a genius as Miss Evans possessed could not long remain in the thralls of pure didacticism, and at the suggestion of Herbert Spencer she entered the field of the novelist. The *nom de plume* "George Eliot" she employed for the first time when her initial work of fiction was sent to *Blackwood's Magazine*. The manuscript of this book, *Scenes of Clerical Life*, was dispatched anonymously to the editor of *Blackwood's*, who at once accepted it, believing that he discovered in it the first fruits of an unusual and superior ability. George Henry Lewes acted as Miss Evans's agent and adviser in this transaction, and about the same time began that intimate association and literary companionship which was to terminate only with the death of Lewes, in 1878. Even at this day it is difficult to believe that the circumstances and events of a peculiar professional life, depicted with such rare skill, pathos, and fidelity, were not at some time included in the writer's personal experience. This earliest book of stories revealed in George Eliot the possession of that loftiest attribute of genius, the power of self-effacement and the projection of the author's mind with intensest sympathy into her own imaginative creations, until they become as real and vital as their antitypes of flesh and blood. This gift is sometimes called the dramatic instinct, and is disclosed in its perfection by Shakespeare, and in a scarcely less degree, though in an almost wholly subjective relation, by Browning, and, notwithstanding the eccentric manner of its presentation, in another realm by George Meredith. Of the

work of an author endowed with the dramatic instinct in its highest form the delighted reader might say, as Emerson remarked of Montaigne's essays, "Cut these words, and they would bleed." It is hardly possible to illustrate our meaning by any passage wrenched from its connection, unless it be one which, with its context, is familiar to the reader and in his thought receives emphasis from its setting in the completed story. However, we will venture the following excerpt from *Middlemarch.* It is a portion of that chapter descriptive of the scene between Will Ladislaw and Rosamond Lydgate after they have been surprised by Dorothea Casaubon in a confidential interview:

> It would have been safe for Will, in the first instance, to have taken up his hat and gone away; but he had felt no impulse to do this; on the contrary, he had a horrible inclination to stay and shatter Rosamond with his anger. It seemed as impossible to bear the fatality she had drawn down on him without venting his fury as it would be to a panther to bear the javelin wound without springing and biting. And yet—how could he tell a woman that he was ready to curse her? He was fuming under a repressive law which he was forced to acknowledge. He was dangerously poised, and Rosamond's voice now brought the decisive vibration. In flutelike tones of sarcasm she said,
>
> "You can easily go after Mrs. Casaubon and explain your preference."
>
> "Go after her!" he burst out, with a sharp edge in his voice. "Do you think she would turn to look at me, or value any word I ever uttered to her again at more than a dirty feather? Explain! How can a man explain at the expense of a woman?"
>
> "You can tell her what you please," said Rosamond, with more tremor.
>
> "Do you suppose she would like me better for sacrificing you? She is not a woman to be flattered because I made myself despicable—to believe that I must be true to her because I was a dastard to you."
>
> He began to move about with the restlessness of a wild animal that sees prey but cannot reach it. Presently he burst out again:
>
> "I had no hope before—not much—of anything better to come. But I had one certainty—that she believed in me. Whatever people had said or done about me, she believed in me. That's gone! She'll never again think me anything but a paltry pretense—too nice to take heaven except upon flattering conditions, and yet selling myself for any devil's change by the sly. She'll think of me as an incarnate insult to her, from the first moment we—"
>
> Will stopped as if he had found himself grasping something that must not be thrown and shattered. He found another vent for his rage by snatching up Rosamond's words again, as if they were reptiles to be throttled and flung off.

> "Explain! Tell a man to explain how he dropped into hell! Explain my preference! I never had a *preference* for her, any more than I have a preference for breathing. No other woman exists by the side of her. I would rather touch her hand if it were dead than I would touch any other woman's living."

Not a little has been said regarding George Eliot's tendency to moralize, again and again interrupting the course of her narrative to deliver a homily more or less obvious even to the casual reader. This may or may not be true; in the opinion of at least one of her readers George Eliot's preachments are of a kind that we could illy spare in a world which is not too easily impressed with the value of moral excellence and the things "pure," "lovely," and "of good report." To return to *Scenes of Clerical Life*, who that traverses "Mr. Gilfil's Love Story" would be content to omit from it such reflections, mingled with glimpses of natural phenomena, as follows?

> The inexorable ticking of the clock is like the throb of pain to sensations made keen by a sickening fear. And so it is with the great clockwork of nature. Daisies and buttercups give way to the brown waving grasses, tinged with the warm red sorrel; the waving grasses are swept away, and the meadows lie like emeralds set in the bushy hedgerows; the tawny-tipped corn begins to bow with the weight of the full ear; the reapers are bending amongst it, and it soon stands in sheaves; then, presently, the patches of yellow stubble lie side by side with streaks of dark-red earth, which the plow is turning up in preparation for the new-threshed seed. And this passage from beauty to beauty, which to the happy is like the flow of a melody, measures for many a human heart the approach of foreseen anguish—seems hurrying on the moment when the shadow of dread will be followed up by the reality of despair. . . .
>
> While this poor little heart was being bruised with a weight too heavy for it nature was holding on her calm, inexorable way, in unmoved and terrible beauty. The stars were rushing in their eternal courses; the tides swelled to the level of the last expectant weed; the sun was making brilliant day to busy nations on the other side of the swift earth. The stream of human thought and deed was hurrying and broadening onward. The astronomer was at his telescope; the great ships were laboring over the waves; the toiling eagerness of commerce, the fierce spirit of revolution, were only ebbing in brief rest; and sleepless statesmen were dreading the possible crisis of the morrow. What were our little Tina and her trouble in this mighty torrent, rushing from one awful unknown to another? Lighter than the smallest center of quivering life in the water drop, hidden and uncared for as the pulse of anguish in the breast of the tiniest bird that has fluttered down to its nest with the long-sought food, and has found the nest torn and empty.

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The three stories, "The Sad Fortunes of the Reverend Amos Barton," "Mr. Gilfil's Love Story," and "Janet's Repentance," which constitute *Scenes of Clerical Life*, scarcely betray the hand of the novice. So well managed and easy is the dialogue, so smooth are the transitions of the narrative, so finely balanced and adjusted are all the elements of the characters portrayed, that Miss Evans seems to have appeared completely equipped in the literary arena, as Minerva is said to have emerged full-armed from the brow of Jupiter. Though, at this day, it would seem that anyone possessed of literary perception must have discovered in these tales of provincial life evidences of the remarkable imaginative fertility and intellectual richness of the author's mind, it was not until the publication of her next story, *Adam Bede*, in 1857, that her reputation was assured as a fresh and cogent personality in the field of letters. Upon the appearance of this new book George Eliot sprang at a single bound into the very van of modern British novelists. *Adam Bede* has been criticised on at least two grounds: first, it is alleged that the story presents a false and distorted portrayal of "the people called Methodists;" and, second, that in certain portions of the book subjects tabooed in polite circles are treated with indelicacy. As to the first objection, anyone familiar with the history of early Methodism in England will exonerate the author of *Adam Bede* from the charge of inaccuracy or a willful perversion of facts. It cannot be denied that, amid the varying phases, the stirring scenes, and the intense agitation of rude but earnest human nature, early Methodism produced strange and diverse developments both of piety and conduct. The second charge would scarcely be insisted on in these days by any person at all familiar with the products of some recent writers of fiction—though the signs of a healthful reaction against the pruriency of much recent so-called literature, and the demand for Stevenson's, Weyman's, Doyle's, Hope's, and Crockett's romances of derring-do and chivalrous adventure, indicate a return to good old Sir Walter's knightly tales, and the generous and sweetly human pages of Thackeray, Dickens, Hawthorne, Reade, Trollope, and Kingsley.

With what strength and delicacy George Eliot can treat these subjects which are generally tabooed the ensuing passage from *Adam Bede* attests:

It was about ten o'clock when Hetty set off, and the slight hoarfrost that had whitened the hedges in the early morning had disappeared as the sun mounted the cloudless sky. Bright February days have a stronger charm of hope about them than any other days in the year. One likes to pause in the mild rays of the sun and look over the gate at the patient plow horses turning at the end of the furrow, and think that the beautiful year is all before one. The birds seem to feel just the same; their notes are as clear as the clear air. There are no leaves on the trees and hedgerows, but how green all the grassy fields are! and the dark purplish brown of the plowed earth and the bare branches is beautiful, too. What a glad world this looks like as one drives or rides along the valleys and over the hills! I have often thought so when, in foreign countries, where the fields and woods have looked to me like our English Loamshire—the rich land tilled with just as much care, the woods rolling down the gentle slopes to the green meadows—I have come on something by the roadside which has reminded me that I am not in Loamshire: an image of a great agony—the agony of the cross. It has stood perhaps by the clustering apple blossoms, or in the broad sunshine by the cornfield, or at a turning by the wood where a clear brook was gurgling below; and surely, if there came a traveler to this world who knew nothing of the story of man's life upon it, this image of agony would seem to him strangely out of place in the midst of this joyous nature. He would not know that, hidden behind the apple blossoms, or among the golden corn, or under the shrouding boughs of the wood, there might be a human heart beating heavily with anguish—perhaps a young blooming girl, not knowing where to turn for refuge from swift-advancing shame; understanding no more of this life of ours than a foolish lost lamb wandering farther and farther in the nightfall on the lonely heath, yet tasting the bitterest of life's bitterness.

Such things are sometimes hidden among the sunny fields and behind the blossoming orchards; and the sound of the gurgling brook, if you came close to one spot behind a small bush, would be mingled for your ear with a despairing human sob. No wonder man's religion has much sorrow in it; no wonder he needs a suffering God.

Hetty, in her red cloak and warm bonnet, with her basket in her hand, is turning toward a gate by the side of the Treddleston road, but not that she may have a more lingering enjoyment of the sunshine and think hope of the long unfolding year. She hardly knows that the sun is shining; and for weeks now, when she has hoped at all, it has been for something at which she herself trembles and shudders. She only wants to be out of the high road, that she may walk slowly, and not care how her face looks as she dwells on wretched thoughts; and through this gate she can get into a field path behind the wide, thick hedgerows. Her great dark eyes wander blankly over the fields like the eyes of one who is desolate, homeless, unloved, not the promised bride of a brave, tender man. But there are no tears in them; her tears were all wept away in the weary night before she went to sleep.

After the publication of *Adam Bede*, in rapid succession followed *The Mill on the Floss*, *Silas Marner*, *Romola*, *Felix Holt, the Radical; Middlemarch*, *Daniel Deronda*, and *Theophrastus Such.* In the *Mill on the Floss* is presented, with all the skill of composition, nicest choice of incident, and the abounding resources of genius, the love of a brother and sister who in their death were not divided. But it is a moot point whether in *Middlemarch* or *Romola* the splendid literary ability of George Eliot reached its highest level. Perhaps the honors are about equally divided between the two volumes. In *Romola* the figure of Savonarola, the Dominican monk—imposing, dark, mysterious—stalks amid the lurid and stormy scenes which in Florence made tragic the closing years of the corrupt century in which he lived. It is with a loving hand that the writer has painted, stroke by stroke, the portrait of the great preacher and reformer, impressing upon her readers, in a manner never to be forgotten, the Frate's fiery eloquence, his consuming earnestness, his uncompromising boldness, his refinement and mysticism. The strong resemblance which the countenance of George Eliot bore to that of Savonarola has frequently been remarked, and it may have been the unconscious sympathy thus engendered within her that enabled her to produce so vital and memorable a portrayal of the Florentine prophet. One of the most artistically wrought, as well as realistic, incidents of modern fiction is that wherein Tito Melema escapes death by drowning in the stream only to meet it in the long grass on the river bank at the hands of his injured and frenzied father. This passage will also serve as an adequate example of the method by which George Eliot produces, word by word and sentence by sentence, the culminating and abiding impression :

> Tito knew him, but he did not know whether it was life or death that had brought him into the presence of his injured father. It might be death—and death might mean this chill gloom, with the face of the hideous past hanging over him forever.
>
> But now Baldassarre's only dread was lest the young limbs should escape him. He pressed his knuckles against the round throat and knelt upon the chest with all the force of his aged frame. Let death come now.
>
> Again he kept watch on the face. And when the eyes were rigid again he dared not trust them. He would never lose his hold till some one

came and found them. Justice would send some witness, and then he, Baldassarre, would declare that he had killed this traitor, to whom he had once been a father. They would, perhaps, believe him now, and then he would be content with struggle of justice on earth—then he would desire to die with his hold on this body, and follow the traitor to hell that he might clutch him there.

And so he knelt, and so he pressed his knuckles against the round throat, without trusting to the seeming death, till the light got strong, and he could kneel no longer. Then he sat on the body, still clutching the neck of the tunic. But the hours went on, and no witness came. No eyes descried, afar off, the two human bodies among the tall grass by the riverside. Florence was busy with greater affairs and the preparation of a deeper tragedy.

Not long after these two bodies were lying in the grass Savonarola was being tortured, and crying out in his agony, "I will confess."

It was not until the sun was westward that a wagon, drawn by a mild gray ox, came to the edge of the grassy margin, and as the man who led it was leaning to gather up the round stones that lay heaped in readiness to be carried away he detected some startling object in the grass. The aged man had fallen forward, and his dead clutch was on the garment of the other. It was not possible to separate them—nay, it was better to put them into the wagon and carry them as they were into the great Piazza, that notice might be given to the Eight.

Romola is not George Eliot's most popular novel, but, as illustrating her vast constructive skill, the polemical bias of her mind, the singular ability with which she could turn current traditions and historical events to the novelist's account, her wide acquaintance with ancient and mediæval literature, and her power of absorbing the peculiar *aura* of an ardent nationality, this book will always be considered among her best. The virile quality of this great woman's writings is indicated by the fact that for years the pseudonym under which she wrote was accepted as the genuine name of a man of extraordinary genius and knowledge. We know of but one other such instance of equal interest on record, and that is of a notable French woman who for many years sent forth her writings to the world under the fictitious name of George Sand.

The private life of George Eliot has been made the subject of much unfair and ignorant discussion. The paucity of details regarding her domestic affairs renders it not altogether safe to pronounce judgment upon what may, superficially, perhaps, appear to be a violation of the sanctity of the marriage bond. It has already been stated that the manuscript of *Scenes*

of Clerical Life was sent to the publishers of *Blackwood's Magazine* by George Henry Lewes. Mr. Lewes was a student of philosophy, the author of a few philosophical treatises, and the writer of a *Life of Goethe*, by which work he is best known. He had a wife who had abandoned him two or three times; after having condoned her offenses on former occasions, he at last refused to countenance longer her vagaries of passion, and so made their separation final. He met Mary Ann Evans, being attracted to her both by her philosophical writings and admiration for her superior intellectual attainments, and, though Miss Evans was reticent to an extreme degree, she was finally persuaded to share with him his home. It seems to have been a case of purely mental affinity. They lived together in London, and henceforth to her intimate friends George Eliot became known as Mrs. Lewes. Lewes became her literary agent and adviser, jealously guarding her every interest, and so protecting and fostering her intellectual life that she was enabled to develop it under the most favorable conditions. This intimate association and close literary friendship terminated only with the death of Mr. Lewes, in 1878. Mr. Lewes having been unable to obtain a divorce from his first, erring wife, the union between the philosopher and the authoress could not be rendered legal by either Church or State, though it was sanctioned by the approval and good wishes of a large circle of refined and intelligent personal friends. Not a few persons are disposed to regard with a lenient eye the moral vagaries of the possessors of genius. It has been said that "the being who is gifted with genius does not possess it; it possesses him, and he and we have to pay the penalty." But nature is a stern Nemesis, and every false position into which we may be betrayed involves its own sorrow and loss. In his volume entitled *My Confidences* Frederick Locker-Lampson says:

> I am sure that she [George Eliot] was very sensitive, and must have had many a painful half hour as the helpmate of Mr. Lewes. By accepting the position she had placed herself in opposition to the moral instincts of most of those whom she held most dear. Though intellectually self-contained, I believe she was singularly dependent on the emotional side of her nature. With her, as with nearly all women, she needed a something to lean upon. Though her conduct was socially indefensible, it would have been cruel, it would be stupid, to judge her exactly as one would judge an ordinary

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> offender. What a genius she must have had to have been able to draw so many high-minded people to her! I have an impression that she felt her position acutely, and was unhappy. George Eliot was much to be pitied.

And elsewhere he says of the relation of George Eliot and Mr. Lewes, "He was ever on the alert to shield her from worries and annoyance, and keen to get her good terms from the publishers, but somehow it seemed an incongruous partnership."

George Eliot was a passionate admirer of personal beauty in either man or woman, as witness her descriptions of Hetty Sorrel and Tito Melema. Probably this was the result of intense consciousness of her own deficiencies in respect to physicial comeliness. Locker-Lampson again writes:

> Nature had disguised George Eliot's apparently stoical yet really vehement and sensitive spirit, and her soaring genius, in a homely and insignificant form. Her countenance was equine—she was rather like a horse, and her head had been intended for a much larger body; she was not a tall woman. She wore her hair in not pleasing, out-of-fashion loops, coming down on either side of her face, so hiding her ears; her garments concealed her outline—they gave her a waist like a milestone. You will see her at her very best in the portrait by Sir Frederick Burton. To my mind George Eliot was a plain woman.

Of her habits of conversation the same writer observes:

> She had a measured way of conversing, restrained but impressive. When I happened to call she was nearly always seated in the chimney corner on a low chair, and she bent forward when she spoke. As she often discussed abstract subjects, she might have been thought pedantic, especially as her language was sprinkled with a scientific terminology; but I do not think she was a bit of a pedant. Then, though she had a very gentle voice and manner, there was every now and then just a suspicion of meek satire in her talk. Her sentences unwound themselves very neatly and completely, leaving the impression of past reflection and present readiness; she spoke exceedingly well, but not with all the simplicity and *verve*, the happy *abandon* of certain practiced women of the world; however, it was in a way that was far more interesting. I have been told that she was most agreeable *en tête-à-tête;* that when surrounded by admirers she was apt to become oratorical—a different woman. She did not strike me as witty or markedly humorous; she was too much in earnest. She spoke as if with a sense of responsibility, and one cannot be exactly captivating when one's doing that.

Of the poetry of George Eliot not much needs to be written, though curiously enough she herself preferred it to her novels. It is pale and colorless, as compared with the iridescent splen-

dors of her prose compositions. Her natural mode of expression was not in verse. While much of her prose is essentially poetical, her large powers evidently chafed under the restraints and limitations imposed by metrical laws and the exigencies of rhyme. While her patience as an artist was long and deep, she lacked that subtler gift or instinct which makes the poet the seer, and whereby his utterances are forged from the central fires of his life. "The Legend of Jubal," "How Lisa Loved the King," and "The Spanish Gypsy" are the most notable of her poetical writings. The didactic habit of her mind quenched the singer's sibylline rage. The following stanzas embody her nearest approach to lyric fire:

Sweet evenings come and go, love,
They came and went of yore;
This evening of our life, love,
Shall go and come no more.

When we have passed away, love,
All things will keep their name;
But yet no life on earth, love,
With ours will be the same.

The daisies will be there, love,
The stars in heaven will shine;
I shall not feel thy wish, love,
Nor thou my hands in thine.

A better time will come, love,
And better souls be born;
I would not be the best, love,
To leave thee now forlorn.

If the fame of George Eliot rested upon her poetry alone that fame to-day would be a vanishing quantity. It is an interesting psychological question, or perhaps a question in mental pathology, why so many great writers, unsatisfied with their noble conquests in the commoner field of prose, like good Captain Wegg, "drop into poetry." The examples of Macaulay, Carlyle, Ruskin, Charlotte Brontë, Charles Lamb, Thackeray, and, at the present time, Mr. Gladstone in his translations from Horace, occur at once as cases in point. Probably others could be recalled with a little effort of the memory. But there is one brief poem from the pen of George Eliot which is a beautiful and dignified composition, worthy the inspired muse of the most gifted of the tuneful ilk. These lines have been quoted

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frequently, but they may be introduced here as constituting the best specimen of George Eliot's now all-but-forgotten verse:

Oh may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence: live
In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
For miserable aims that end with self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
And with their mild persistence urge man's search
To vaster issues.

So to live is heaven:
To make undying music in the world,
Breathing as beauteous order that controls
With growing sway the growing life of man.
So we inherit that sweet purity
For which we struggled, failed, and agonized
With widening retrospect that bred despair.
Rebellious flesh that would not be subdued,
A vicious parent shaming still its child
Poor anxious penitence, is quick dissolved;
Its discords, quenched by meeting harmonies,
Die in the large and charitable air.
And all our rarer, better, truer self,
That sobbed religiously in yearning song,
That watched to ease the burden of the world,
Laboriously tracing what must be,
And what may yet be better—saw within
A worthier image for the sanctuary,
And shaped it forth before the multitude
Divinely human, raising worship so
To higher reverence more mixed with love—
That better self shall live till human Time
Shall fold its eyelids, and the human sky
Be gathered like a scroll within the tomb
Unread forever.

This is the life to come,
Which martyred men have made more glorious
For us who strive to follow. May I reach
That purest heaven, be to other souls
The cup of strength in some great agony,
Enkindle generous ardor, feed pure love,
Beget the smiles that have no cruelty—
Be the sweet presence of a good diffused,
And in diffusion ever more intense.
So shall I join the choir invisible
Whose music is the gladness of the world.

The later works of George Eliot were extremely successful in a pecuniary way. She received but fifteen hundred dollars for *Scenes of Clerical Life.* But *Middlemarch* brought her forty thousand dollars, and *Daniel Deronda* nearly as much more. Only one other female author has rivaled George Eliot as regards financial rewards of her work—Mrs. Humphry Ward.

Upon the death of Mr. Lewes, after a year and a half of virtual widowhood, George Eliot was married May 6, 1880, at St. George's, Hanover Square, London, to Mr. John Walter Cross. Mr. Cross was much younger than his bride, and had long been a valued and esteemed friend of both herself and Mr. Lewes. Says Locker-Lampson of the new union:

> George Eliot's more transcendental friends never forgave her for marrying. In a morally immoral manner they washed their virtuous hands of her. I could not help thinking it was the most natural thing for the poor woman to do. She was a heavily laden but interesting derelict, tossing among the breakers, without oars or rudder, and all at once the brave Cross arrives, throws her a rope, and gallantly tows her into harbor.

A little more than seven months after her marriage with Mr. Cross George Eliot passed into that realm where Time himself "shall furl his wings and cease to be." The funeral of Mr. Lewes had been held in the mortuary chapel in Highgate Cemetery, and there the funeral of George Eliot was also held. It was a day of snow and slush, and a bitter wind was blowing, "but still," avers an eyewitness, "there was a remarkable gathering from all parts of England." Of her burial place a writer in the *London Chronicle* says:

> When you get to the top of Swain's Lane you see two gates; take the one on the right and, entering, keep to the left. The path sweeps round a little hillock, and in a few steps you see in front of you a great block of buildings. This is St. Pancras Infirmary. You keep straight on until you come to the last turning to the left; take that, and after ten yards you come on a plain gray granite obelisk and pedestal, together not more than ten feet high. Without your attention being called to this quiet memorial, amid so many elaborate commemorations of sorrow, you would pass it unnoted. But stop a moment and read. This is what you see:
>
> "Of those immortal dead who live again
> In minds made better by their presence."
>
> Here lies the Body of
> "George Eliot,"
> Mary Ann Cross.
> Born 22 November, 1819;
> Died 22 December, 1880.

That is the simple yet eloquent inscription cut on the granite pedestal in severely plain letters of gold. The Spartan brevity and simplicity of it is in keeping with the great writer's life and philosophy. And the inevitableness of the "common lot" is unconsciously emphasized by the fact that on her right is a monument more ornate than her own, chronicling the death of an unknown family. Here, facing the east and the rising sun, lies the ashes of one who bore a proud name in the brilliant roll of English literature, resting after a busy life of earnest purpose and much great work accomplished. Many may regret that a more conspicuous, a more elaborate monument does not mark the *Friedensheim* of the author of *Middlemarch*, *Felix Holt*, *Adam Bede*, and *Romola*. These have to be reminded that George Eliot's most "enduring brass" is to be found in her works and the memory of her life.

The attainments of George Eliot were remarkably extensive. She was a classical scholar, and to her familiarity with the principal modern languages she added an acquaintance with Russian and modern Greek. She was widely learned in the physical sciences, the arts and philosophies, and was a profound student in the history of human thought and investigation. The peculiar characteristics of her mind were acute analysis, unerring perception of fitness and relation, a luxuriant but chastened fancy, and a rare and delightful energy of expression. Her style is a compound of classicism and didacticism, of scientific technicality and broad colloquialism. Not one of her countrywomen of this or any former period, excepting Mrs. Browning, can compare with her in expressive ability, keenness of discrimination, and forceful and elegant English. Among female writers what Mrs. Browning is in poetry George Eliot is in prose. Though not so much given to the use of the incisive and vigorous Saxon words with which our language abounds as Mrs. Browning was, yet she fully equaled her in knowledge of the delicate shades of difference in nearly synonymous terms, while she easily surpassed her in methods of technical utterance and the fullness of her vocabulary. The mantle of high-priestess of British novelists, the peeress of Dickens and Thackeray, and the greatest of that trio of great female story writers, Jane Austin, Charlotte Bronté, and George Eliot, lies where she dropped it. Who shall be worthy to wear it after her?

James B. Kenyon.

ART. VI.—RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ENGLAND BETWEEN PURITAN AND METHODIST.

THE period between Puritan and Methodist began, in England, with one reaction and ended with another. The first reaction was against extreme Puritanism, the other against extreme deism. The first reaction began with the return of a king to his kingdom, the other with the entrance of a Christian scholar into the religious world. Charles II and John Wesley mark the limits of the latest period of English irreligion.

The Cromwells had died. The Commonwealth had passed away, not so much for a lack of Cromwells as for a lapse of the old Puritan spirit, which sought by means of armaments and parliaments to institute a "kingdom of God" on earth. Puritanism had made godliness the standard, but Puritanism was without a standard godliness, inasmuch as, in spite of its nobleness of purpose and strength of will and strenuousness of effort, Puritanism was limited by her narrowness and weakened by her pettiness, and in the name of godliness soon exhibited the tyranny of spirit it had condemned under the name of king. Puritanism had stood for religion, but religion had become politics, and politics had narrowed the nobler idea to the confines of a limiting theory.

From the death of the first Cromwell, in 1658, to the return of the exile King Charles, in 1660, a whole age seemed to pass over England. The sober dress of the Puritan was changed to the gaudy dress of the cavalier; the holy twang was displaced by ribaldry of speech and flippancy of utterance; the demeanor of life passed from a too severe seriousness to a most detestable levity. In Parliament, where the stern-faced Puritans had sat in their gloomy righteousness, now gathered cavaliers whose passions, suppressed by the events of the last two decades, found issue in statutes more revolutionary than the mandates of Cromwell. The official body which had removed the crown, and the head with it, from Charles I now placed the scepter more firmly in the hand of Charles II.

Ecclesiastically, Puritanism was exchanged for episcopacy; morally, pleasure, too base to be called frivolous, displaced austere gravity of manners; religiously, the revolution in charac-

ter was attended by a revolution in thought, and these changes passed to such an extreme that the second reaction was expressed in the greatest revival in religion the world has known. The Pentecostal revival soon lost its power in the baseness of Rome, but modern evangelism is reaching and vivifying the entire world.

The moral purpose of the period was to find a basis for ethics independent of revelation. It is noticeable, however, that men who would free themselves from the strictures of superhuman authority seek such freedom by a method which will protect them against such an authority should it unexpectedly exist. Hence, between Puritan and Methodist, religion must be retained; for its necessity was admitted, though its divine sanctions must be removed, as their inconvenience was manifest. Men assented to the existence of objective truth, to which the mind might reach upward from below, but which could not be imparted from above. A universal human scholarship not a divine inspiration seemed possible.

The human mind, therefore, must seek its religion, since none could be revealed. The method the mind should adopt, the direction in which it should seek, and the inspiration of the quest were determined by the intellectual elements of the age, expressing themselves in ethics, in philosophy, and in science. In ethics five men are representative. Hobbes, deriving morality from self-interest and finding moral sanction in the royal will; Cudworth, deriving morality from reason; Shaftesbury, from good will; Hutcheson, from good taste; and Bolingbroke, from pleasure, good or bad, indicate the progress of the ethical thought of England during the period under review. Hobbes had set the pace, and it was in vain that Cudworth and Shaftesbury and Hutcheson emphasized æsthetic morality; the nation, with God undeified, passed beyond such influences to an age whose moralist was Bolingbroke. The Puritan had cut clean to the bedrock of moral obligation, and in such an age only as thin a blade as his could cut so deep. When ethical thought dulled its edge on moral theory devoid of divine sanction the foundations were not uncovered, and vice and crime sprang up amid the ruins of an effete morality. Life without the inspiration of God soon lacked, also, the aspirations of man. Philosophy, too, added her ingredient to the character of the

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thought of the time. The voice of Francis Bacon calling men to the study of nature, and of Descartes calling men to the study of man, were heard; Locke, inquiring into the origin of knowledge, taught men that religious knowledge, also, might be uncertain; while Spinoza, critically examining the scriptural writings, cast a shadow upon the authority it had been assumed the Scriptures possessed. The nation was accustomed to change; they had seen political and social changes innumerable; old things had been rapidly passing away; new things had been speedily displaced by newer things; a transition in religion was compatible with the experience of the times.

The transition began with a destructive process. In the earlier part of the period Lord Herbert, Blount, and Hobbes had viewed religion from a political standpoint, and had found it inimical to the political spirit. But with the opening of the eighteenth century the lead of Locke was followed by Toland and Shaftesbury, who examined the first principles of religion, while Collins and Woolston, following the guidance of Spinoza, critically attacked the miracles of Christ and the prophecies of the Old Testament as evidences of Christianity. The constructive process followed. Even beneath the attacks of the destructive writers lurked a half-expressed consciousness of deity; the defenders of Christianity, also, impressed the thought of the time with the religious sense, while the religious sense itself could not be satisfied with the negations of the earlier writers. But whither should men turn to find that God whose existence and character revelation had not revealed? Man must have a God; the spirit of the age, making its appeal to reason, sought a solution of the mystery of the divine existence in the nature which that God had made, and which reason was revealing. The world was being brought into the light of human knowledge. The discoveries of science had revealed the wideness of the universe and the uniformity of creation and the reign of law. As men turned away from the old, which was depreciated by the new criticism, they instinctively laid hold of the new, just rising clear and attractive from a long neglect. Nature, forgotten during the long process of speculative thought, offered an attractive source from which might be drawn what the soul of man instinctively felt must be possessed, a sense of divine relationship. Natural religion was to take the place of re-

vealed religion; Tindal and Morgan and Chubbled the attempt to find in nature the Deity they could not find in revelation. The theist had conceived of God without the universe, separated from his works and independent of law, himself his own law, and his will supreme and arbitrary in determining law; the deist, on the other hand, would find God immanent in nature, especially in man, thus presenting once more an idea which had been firmly grasped by the early Greek fathers. It was a noble conception. It insisted on a God at hand, not afar off; it brought Deity and nature into sublime harmony; it proposed to make nature everywhere speak of God. Yet it failed, not merely to take the place of the old religion, but to afford any vital religion at all. While assuming that God was near, yet, by denying revelation, it placed him afar, inasmuch as he could not make his presence known to the human heart. God might speak through nature to man, but he could not speak to man himself. Nature stood always between man and Deity, and soon nature alone was seen making its appeal to the senses, not to the soul. The God whom these men sought to make immanent in his universe was about to be excluded altogether by a process whose logical result must be blank atheism.

Meanwhile, the Christian faith had not lacked defenders. Waterland and Foster replied to Tindal; Bishop Sherlock wrote his *Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus* against Woolston; Lyttleton had defended revelation; Warburton had written *The Divine Legation of Moses;* and Bishop Butler had replied to everyone in his famous *Analogy.* It was a contest of giant intellects. The defenders of Christianity adopted the basis of argument afforded by their opponents. Their appeal, also, was to the reason. Hence, in their defense of Christianity the intellectual element predominated. An ethical tone pervaded their writings, and all proved themselves "moralists rather than theologians." During the whole process dogmatics were left in abeyance, and even Butler, who gave a new force and new standing to theological determinations, afforded little clew to the mystery of the divine relationship to the soul. For, in fact, the individual had been forgotten in the intellectual struggle. The Churches preached no longer doctrines, and insisted no longer on other than the ethical content of religion. The whole effort of the Church and of

Christian thinkers was given to the negative process of self-defense against the deism of the age.

An interesting comment on the futility of the religion of nature to sustain the moral character of the time is the rise of the "British essayists," whose purpose was to stay the rising tide of wickedness by literary efforts. *The Tattler*, *The Spectator*, *The Guardian*, *The Rambler*, sustained by such editors and contributors as Steele, Addison, Pope, Berkeley, and Johnson, undertook to make vice unpopular and evil character disreputable by humorous and sarcastic discussions of the vices and follies of the people. From the lighter vein of humor they soon passed to severe denunciations and keen criticisms of popular methods of life. It was doubtless the most important attempt in history to elevate the moral tone of society by literary means. Its success was only partial, even though the influence of such writings was very great. But the failure of this movement was not more a proof of the weakness of literature to purify society than the existence of that literature is a reflection on the religious character of the times.

Evidently the results of the struggle of three quarters of a century were incomplete and unsatisfactory. Skeptical thought, driven from the position of deism, looked now toward atheism; forced to abandon the religion of nature, men were about to abandon religion of any kind. Religion became identified with ethical culture, and ethical culture proved itself incapable of lifting the dark pall of immorality and spiritual indifference which hung over England when the eighteenth century began. The theology of the time, such as it was, "suffered from the divorce between intellect and a living Christian experience." The apologist had won a victory against deism, but the world still lay in the moral stupor of religious indifference, receiving from dead ecclesiasticism, as it were, the formula of the bread of life, but finding nowhere any warmth to stir the hidden leaven. Deism, to be sure, was not dead, but it was paralytic; the Church of the new century may not have been dead, but it was torpid; theology, having spent its powers in a successful self-defense, was, nevertheless, facing a problem which the deists had set, and which the century would only begin to solve—the harmony of revelation and law in the religious life; the whole English world seemed waiting the introduction of a life which

should fuse the severed elements of truth held in separation by the deist, who emphasized law, and by the apologist, who insisted on the importance of revelation.

The Methodists came at this appointed time. It has not been clearly enough recognized that the distinctive feature of Methodism was not simply a revival of emotional religion. There was something deeper about it than that. Its greatest service was that it brought to the theological content of religion the spiritual element to give it life. Methodism began the solution of the problem just stated. With the deist, Methodism found God immanent in nature; with Kant, Methodism found his most positive revelation in the convictions of the soul; with the old theology, Methodism placed God supreme over nature. Methodism brought the life, also, that could fuse these essential truths into a vital religious state of the individual soul.

Wilber C. Madison.

ART. VII.—THE VENDETTA—HOW LAW EVOLVES FROM THE PATRIARCHAL CELL.

THE vendetta had its home in Corsica. When a man was murdered a kinsman of the victim drew his sword and pursued the felon to vengeance. But the Corsican vendetta had its analogues in the penal jurisprudence of many people, illustrating all stages of legal development, from the rudest and most archaic conditions to the refined and finished systems of our modern times and Western world. It is the object of this article to exhibit the influence of kinship in the evolution of law.

By kinship we understand the relation of individuals who trace their descent from a common ancestor. While many seem to live companionless and isolated from the association and affection of kindred, or wholly without known relatives, thoughtful contemplation of vital statistics brings to mind with wonderful suggestiveness the conception of the brotherhood of man and the great truth that God made of one flesh all men to dwell upon the earth. The blood of Victoria is found in about all the royal families of Europe, and in direct line the queen's descendants will soon occupy the thrones of Russia, Germany, and England, not to mention the lesser principalities where they already rule. Nature provides us just as prolifically with ancestors. Each one of us has four grandparents to two parents, and going back to the twentieth generation he finds that over one million ancestors have poured their blood into his veins. This is subject to some qualification, for kinsmen may intermarry, even such near relatives as first cousins; but this circumstance only adds emphasis to the statement that all men are brothers.

It seems a simple task in these days to determine the province of jurisprudence, and to define law as the whole body of those rules which are enforced in courts of justice. But the antiquarian and the student of oriental institutions has no such conception of the law. He finds law commingled with sacerdotalism and jurists confounded with priests. The sanction which compels obedience to public authority is often wanting, and social disapprobation is the only coercive force in law. Down to our own time, and in the most highly evolved polit-

ical societies, we find ecclesiastics holding office as ministers of state, diplomatic envoys, aristocratic legislators, and chiefs of the judiciary. Bishops have been the tutors of princes, and the Church has been the monopolist of learning. Aside from an elective ecclesiastical principate in the empire of the popes, lasting to the present generation as an independent member of the family of nations, with armies and revenues, with nobility and a diplomatic corps, with treaties and legislation, and aside from the spiritual baronies of the Middle Ages, we find episcopal tribunals charged with jurisdiction over marriage, alimony, and divorce, as well as over the temporal interests of the probate of wills, the guardianship of orphans, and the administration of the property of intestates. The ecclesiastical courts were not abolished in England till forty years ago.

There is, therefore, no justification for the lofty scorn with which some churchmen regard the law—as we know it—as the product of the evil devices of ungodly men, framed with a view to defeating the ends of justice, and administered by men of selfishness, ambition, and unworthy motive. In reality, our law is not the product of the creative genius of some great legislator; it is rather the result of the gradual unfolding of national life and character. It has its beginnings in neighborhood customs, in the usages of markets, in the necessities of trade, and in the orderly course of exchange. It receives its first formulation in the adjudication of tribunals; and when its development has ceased it takes on its final form in a statutory enactment. All the forces that act on man in society—political, religious, moral, and economic—contribute to its development. It may be properly regarded as the will of the state; for the people stand ready to vindicate its decrees by the last ounce of public authority.

While our modern law responds promptly to the call of economic necessity, ancient law was a stranger to the principle of progress and exalted tradition as an infallible rule of right. Ancestor worship and a reverence for the past, which it is difficult for us of the West properly to estimate, aided in accomplishing this result. In fact, the jural notion presents itself to many orientals of our day, not as suggesting a rule of human action, formulated to control present conduct and relying for its vindication on the presence of force; but it appears insepa-

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rably associated with past immemorial usage, and amounts to an official utterance of the undeviating practice of the fathers. The oriental regards the phrase, "It has ever been the custom of our ancestors," as equivalent to the formula, "Be it enacted."

While it is not entirely pertinent to the present discussion, which is concerned with jurisprudence, it is certainly suggestive to note the influence of kinship in religion. Man in general inherits the religion, as well as the language, of his ancestors. Some jurists of distinction have not hesitated to refer all the institutions of early law to the zeal with which provision is made for the celebration of funeral rites and the perpetuation of the memory of the dead. The first appearance of deities is in the shape of household or hearthstone gods, which theorists have sometimes associated with the spirits of departed ancestors. These conceptions, while general among the rudest of the races of men, are also to be met in the most historic and venerable religious systems. It is easy to find such suggestions in the Hebrew Scriptures. The Jew regards his religion as hereditary. He spends little money on missionaries and maintains no propaganda. He regards Hebraistic theism and religious ceremonial as the system of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Jehovah's jealous care is for Israel, whose battles he fights and whose sins—generally the going after false gods—he punishes. Absorption by marriage or adoption into a new family, subject to the jurisdiction of a new house-father, prompts the one initiated to say, "Thy gods shall be my gods."

But in politics the influence of kinship is equally apparent, and quite as universally discoverable. The king is the father of his people, and the basis of associated life and action among primitive men is the fact or legal fiction of consanguinity. Human history begins with an account of brotherhood quarrels. The Latin legend of Romulus and Remus is antedated by the Hebrew story of Cain and Abel. Tribal sovereignty, in the order of evolution, precedes territorial sovereignty; in fact, the latter, if we are to credit Sir Henry Maine, is a tardy offshoot of feudalism. In primitive antiquity men acted together, not on account of local contiguity, but because of their descent, actual or simulated, from a common ancestor. The student of law and politics need not recognize anything im-

portant as earlier than the patriarchal state. The sociologist, the anthropologist, and the paleontologist may push their inquiries farther back into primitive antiquity and make useful investigations into the weapons, the clothing, the food, and the speech of the earlier progenitors of the human race. But savage troglodytes, scattered over vast areas, without common literature, history, and traditions, can furnish but meager contributions to juristic and political science. Promiscuous association of the sexes leaves paternity unascertained. This threatens the stability of property and the regularity of inheritance. The dawn of civilization comes in with the reign of law and with that degree of sexual jealousy which makes it possible, by legal presumption, to determine paternity and impose its obligations. We can conceive of no high civilization unguaranteed by law; law is at once the cause and effect of high civilization. Thus Herbert Spencer, the sociologist, misunderstands Sir Henry Maine, the jurist. Each has made profound investigations in the field of primitive antiquity. One is a student of social, and the other of juristic, phenomena. Mr. Spencer's authorities on the subject of "the primitive man" are works of adventure and exploration, written mostly in the last half century by travelers, and, in some instances, by men of science, who have gone into heathen continents and to the uttermost ends of the earth in search of sociological information. Many phenomena, of course, have been misinterpreted, and many recorded observations have been discredited as "the slippery testimony of travelers' tales." Considering the gradual stages in human evolution, Mr. Spencer may have made the nearest approach of any philosopher or man of science to the primitive man; but from a standpoint of absolute chronology his sources of scientific investigation in general do not go back of the present generation. Sir Henry Maine finds no occasion to speak of the Aleutian Islanders, whose institutions furnish much valuable material to Mr. Spencer. As late as the last year of Mr. Arthur's administration the President of the United States, in a message to Congress, remarked the entire absence of civil authority in Alaska, except as represented at one station in the customs service; there was no law for the collection of a promissory note, the punishment of a murderer, or for devolving the estate of a decedent.

The nomadic Abraham, paying no taxes and professing no allegiance to any earthly ruler, himself fights kings and exacts tribute from them. Like the leaders of wandering Arabs and the fighting chieftains of our American Indians to-day, the founder of the Jewish race illustrated in his own person a leadership which comprehended all the functions of modern government, judicial, military, and diplomatic. But he found no abiding home till he rested in the cave of Machpelah. Our federal government still treats the aborigines in part as subject races and in part as independent sovereign nations. As wards of the law the Indians are fed and clothed at public expense. As belligerents they are met on the battlefield with the honors of war. As proprietors of land they are remunerated for cessions of territory made through formal treaty. But at all times their political existence and tribal independence are considered apart from the territory, ever changing and narrowing, which is called the reservation. So throughout European history, till feudalism charged land with the burden of meeting military necessities, we find in the coinage and in public documents phrases like *rex Francorum*, but no titles suggestive of territorial sovereignty.

Perhaps the law of wills and inheritance exhibits more impressively than any other body of juristic doctrine the influence of kinship in legal evolution. In point of historical development intestate inheritance precedes testamentary succession. The conception of a will, as a means of disinheriting children and devolving an estate in accordance with the excessive partiality, fleeting caprice, or malignant temper of the testator, is a conception of our modern times, and was not familiar to the jurisprudence of primitive antiquity. In fact, ancient law regarded a will as a means of perpetuating the family in a succeeding generation by nominating a new chief on whom the headship was to be devolved. Little power of free testamentary alienation was recognized. The patriarch was more like a trustee or steward of common possessions belonging to the family than an original proprietor. He could not do as he saw fit with what seemed to be his. Often a son, on coming of age, could compel his father to make a partition of the family holdings, as suggested by our Saviour's parable of the prodigal son. Sir Henry Maine and others have found this

curious rule in many widely separated sections of the Eastern world. Under early Roman law the son, whom the father might have punished by leaving him only a small portion, could bring a complaint against the will as undutiful or inofficious, and obtain judicial relief against paternal injustice. In France to-day the practice of dying intestate is very general, and the law limits the testator's power of bequest to the portion which the law gives to one child on intestacy. The Roman testator was required to mention his children in his will, in order to escape the imputation of insanity. It is hardly necessary to say that with the evanescence of paternal authority and filial reverence in our own day, in America, the old restraints upon the power of testamentary alienation have disappeared. It is not necessary for a father to make any testamentary provision for his children; and, if the estate be in personal property, the widow, too, may be left unprovided for.

Intestate succession is based entirely on consanguinity throughout the whole civilized world, where the influence of the one hundred and eighteenth Novel of Justinian has made itself felt. No successful efforts have been made to dislodge this principle. The main motive to accumulate wealth is the desire to endow one's family. The wickedness of unlimited inheritance and the unreasonableness of collateral succession, which many advanced thinkers seek to prove, are in no way inconsistent with this doctrine. The objection which is made to unlimited inheritance may as yet be only of theoretical interest, while the succession of collateral relatives can be justified by the politico-economic argument that no property should be left ownerless.

Sir Henry Maine has taught us that the family was the unit of ancient society, and that early law knew nothing of the individual. The family was regarded as immortal and inextinguishable, like the modern corporation. When niggard nature denied heirs of the father's blood adoption supplied the defect. The Hebrew custom, under which a man married the widow of his elder brother who had died childless, illustrates the same doctrine, that the family must not be allowed to perish. Adoption and frequent change of name among the Japanese are likewise explained on this principle. The patriarchal headship was a representative relation. In the *manci-*

patio of the Roman law some jurists have found an oral will, taking effect immediately, without secrecy and with full knowledge on the part of the heir of his expectations thereunder, or more properly of his realizations under a conveyance which, while testamentary in its form, was yet a transaction *inter vivos.*

Land has been held by families as an inalienable and common possession of a group of kinsmen under many distinct legal systems. While communal holdings have preceded individual ownership, and while agricultural and pasture lands have shifted from one group to another under periodical allotments and reallotments, house lots or homes for residence have been among the first instances of private ownership of land disentangled from legal possession by communities. An illustration in point can be found in the Hebrew institution of the return to the family of the grantor, in the year of jubilee, of land that had been alienated. Our present estate in fee simple absolute shows the influence of the principle of kinship in the evolution of the law of landed property, in the very technical formulation of such an estate as granted to a man *and his heirs.* The history of the law of real property exhibits the early grant, or *feudum*, as originally made for the life of the grantee; later on, when fiefs became hereditary, the coequality in ownership of the grantee and his heir presumptive was recognized, and the consent of the latter became necessary to a sale.

Crime, too, was looked upon by ancient law as a family offense. The family of the aggressor was held liable to make satisfaction to the one injured or his next of kin. Every townsman was in effect on the bond of his neighbor to answer for his misconduct, and was therefore bound to pursue and overtake any fugitive criminal with hue and cry. So, under the rude systems of primitive jurisprudence, the wife and children of the offender, though innocent of all complicity in his criminality, suffered the penalty with him, even death sometimes, as in the case of Achan. More refined codes deny the equity of this rule, and provide, as we find in the later Jewish law, that children shall not suffer for the parent nor the parent for his children.

It is difficult to distinguish a crime from a civil injury, except in an arbitrary way. Modern codes rank crimes as

offenses which are prosecuted to judgment by the king or the people as plaintiff, while offenses left to the discretionary vengeance of the injured party or his family are deemed civil injuries or torts. It is useless to say that crimes affect the public, and that civil injuries affect individuals only. Every tort and every breach of contract, even, affects the credit of the community; every case of dishonor of mercantile paper makes it more difficult for an honest man to borrow at the bank; every repudiation of a tradesman's bill enhances the price of commodities to the consumer who pays his debts promptly. On the other hand, while every murder is an offense against Almighty God, and against the peace and safety of the people of the State, to use the quaint language of the old English indictment, still the deathblow falls with great weight and often with crushing effect upon the family of the injured party where a breadwinner is violently removed. Our criminal law has reached its present condition only through centuries of gradual development. In early law torts and crimes were not readily distinguished. Almost all offenses, including murder, were expiable. A pecuniary fine, which was levied on the transgressor, atoned for all wrong that had been done to private parties, and public prosecution was unprovided for. The right of private vengeance has been recognized throughout all the ages of legal history, from the time of the establishment of the Hebrew cities of refuge and from the days of Job down to the abolition of the duel, if, indeed, we have yet reached that time. Looking at the English law, we find that killing a citizen was at first cognizable by criminal tribunals only when committed in the actual presence of the king. Later on, through the course of generations and centuries, the royal castles and palaces, the highways, and finally the whole kingdom came within "the king's peace." And, in the meantime, while this development was taking place, society was compelled to rely on the vendetta for the punishment of violence.

Kinship as a factor in legal evolution has also been felt in the department of law called procedure or remedial justice, and particularly in the law of evidence, which has to do with the methods and means by which matters of fact that are the subject of judicial inquiry are established or disproved. Our present method of proof is to take the sworn statements of wit-

nesses and documentary testimony properly identified. This, however, is one of the latest developments in legal science and history. Throughout the long ages of legal evolution much reliance has been placed on the oaths of litigants and others who have assumed to assist the courts to ascertain the unknown from the known. Our Anglo-American trial by jury, with the requirement of unanimity, has doubtless felt the influence of the custom of compurgation which long prevailed on the continent of Europe. This was a plan of trial under which the parties litigant, instead of summoning as witnesses those who had an exact and circumstantial knowledge of the matter in dispute, called on their relatives and friends respectively to testify as to the general good character of the plaintiff, on the one hand, and of the defendant, on the other hand. Unanimity is of the very essence of such procedure. Wager of law is found in the Pentateuchal jurisprudence; it allowed the defendant to go free on taking oath to his innocence. It lingered to a late date in European law. A woman, accused of adultery, could establish her innocence by swearing to that effect at the church altar. Wager of battle, too, not formally abolished in England till the present century, was an instrumentality of proof, by which a man could appeal to Heaven to requite a wrong done to a kinsman by giving victory in a duel to him who had the right. It is to be admitted, however, that compurgators were not necessarily the kinsmen of the suitors, and also that wager of battle was invoked as a remedy in many cases not involving any violence or injury to a relative.

The tendencies of the times are away from family unity and solidarity, away from the despotism of patriarchal authority over women and children, toward individualism and democracy. This is to be seen in the legal emancipation of woman and in the freedom of divorce. In social and religious life it can be noted in the disposition to substitute for parental watch-care and direction the labors of the Sunday school teacher, the kindergartner, and the governess. In politics we find it in the steady advance of women, married and unmarried, to the fullness of civic privilege and responsibility. Over a generation ago Tocqueville noted, during his travels in America, that the spirit of democracy seems incompatible with reverence for parents. There has been no change in these later years.

Deference to age and assumed merit, resting on parenthood or official authority, is fast vanishing in this country. The overshadowing influence of the family is a reminiscence of the antiquarian.

The *status* of women and of married women in various legal systems is full of interest and suggestiveness. Many enthusiastic social reformers deceive themselves through their failure to recognize the distinction between the *femme sole* and *femme covert* of our Anglo-American law, and rush to the conclusion that legal incapacity is based on the assumed mental inferiority of females. This is grievous error. No such principle is contained in the common law, though it was present in the civil law, where the perpetual tutelage of woman was established *propter animi levitatem*. Legal incapacity, which is a personal privilege, available for the protection of the incompetent person, is, in Anglo-American law, not a monument to woman's intellectual inferiority, but rather a necessary consequence of family solidarity and unity. It is not woman, but the married woman, that the common law pronounces incompetent. The *femme sole* may own, hold, and alienate property, real and personal, without legal limitation. But the personality of the married woman, according to the old English rule, is merged in that of her husband. Her personal property becomes her husband's on marriage; the husband is entitled to the rents and profits of her landed estate; he must pay his wife's debts contracted before marriage; he is liable for her torts; acts of violence done by the wife in the husband's presence render him guilty of crime; the wife's suits must be prosecuted and defended by her husband; the husband cannot make any contract with his wife; and all capacity to contract is practically denied the married woman.

These rules of the English common law are not out of harmony with the jurisprudence of all those systems which recognize the family as the unit of society. The Hebrew law is well illustrated in the text of the tenth Sinaitic commandment, where the wife is classified with slaves and domestic animals as the property of her husband. In the agnatic family of Rome woman was the slave of her father till married, when she became the slave of her husband; and the death of father and husband brought her no emancipation, but sent her into

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bondage to her nearest kinsman. She was in perpetual tutelage.

Woman never figures in genealogies where the family is agnatic and recognizes patriarchal headship. Her two sons by different fathers may be legally unrelated to one another, as under the Roman law. The gospel writers, Matthew and Luke, trace the ancestry of Jesus back to Abraham, not through the blessed Virgin, but through Joseph, the carpenter of Nazareth, the father of our Lord. Any attempt to connect the flesh and blood of the Saviour with the royal house of David through females would have failed of its purpose, on account of the inability of jurists of that time to grasp a conception so utterly foreign to all their thought. The kaiser may be supposed to interpret German sentiment accurately in his remark that woman's sphere is with the children, in the kitchen, and at church. In Germany woman is a beast of burden, and is often seen yoked with brutes as a draught animal on the farm. In England, where, according to Blackstone, woman is the great favorite of the law, no woman can secure a divorce on account of her husband's adultery, unless this offense be accompanied by cruel and inhuman treatment.

In New York, and generally in the United States, statutes have wrought havoc with these rules of the common law. A married woman may now own and sell property and make contracts binding on her separate estate, as if she were a *femme sole.* She may alienate by deed or will any of her real property without her husband's knowledge or consent, and without his joining in the deed to bar his old right of curtesy. She has a larger measure of control by deed and will over her real estate than her husband has over his real estate; for the wife's right of dower in the realty of her husband cannot be threatened by any act, on his part, of conveyance or testament, nor yet by any proceedings on the part of his creditors through attachment or execution.

The married woman has thus been emancipated from the thraldom of the ancient law. Not only is her own condition bettered, but family holdings are made more secure against financial reverses. Her independence is secured by a distinct and separate treasury under the roof of her husband. In fact, the husband may be a guest in the home of his wife and chil-

dren. This doubtless suits the disposition of many. The husbands are few who object to having rich wives. The most worthy of husbands aim to establish such independence as a shelter from the storms of business life. And every man, whatever he may think best in the case of his wife, covets for his daughter just such a position of independence and equality. Domestic life is sweetened where the husband finds in the society of his wife the companionship of his equal instead of the service of a domestic drudge. Women, and men, too, are brutalized by asserting the principle of obedience to the husband's authority as the right rule of domestic life. We are only supremely happy when in the company of our equals. The banquet in the home of our wealthy friends we most enjoy in retrospect, when we talk it all over with our daily companions. While at the feast we are ill at ease, and wish it past. So, democratizing the family establishes liberty where despotism once reigned, and prepares the conditions most favorable to the highest individual development of both man and woman.

The antiquarian may drop a tear on this newest page of the statute book as he contemplates the passing away of the old family life with its reverence for paternal authority; the venerable sages, who have survived the struggles of the last fifty years, may warn us that these new statutes are like so many centrifugal forces tending to disrupt the unit of society and scatter its component atoms; the saints of the former times who linger among us will invoke the authority of mediæval canons, and denounce the law reforms of to-day as amounting to a denial of the precepts of true religion and the authority of the word of God. But liberty continues the manifest destiny of the race, because it is the spirit of Christianity.

Isaac Franklin Russell

Art. VIII.—CHRIST IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

During the last two decades, perhaps more than at any other time in the century now so near to its closing, the speculation has been indulged in by a class of highly cultured and thinking minds as to what would be the effect upon the present century or the one so soon to succeed it were Jesus Christ to project himself as fully into the tendency of its thought and practical life as when he in a physical form appeared on the historic hilltops and valleys of Palestine and "went through the cities and villages, teaching, and journeying toward Jerusalem." This speculation has not assumed so much the form of that now somewhat famous interrogatory of the versatile and highly accomplished Stead, "What if Christ should come to Chicago?" but it is in the burning question, How shall Christ come more fully into the life of the age and the trend of its thought? In the attempt to answer the question, either in the above form or in some other, many forceful scholars have written fascinating pages and have led their readers into entrancing fields of cultured thought. But while there has been an abundance in the way of literary merit there has also been a plethora of philosophical and metaphysical statement, and there are thousands who will challenge the accuracy of positions taken or the legitimacy of conclusions arrived at.

What is there in the theological phenomena of the times to arouse suspicion or awaken any alarm? It is true that the American mind is being constantly disturbed in its religious beliefs by the immigrations from the Old World—especially from Great Britain and Germany—and that there is an overwhelming influx of the false theories of Berkeley, Kant, and Hegel. The one idea upon which the thought of the age needs to rest itself is that of Edwards, the "absoluteness of God." This principle, if resolutely employed, will insure both continuity and progress in the thought and life of Christianity in every zone.

But the absoluteness of God is reached through the finality for mankind of the mind of Christ. The mind of Christ is employed as the creative and conservative principle in theology and in other intellectual movements of the times. Christ is

seen as the supreme instrument of the Spirit in the moral education of the race. A Christological interpretation becomes a theological principle, and issues in the methods of the preaching of the times. Revolution is as sure to take place in the religious thoughts of men as in human affairs or in the history of the nationalities of the world. Christ is needed to move among these contrasting and antagonistic forces in order to bring about a settlement amid this confusion. If it is true that this revolution is going on in the religious thought of the world it needs the guiding hand of the divine Christ to bring it back into the old and well-beaten pathways of truth.

If we were seeking for the most striking illustration of this thought we might find it in the revolutions of nations. The ancient Greeks fought desperately and won splendid victories at Platæa and Salamis, but had no conception of the service those two victories would render to mankind. They fought for their own hearthstones and freedom, but they did not see that their trophies were to be something more than scores of standards taken and heaps of Persian dead. They were hewing out a path through which Pericles and Phidias, Sophocles and Plato might march out of the ideal world into the clear light of history. There was a divine Power protecting them, and there was ultimately the marvelous development of the Greek intellect and genius, and the literature of the world has felt the magic of its touch. The Revolutionary fathers had but little conception of the drift and ultimate product of their work. They had a genuine love of liberty and a hatred of oppression, and they determined to throw off the yoke which galled their neck at whatever cost. Each of these actors performed his part well, but not the wisest of them—not Adams or Jefferson, not even Washington—comprehended the genius of the play. Their action started a vast scheme of providential service whose end is not yet and will not be for centuries to come. If there has been a divine intelligence overlooking the revolutions of the world, and an infinite power so shaping human action as to send results down through the ages that ultimated in the highest good to mankind, so this same divine force must appear amid the antagonisms of thought in this age and bring out of what, in so many ways, seems the most appalling chaos the effulgent light of a brighter morning.

It is not sufficient that men depend on the expansion of mind in its travels through the sciences. This has been done in many cases, and the unfoldings have shown the boundless resources open to human genius. The field of astronomical science has been entered, and it has been noticed what great expansion has taken place in the human mind since the beginning of the Copernican demonstrations. Before some inquirers in this field "the universe has broadened out in the mind of the modern thinker, as compared with the narrow notions of the early observers of the heavens;" and they claim to have seen in this fact an illustration of how the mind may be broadened into a higher conception of what Christ and Christianity are to the life of this age. Still another domain is entered, and there is supposed to be a marvelous expansion of the human mind in the conclusions to which so many thousands have come regarding the age of the world and of the human race. Dr. G. A. Gordon has come into this field and has given the following utterance: "Instead of a race with a career running only for six thousand years we have a humanity with a probable history of a hundred thousand years." Carlyle paints in glowing terms the history of the French Revolution, Oliver Cromwell, and Frederick the Great; but is this a mere hint of the life of the three modern nations preceding our own—the French nation and the Prussian in the eighteenth century, and the English in the nineteenth? We have the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* as delineated by Gibbon; the *Five Ancient Monarchies,* as set forth by Rawlinson; but can it be possible that this is only "the beginning of the new conception of history?" It is claimed that in these and other familiar historical facts there are evidences of the existence of the human race extending backward to almost endless ages beyond the historic period, and there is great significance in the expansion of thought as it comes down to us from such a distant past. In this expansion and growth of the race many claim to see the onward progress of the Christian idea, and that the Christ of to-day must mean vastly more to the race than he ever did in any other period in the world's history because of this expansion. This idea of expansion is carried down even to the life of Paul, and it is claimed that it has a rich embodiment in his life and labors. Upon this subject another has written in the following words:

The apostle Paul has indeed a magnificent sense of history, and a profound philosophy of it, as is abundantly attested by his speech to the Athenians, and by passages of the greatest moment in the letters to the Galatians and Romans. But the ideal of a Christ for humanity, ultimate as a form of thought although it is, and capable of infinite expansion in answer to the developments of time and the facts of the case, could not have meant for him what it must mean for the believer to-day. The restricted conception of salvation inaugurated under the apparent appalling compulsion of facts by Augustine, cherished through the Middle Ages, revitalized by the reformers, and descending with the Puritan inheritance to the present generation, is possible to those only who shut their eyes to the vastness of human history. The consciousness of history as of unmeasured extent, and as embracing countless multitudes of the human race—inferior doubtless in every way to the men of to-day, but upon whose sacrifices and rude civilizations, representing worlds of struggle and suffering, the modern age has built, and without which even genius itself would be comparatively helpless—is one of the great forces that are calling for a new conception of salvation. It is impossible to believe that the unmeasured worlds of prehistoric man that at the present time are rolling into the vision of the nobler spirits--and whose wonderful contributions in the way of brain and muscle and rude inventions, of the indispensable preliminaries of civilization, are receiving wider and more reverent recognition—do not stand in the eternal loving thought of God in Christ. The idea that confines salvation to the remnant, whether that be the remnant of the Hebrew prophet, or that of the mediæval saint, or of the Puritan, is to-day incredible. If cherished it can have but one issue—atheism.

Notwithstanding all the sentiment that has been cherished in regard to "prehistoric man," and in spite of all the books that have been written on the subject, including the works of Hitchcock and Winchell, it will require something more than a mere dogmatic statement, though embellished with the highest style of rhetorical finish, to produce a general belief that the age of the world extends very far back of the Mosaic account.

Nor should it be forgotten that the Christ idea of all the centuries is not an evolution but a revelation. To the followers of Wesley, Fletcher, and the hosts of other renowned believers and eminent Gospel teachers, from the earliest ages down to the latest century, such conclusions concerning the age of the world, based on such a premise, must be wholly repugnant and unwarranted by any of the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, and without justification in any phase of human experience. Paul, without any question, had the highest ideal

of Christ for humanity, but this ideal was not gathered simply and alone by the all-masterful logic at his command and the philosophical deductions he was able to bring forth from the teachings of Jesus. It was that which he was able to gather out of a rich experience into his own soul and life by a personal contact with him, and the efficacy which he found in the atonement in its removal of sin and guilt from his own soul. It was out of this personal experience that he was able to say to the Ephesians, "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God." The ages have flowed steadily on since then, and marvelous changes have taken place in the physical conditions around us. New discovery and new inventions in the arts and sciences have come forth in every century, decade, and year in numberless thousands; and the round earth has blossomed out with what the brain of man has conceived and his cunning hands have wrought. Wings have been given to his thoughts; he has harnessed the lightnings to the chariots of his progress; he has laid his hand on the forces of nature and made them do his bidding; he has multiplied the latent forces about him a million times and utilized them in almost every conceivable way. But, while he has been marching on amid these boundless achievements, he has been perpetually reminded that there are many things about him that remain the same as at the beginning. The plan of the material universe, so far as it is perceptible by human intelligence, remains unchanged. When he looks into the heavens he sees the same stars twinkling above him and the same sun and moon that came forth in the early morning of creation now shining in the same resplendent glory that first dawned upon the heavens when God said, "Let there be light." The same breezes that filled the sails of the primitive ships of Columbus and fanned the brow of Miles Standish on the American continent are wafted to him. So, when he—like Saul crying out in the bitterness of his soul from the renowned hilltop that overlooked Damascus, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?"—asks for pardon and peace, he must hear the voice of that same Jesus speaking to his inmost consciousness the relief that never has been found elsewhere.

Thus, whatever man finds new in the onward march of the ages; whatever developments may confront him in science,

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art, or history; however much thought may be enlarged and the mind strengthened by new forms and adaptations which may chance to be about it, the Christ of the nineteenth century is the Christ of "yesterday, and to-day, and forever." He is the same Christ as of Peter, James, and John, of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus. And when he shall go into the twentieth century, whose morning radiance is now gleaming over the mountains, he will be the same Christ, handling with ease whatever forces he may see fit to touch, and augmenting and strengthening his kingdom as the decades advance.

In the presence of these most significant facts, what is the place of Christ in the pulpit of to-day? It has been truly said:

> An historical character truly interpreted yields a working philosophy of the universe, and that becomes a message for the preacher, and upon his lips presses for triumphant utterance in the life of mankind. Thus the modern pulpit has a large task on its hands, a task that must mean for all genuine preachers a magnificent opportunity. Still, the very greatness of the opportunity must create a certain noble solicitude, must tend to press the preacher back upon the infinite inspirations.

As Jesus, in carrying forward his great work, and laying hold upon every opportunity which presented itself to him for giving an uplift to humanity, retreated back "upon the life of God," so the preacher of to-day must find his source of strength and power in the Infinite.

No man can be a very close discerner of the signs of the times if he cannot see that the representative men in the Church, and all the other Christian toilers of to-day, whatever accidental accretion may lie in their pathway, or however violent may be their encounter with the adverse opinions of men, are moving "as close as can be to the pure and august word of the Lord." There is, therefore, a specific mission for the Christian minister of to-day. The mass of humanity that is crowding about him on all sides must be brought into a "new and profounder sense of the meaning of Christ in the spiritual training of mankind." There is on every hand a hungering for the "meat which perisheth." While a few earnest toilers are hurrying with willing feet along every pathway of duty the millions are rushing into all secular avenues in quest of gain. Every open gateway to new discovery and new inven-

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tion is entered, and on all sides there is a frenzy to reach a new and unexplored field. Great facts in national history, buried in the slumber of ages, are being brought to the surface. Archæological and technological science are opening up to modern gaze the wonders of the long ago. The geography of the world is constantly changing. National and international policies are being examined with a vigor and closeness unprecedented in the annals of the past. See how the systems of finance of the great nations of the world are being turned over and over again. Even philosophy in its most modern phases is ransacking the whole round earth in the most persistent investigation, and men everywhere are giving the outcry of Goethe, "More light! more light!"

But, while these phases of life are discoverable everywhere about us, it can also be plainly seen that no such spirituality comes into the life of the age as is demanded by the highest necessity of our moral being. The Christian scholar, looking most deeply into these conditions and deploring this modern trend, has set in motion an aggregation of influences which may ultimate in the wonted relief. The pulpit must find a conspicuous place among these forces. It has been well said:

> The longing for the true word of Jesus, the desire to reach the creative mind underlying Christendom, the hunger for help in the task of interpreting the world and its life, is the great motive in the characteristic criticism, historical research, and theological construction as at present carried on by Christian scholars. The ultimate problems of reason are so difficult, the final questions of faith are so urgent and perplexing, that along a score of different lines Christian thinkers are returning to their Master. It is felt more and more that there can be no substitutes in creeds, in Church authority, in patristic tradition, in apostolic interpretation, for him, and that without him there can be no solution of our human problem. The preacher must join in this sublime return. His question is primarily one of moral dynamics, and it can be met, as to-day it requires to be met, only by a new and profound sense of the meaning of Christ in the spiritual training of mankind.

Too much stress cannot be laid on the idea of the closest contact of the preacher with the great Teacher. Says another:

> Preachers need to revive the sense of the supremacy of their calling by living more completely under the shadow of the divine Preacher. Preaching has, in a way, become universal. All the sciences, all the noble arts, and all serious schemes of thought point finally to life as their grand ultimate. . . . It remains true, whatever reason may be assigned for it,

> that there exists a widespread undervaluation of the prophetic office in the Christian ministry. . . . Preachers need to return to their divine Master along this line. He created no outward society, formed no institution, relied for the permanence of his influence upon no administration. He was the chief of preachers, and moved upon the mind of his time through his imperishable words. . . . The word conceived in truth, born in love, and spoken in the fullness of insight and power is the foundation of Christendom. The prophetic office of the ministry, the calling of the preacher, is the corner stone of our civilization; and if the present members of this calling shall live in the consciousness of Christ the Preacher there will be a universal revival of confidence in their vocation.

The loss of confidence in the ministry of this age, to the extent suggested in the above quotation, cannot be received without a flat denial of the historic records of the ministerial office as they have appeared in the passing centuries. When the preacher arises to great eminence in his office it does not necessarily follow that, because he represents that particular calling, therefore his influence is a passing one. No life has been impressed half so permanently on the history of the ages as the life of Christ; no men have lived longer in the admiration and the affections of the world than have those who have been foremost in propagating religious truth; and no literature has gained a more distinguished perpetuity than Christian literature. It would be superfluous to make the attempt to bring forward cases illustrative of this position. Volumes written on this subject have been made to glow and throb with the consecrated lives that have been impressed on the history of the world.

Morality constitutes a very essential part of human life, and when the moral consciousness in any degree has gone to wreck it is the mission of the minister of Jesus to undertake its recovery. The sympathies of the Lord Jesus are indissolubly joined to this mission. The need of mankind is voiced in the sentiment of the psalmist, "Wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow." To quote another: "A moral bath is the world's first necessity; a soaking in the sea of penitential feeling; the cleansing and renewal of life that can come only out of the depths of regret and hope, and the conscience and heart dissolved in high emotion and transformed into a sublime passion."

Christ must be supreme in the modern pulpit. The ground for this supremacy is in the fact that the "ultimate reality in

the universe is in the personality of God, and that only personality can mediate personality." Science cannot accomplish the mediation; philosophy, because it seeks only the unity of the physical world, cannot do it; and the only hope that is left to the world is the mediation of Jesus Christ, who is the "only divinely recognized personality before the eternal throne." There can be no just denial of the following statement:

> If the modern pulpit wishes to bring men to God it must, first of all, bring them to Christ; for the widest outlook over the records of humanity's long and sad struggle, and the deepest insight, join in support of the assertion that "there is none other name under heaven given among men" whereby the educational power of the Infinite is brought, in boundless measure and resistless form, to bear upon the whole human character. . . . In the sacred elevation of the personality of Christ the worshiper to-day finds his Father in heaven; and upon this mountain of the Lord the modern pulpit, if it is to retain its power over the hearts of men, must forever stand. . . . Since his advent there has never been a really great preacher who did not build upon him; and the preachers of the future who will move mightily upon the conscience and aspiration of men will move upon them in the forms of his everlasting power.

Let this sentiment pervade the last utterance of the pulpit in the nineteenth century, and it will be the crowning acclaim of the pulpit in the twentieth century.

J. T. Duell

ART. IX.—THE PLANTING OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN ITALY.

THE world-saving impulse is natural and universal in Christianity; it is instinct in the Master's spirit and teaching. Every loyal follower of Christ looks, prays, and labors for his universal dominion. This world-conquering spirit reaches its highest development in Methodism. It gives special attention to the inward religious experiences out of which this impulse naturally arises. It is not fettered by the doctrine of decrees and effectual calling that grows out of an extreme view of the divine sovereignty. It believes that salvation is purchased for all men, and therefore should be offered to all. By character and belief it is impelled to earnest evangelism. Without undervaluing the services of others, Methodists feel themselves peculiarly charged with the great commission to preach the Gospel to every creature, and they are rapidly translating into fact the speech of their founder, "The world is my parish." The pebble thrown into the sea a hundred and fifty years ago has sent its widening ripples to all shores, till they now contend with the outrushing floods at the mouth of the Tiber.

Italy has special claims upon American consideration. One Italian discovered, and another gave name to, our continent. Other more subtle, but not less potent, influences from the sunny land helped to shape our laws, our literature, our art, and our religion. It was natural, just, and in every way fitting, when we saw Italy suffering from the incrustations of centuries of error fastened on it; when, overrun by barbarians in the fifth and sixth centuries, its pure Christianity was transformed by the introduction of pagan rites into the mongrel called Roman Catholicism, to send back, in tribute for the services rendered us, the influences of a pure, strong, free life by preaching there the Gospel that made us what we are.

Methodism is the logical, historical, and practical antithesis of Romanism. The one is intrenched in form, the other in life; the one requires blind submission, the other intelligent faith; the one offers salvation in the Church, the other in Christ by faith alone; the one demands obedience to the pope, the other makes Christ Lord of all. It required a number of upheavals

to raise the submerged Christianity above the overflow of worldliness and pagan rites brought in through Constantine and the incursions of the barbarians that prepared the way for the Dark Ages. The Reformation of Luther liberated the intellect and lifted the world above the Dead Sea level of stagnation; the English Reformation threw off the bondage of ecclesiasticism as represented in the Roman hierarchy; and the Reformation of Wesley lifted the Church above dry forms and dead creeds into the life and liberty of the sons of God. The fruit of this last, highest movement must now, by every consideration of duty and love, be carried back to confront the condition from which it is the farthest reaction, and to drop in the rich mother soil seeds that ere long will wave in abundant harvests. The mailed, bedecked warrior of the Middle Ages is challenged to combat by the free, buoyant, trusting David of the new life, on the field of glory where once gladiators fought and martyrs witnessed their faith unto death.

The proposed, long-discussed mission to Italy at last took form in the appointment by Bishop Ames, in March, 1871, of the Rev. Leroy M. Vernon, D.D., as missionary to Italy. The discussion in the Missionary Committee had been able and earnest, for the question was a difficult one. The proposition was at last carried, under the gallant leadership of that valiant knight of progress, large faith, and generous outlook, Gilbert Haven. It was objected that our first duty is to pagans; that, while our funds are inadequate to their needs, we should not divert them to nominal Christian lands; that Italy is a country of churches and cathedrals, with a numerous ministry, and though they misuse their privileges our responsibility in the case is not so great as for those in absolute heathenism. These views were supported by such master spirits as Daniel Curry, D.D., W. L. Harris, D.D., and many others. But strength of argument, weight of intellect, and official position availed not against the splendid faith and contagious enthusiasm of the progressive members of the committee, who at last won their case by a bare majority. When the action was taken and the bishop had selected a man for the field the proposed appointee long hesitated to accept the offered responsibility. The writer was in frequent consultation with him on the subject, and it was finally decided neither to accept nor decline, but to leave the appointment ab-

solutely with the bishop. With the committee almost equally divided, and with an impending General Conference foreshadowing changes of personalities and policies, the missionary sailed for Italy in June, 1871, with little behind and less before him to inspire confidence and enthusiasm.

A year was passed in Genoa waiting for New York to make up its mind, but the time was well improved in learning the language, investigating the field, and getting *en rapport* with the Italian people. At last, Gilbert Haven having been elected bishop and placed in charge of the Mission, a cablegram was received from him December 5, 1875, "Headquarters, Bologna." The missionary, weary with waiting, flew to the next train for Bologna, and in a few hours telegraphed to New York that he was on the field. This old university city, if not the best headquarters, had at least the advantage of being central and conservative. Dr. Vernon had recommended Rome, but when his official superior said Bologna he promptly acquiesced.

One of the first difficulties encountered was that of securing a place to hold services. All parties were suspicious of the stranger; the eyes of the priests were upon every movement; and they held the keys, not only of the kingdom of heaven, but of business, society, and the home as well, and it would be perilous for any owner of property to rent to one they disapproved. A room was engaged, but the priest found a plausible pretext for annulling the contract, and thus released the owner from his awkward position. Centuries of growing, tightening despotism had made the hierarchy master of Italy, down to the smallest detail in the life of the humblest citizen. But Garibaldi had been thundering at the prison doors of his enslaved countrymen; and Victor Emmanuel had actually made a breach in the walls of Rome, and a larger one in the stronger wall of the pope's temporal power, and had then marched to the Quirinal, where he was seated amid the huzzahs of the populace as king of all Italy. These rude shocks at last began to arouse men from the sleep of ages, and they were already rubbing their eyes in the early dawn of a new era of freedom for Italy. Even the priests felt the change, and were a little less arrogant in their absolute rule over the people. By persistent effort in meeting priestly craft with skillful artifice after four months a place for services was secured. The long-delayed

work was happily begun in Bologna, and a few days later in Modena, under the labors of Rev. J. C. Mill and Signor A. Guigou, experienced missionaries, at the time providentially thrown within Dr. Vernon's reach. Once getting under way, all Italy lay at the feet of these new conquerors, and the advance on Rome was not long delayed. Ere a month had passed Forli and Ravenna had been taken as preaching stations, and soon Bagnacavallo heard the Gospel from Signor B. Godino, while Signor B. Malan entered Pescara and Chieti. Bible colporteurs were sent abroad to prepare the way of the Lord by distributing his word in places to which his ministers also were soon to be sent.

But the obstacles to be encountered were many and great. The Gospel finds difficulties enough in unregenerated human nature where false teaching has not perverted the understanding; but where a corrupt faith has taken possession of the soul and is in league with the carnal man, allowing his demands while maintaining a respectable formalism, they are greatly increased. Nothing is more subtle and demoralizing than the casuistry of Rome, which balances sin with penance, purges it with indulgences, justifies it by making heretics the victims of the wrongdoing, and finds release from its penalties in purgatorial fires. Lying, theft, robbery, and murder, if committed against the enemies of the Church, leave little stain on the conscience. Minds saturated with such perverted notions of fundamental moral principles, under the fostering care of the "holy mother Church," are a poor soil for Gospel seed. Even devout and upright Roman Catholics, of whom there are many, might see little occasion to turn to "another Gospel, which is not another." They believe the fundamental truths of the Gospel, accept its rule of life, and live in its hope. What more has the missionary to offer? Does he proclaim God as the Father, Jesus Christ as the Saviour, and the Holy Ghost as the Sanctifier? Does he insist upon obedience to God's law and faith in his word? All this, and more, they hold as tenaciously as he; the missionary was himself instructed in these very things by the Church of Rome, or by agencies that sprang from it, and would he now become its instructor?

Then, again, the Italian has great respect for art, architecture, ritual, and a scenic service that appeals strongly to the imagi-

nation; and he would be unfavorably impressed in passing from the splendid cathedrals of Rome to the poor, hired, unchurchly apartments where the Protestant service was housed. In men of sincere minds the reaction from the corruptions of the papacy, while strong, was toward skepticism, rather than toward another form of Christian faith. That is the law of reaction; destroy faith, and the mind flies to skepticism rather than to other faith. One of the hardest forms of unbelief to deal with is that so prevalent in Italy, born of moral revolt from the inconsistencies of the professors of faith.

Great as the difficulties were, the Gospel soon began to bring forth fruit, and the toilers were cheered with the promise of harvest. The heart of the superintendent was made glad in these early months by the acquisition of a veritable Timothy, as he afterward proved, the highly educated and gifted Signor Teofilo Gay. He had graduated from the Geneva Theological Seminary under Dr. Merle d'Aubigné, had served a year as assistant pastor of a French church in London, and had in his make-up the sterling stuff of his Waldensian ancestors. He threw himself into our work with great enthusiasm, entering Rome as the representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church November 2, 1873. He at once took high rank among the liberal spirits, advanced thinkers, and aggressive evangelicals of the city, and soon became the foremost man in the evangelical Protestantism of Italy. Before the year closed work was established in Florence by Rev. A. Arrighi, an Italian who emigrated to America when a boy, and, having there been converted, was educated by that veteran advocate of an Italian mission, Dr. Charles Elliott, for the work of preaching the Gospel in Italy. Mr. Arrighi, well known to the writer as a fellow-student in college days, returned to his native country at his own expense, offered his services to Dr. Vernon, and at Florence began one of the most successful stations the Mission has had. Our cause here encountered one of its severest persecutions, the priests actually leading in acts of violence. Stones and clubs were used, windows and doors of the church were broken, lights were extinguished, and the congregation was badly frightened; but the next day the rioters were lodged in jail, the church had much free advertising, sympathy was aroused, and the wrath of man turned to the praise of God.

A notable conversion in July, 1874, greatly cheered our Methodist "Italian band." Professor Alcesta Lanna, Ph.D., D.D., a young man of great reputation as a scholar, and in high position in the Roman Catholic Church, after long and anxiously seeking for light, being "instructed in the way of the Lord" more fully, came into a joyful acceptance of Jesus Christ by faith. It was the "joy of the Lord," for he was sacrificing much for no visible gain. He was a professor in the Appolinari, the most popular Catholic college in Rome, had been professor of philosophy in the Vatican Seminary, and had an assured comfortable salary with the prospect of promotion before him. But his soul had long been ill at ease. He earnestly sought light and peace, and when he found the pearl of great price he gave up all he had that he might secure it. He thenceforward became a most interesting and helpful factor in the Mission, serving for many years as pastor in Rome with great ability and fidelity. At the close of the same year another conversion added much to the growing confidence and strength of the Mission. Professor E. Caporali, LL.D., the son of a Viennese baroness, "a wide-ranging, industrious student of the German type," well known as an editor and author, chanced to enter one of our evening services in Rome and at once felt the awakening power of the truth under the influence of the Spirit. After a season of mental struggle, under a deep sense of sin, he entered by faith into the peace of Christ, and gave himself heartily to the work of God. He had high literary ambition, and was at that time carrying through the press a work of great literary and scientific merit, that contemplated thirty volumes of five hundred pages each. At the time he gave up all for Christ, though he was able afterward to continue his literary labors in connection with his services to the Church.

In the year 1874 Bishop Harris held the first Annual Meeting of the Mission. He cordially agreed with the opinion of the superintendent that the headquarters of the Mission should be in Rome, and so ordered. Though originally opposed to the Mission, the bishop now became one of its warmest friends, declaring in many public addresses after his return to America that no mission of the Church had shown as large results at the same period of its history. Upon removing to Rome, Dr. Vernon immediately began preliminary measures for building a

church in that city, with the view of giving strength and permanence to the Mission at the national capital. Obtaining consent from the board in New York, he purchased a lot on Via Poli, and began the erection of a church. The work progressed as rapidly as slow Italian methods would permit, and on Christmas Day, 1875, the first Protestant Christian church for native Italians was dedicated to the worship of Almighty God as St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church. A solid, neat structure, capable of seating about three hundred, and well located for our work, it gave standing and strength to the Mission, and gave notice also that we had come to stay. A fine congregation was soon collected, and the ministry of the word brought forth fruit in many conversions. The writer had the privilege of looking into the face of a large and intelligent congregation in this church in 1888, while Dr. Teofilo Gay, then at the height of his popularity, preached an earnest sermon.

With a strong and secure position in Rome, with learned and able expounders and defenders of the new doctrine boldly preaching salvation by faith under the very shadow of the Vatican, our people and cause took new heart throughout Italy, and cheering reports from all quarters stimulated the superintendent to push the work with renewed energy. A most interesting incident that was to attract the attention of all Christendom began in the acquaintance and friendship that sprang up between Dr. Vernon and Count Enrico di Campello, a canon of St. Peter's Church at the Vatican. The count was highly educated, and had fine natural abilities; he stood high in ecclesiastical circles, and had before him brilliant prospects if faithful to the Church of Rome. But he had long chafed under the manifest corruptions of that moribund ecclesiasticism, and a spiritual hunger had been awakened which the dry husks of its dead formalism could not satisfy. For three years he was a frequent visitor at Dr. Vernon's study for discussion and prayer, with an ever-growing desire for deliverance from the bondage in which he was held. The struggle was long and fierce. On the one side were the associations of his life, the venerable Church, its great institutions, its splendid cathedrals, its promise of promotion; on the other, associations with strangers who might not remain in the country, a feeble and despised sect, small and obscure places of worship, and no security for sup-

port or position in the future. But he was deeply in earnest, brave, and true, and with such a nature there could be no doubt about the final issue. He finally reached a decision that brought peace to his soul, and on September 14 renounced his lucrative canonry at St. Peter's and his allegiance to the Church of Rome, and in presence of the congregation of St. Paul's, Piazza Poli, united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. The conversion of such a distinguished son of the Church attracted great attention, and the secular press in Rome and throughout the world gave prominence to it as the most significant case of the kind since the Reformation. Had not another Protestant communion coveted this prize won from the papacy, and promised to open for the count such a literary career as he desired, which it never fulfilled, he might have become eminently useful in our Mission. But having been lured from us, and disappointed in the assurances given, he at last took an independent position, in which he has been true to his dissent from the papacy and loyal to the pure Gospel.

The Gospel had now been planted in most of the leading cities and centers of influence in Italy. In Rome, Florence, Venice, Milan, Naples, Bologna, and in many smaller places effective missionary work was being done. Priests, and ministers from other Protestant communions, were offering their services in greater number than could be accepted. The Annual Meeting of the Mission that convened in Rome March 16, 1881, under the presidency of Bishop Merrill, marks an epoch in the history of Italian Methodism. Seventeen ministers assembled with buoyant faith and overflowing enthusiasm, bringing cheering reports from the fields where they had toiled for the Master and witnessed the triumphs of his Gospel. The work seemed so hopeful, solid, and genuine, and the outlook was so full of promise, that, after careful inspection and deliberation, the bishop felt it his duty to organize the Mission into an Annual Conference. This action gave the Mission autonomy, dignity, and strength, and all went forth to their fields of labor with new heart and hope. Just ten years after his appointment Dr. Vernon saw this splendid result of his toil, a new star taking its place in the constellation of Conferences. There were at this time one thousand members in our churches and a good Sunday school force at work on the Italy that is to be.

But if our altar fires burned brightly the fires of persecution burned not less fiercely. It was not for us to win a crown in Italy without fighting for it. Many plots, schemes, false accusations, tumults, and scurrilous publications had been employed to hinder the Gospel; but the most violent and dastardly attempt, as of old, was by a Judas from within. One of our ministers, of more than ordinary ability as a preacher, had been accused of flagrant immoralities, and the matter assumed such shape that the superintendent was compelled to take notice of it. He long hesitated to give the watchful foe cause for "a railing accusation" against us; but when the evil within threatened greater injury than could come from taunts from without he felt compelled to act. An investigation, according to forms of Discipline, resulted in the conviction and expulsion of the accused brother. After a few months' wandering "through dry places, seeking rest, and finding none," like the evil spirit of old, he said, "I will return unto my house whence I came out," either to enter or to destroy it. Entrance being denied, he attempted the second thing proposed to himself. He instituted a civil suit against Dr. Vernon for defamation of character and loss of salary. The penalty for such a crime as charged is very severe in Italy, and if the superintendent could be convicted he might expect years of imprisonment. Conviction, by a court made up and surrounded by papal influences, was not wholly improbable. The papers were served upon Dr. Vernon and he was placed under arrest. The case came before the court in Naples July 23, 1882, with Dr. Vernon in the prisoner's dock. For five days testimony and argument proceeded, Roman Catholic judges sitting in judgment on a Protestant missionary who was in Italy for the purpose of overturning their system of doctrine and worship. It was a fortunate thing for our cause that Bishop Harris was able to appear as a witness, giving important testimony as to the exact conformity of the proceedings in the expulsion of the accused minister with the law of the Church in such cases—the point on which the case turned. After his return to this country the bishop, with tears in his eyes, related the incidents of the trial to the writer, and how promptly he responded to a telegraphic summons that reached him in Vienna, though he felt that he was putting his life in peril by going into cholera-

scourged Italy at that time. Great ability was displayed by counsel on both sides; and such a disposition to be fair was manifested by the judges, and so conclusive was the testimony for the defense, that Dr. Vernon's counsel declined to address the court when final opportunity was given. The court, after a few minutes' recess, announced its decision, entirely absolving the accused. Thus Cæsar, at his judgment bar, rendered unto the Gospel the things that belong to the Gospel.

Annual Conference sessions were held in 1883 at Turin, in 1884 at Perugia, in 1885 at Bologna, in 1886 at Venice, in 1887 at Pisa, and in 1888 at Rome. These dates cover a period of agitation in which questions of administration were violently discussed, diverting attention from evangelistic efforts, dividing and dispiriting the workers, and giving a pause to the rapid progress that had marked the history of the Mission. No true man need fear honest and fair criticism of his work. Dr. Vernon invited the most thorough inspection of all that had been done in Italy. At his request the Missionary Board in New York appointed two of its most prominent members, Bishop C. D. Foss and Dr. John F. Goucher, to thoroughly inspect the affairs of the Mission. These servants of the Church, after a winter spent in Italy in execution of their trust, made a report that must forever stand against all attacks upon the administration in Italy.

Yet it would be impossible to avoid differences of opinion upon the administration of such a work. A few points on which differences arose may be indicated. The administration aimed to produce a pure, strong Italian Methodism, as distinguished from an American Methodism, on Italian soil. Only superficial thinkers or dreaming theorizers, who sit in their quiet studies far from the field of action and spin Utopian schemes, for the practical application of which they never shed a drop of blood, would think of loading down the Gospel on its entrance into a new and hostile field with the mannerisms and customs of a foreign land that were not essential to its truth and spirit. To preach the Gospel successfully to Italians one must become an Italian in all but his sins and superstitions, offering not an American but an Italian Saviour. Those who impose on the Gospel a social cult or political cast are hinderers rather than helpers of its progress. It is better first to

gain entrance for the pure, simple Gospel, and trust to its leavening influence for the rest.

Another principle was that forms of service and methods of work should be determined by what is most effective and best adapted to Italians. Evangelistic services were conducted as they are in England, as they were in America by our fathers, and as they are in most mission fields to-day, without inviting penitents to the "mourners' bench" or "altar." This was not because Italians would not come, but because they would come with the old Roman superstition about the efficacy of sacred places. To facilitate spiritual apprehension it was necessary to keep as far as possible from the Roman reliance upon places, penances, and forms. Many objected to this who could have found a better field nearer home for their criticism.

It was also deemed wise to interfere with social habits and customs as little as possible until the Gospel obtained a footing and wrought needed changes by its spiritual transformations. Wine-drinking at meals, and as part of the meal, is universal in Italy, though intoxication is very rare. The superintendent believed it wise to deal with that question as our fathers dealt with it in this country, as the Wesleyans in England are dealing with it to-day—to let the preaching of the Gospel develop a sentiment before a law is announced. Among the early Methodists of this country it was not an unusual thing for ministers to indulge freely at the houses of their members. To have required total abstinence in the beginning, as many insisted should be done, would have resulted in the Italians abstaining, not from wine, but from Methodism.

The fact that the hymnology of Protestantism in Italy was employed in our services was sharply criticised. It was objected that the Methodist Hymnal should be translated and used; but no one of these critics ventured to furnish a translation or suggest anyone who could. It requires almost as much genius to translate as to write a hymn, and there is probably not a living Methodist to-day on either side the ocean who would risk his reputation in an effort to translate our Hymnal. It was a great help to the Protestantism of Italy, a bond of union against an opposing, colossal unity, to use the same hymnology in all its branches; and it was hoped there could be no great sin in using the hymns of Luther, Watts, Toplady, and

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others that have so large a place in the Methodist Hymnal. Other equally frivolous criticisms, born of partial knowledge and the lack of sympathy natural to those remote from the field, did much toward interrupting the harmony and chilling the aggressive spirit of our conquering force in Italy.

The literary and educational needs of the Mission were carefully considered and provided for as far as means would permit. The *Corriere Evangelico* and the *Fiaccola* were weekly publications that gave the Gospel to the people in print in able discussions of live religious topics. The *Nuova Scienza*, a monthly review, took high rank among the best literary publications in Italy, addressing educated minds on profound and stirring topics. The superintendent translated our Articles of Religion, General Rules, Ritual, and such portions of the Discipline as seemed necessary for use in our Italian churches.

We now approach the close of the planting period and pause a moment to look at the characteristics of the chief instrument under God in this work. Dr. Vernon held thorough loyalty to his Church and its officials to be a part of his religious faith, and an administrative duty, as well as a personal privilege. He hesitated not to differ from his official superiors, but was prompt to obey their orders and loyal in supporting their plans. Too much a gentleman to be discourteous to any, he felt it a necessity of character and condition cordially to obey them that had the rule over him. His complete self-abandon to the work and to the men who aided him in it was a marked characteristic. To his peril and personal injury, he refused for a number of summers to leave Rome, that he might personally watch and aid every movement and that he might be to his helpers an example of devotion. Often did the writer observe in visits with him among his laborers how absolutely he gave himself to them and made himself one with them, winning in return that ardent affection and attachment to his cause that still lives in many hearts in Italy. He also displayed great care in administration. When he may have seemed slow he was disentangling the complex conditions by which he was surrounded, and endeavoring to discover a safe path before setting forth. Many priests were offering themselves, whether for hire or for love of Christ he must ascertain. Jesuitical traps were laid for him, and the watchful papacy was ever ready to attack in the rear if unable

to stand in front. It required great skill to steer safely through the perils that beset him and to satisfy the demands of the home Church and of the missionary office. He became a recognized master of Italian literature and art, and used the language with a correctness and facility acquired by few Americans. These qualities, grafted into a stock of sturdy honesty, high self-respect, and supreme devotion to God, made him a workman in Italy that needeth not to be ashamed.

The superintendent at last grew weary in his work, though not of it. Accepting the appointment to Italy at the first without having desired or sought it, he often longed to lay it down and return to his native land. When the writer was in Italy in 1875 he was intrusted with authority to negotiate with the authorities at New York for the superintendent's return to America, if it could be effected without detriment to the Mission. But after repeated interviews with Bishop Simpson and the missionary secretaries it seemed inexpedient to press the matter at that time; assurance was given, however, that a competent man would be selected and sent to Italy as soon as convenient, that he might become acquainted with the work and be ready to relieve the superintendent. In 1886, Dr. William Burt having been sent to Italy, Dr. Vernon at the General Conference of 1888 resigned the superintendency. After seventeen years of fruitful labor he turned over to the Church one thousand one hundred and fifty-nine members and probationers, sixty-one thousand dollars' worth of property, twenty-four pastoral charges, and twenty-six members of Conference.

Space will not permit fuller mention of the heroic men who helped to achieve these splendid results, such as the able and laborious Enrico Borelli, and his devoted and early crowned son, Emilio; the diligent and faithful Giacomo Carboneri; the highly educated and versatile T. D. Malan; and many others "whose names are in the book of life." Italy will hold them in grateful remembrance, and God will recompense their toils.

L. M. Vernon

ART. X.—THE BIOGRAPHY OF SPIRIT.

I.

WHO has yet written the biography of that nameless, mysterious "it" which is the essence of personality? It were easier to describe *aiguilles*, crests, precipices, the mountain's iridescent glory or awful gloom! A wonderful fraction of world it is! or, rather, a world within a world! But of its creation no record so complete as that of the earth, in the Book of Origins. Only God breathed into his nostrils the breath of lives, and man became a living soul. In that man I, too, became a living soul! His Eden, with its "tree of life" in the midst of the garden, was my home, and his expulsion was also mine—yet not finally and forever, for there is a "second Man" whose return to the tree of life is mine.

Of this the Mayas—they are types—had, perhaps, no full conception. Their day-signs, still to be read in their strange calendars, show that they thought chiefly of human life in its physical or sensuous aspects. The serpent with them signifies poverty and labors; a flower or herb, brevity of life; a lizard, ills of nakedness and cold; a deer, the necessity of seeking food; a tiger, bad luck; a skull, universality of death; a stone knife, war; a winged head, the variety or uncertainty of events; water, abundance; a rabbit, eating, drinking, and making merry; a shower of rain, pleasure and worldly contentment; a house, tranquillity; an eagle, freedom. The only sign that refers to the distinctive life of the spirit, dissociated from the life of the body in its physical environment, is that of the devil, "who takes souls to hell;" and the only one that evidences faith in a god is that of the moon, symbolizing the deliberation with which the Creator contemplated the act of making the world.

So that, though much is said in symbol of the distress and delight of life, and little of its origin and destiny, enough is expressed to show that in prehistoric ages, and among peoples whose life was never transfigured by biblical truth, the story of the human spirit was regarded with profoundest interest because of its tragedy, its intense and culminating criticalness. Even the poor Maya believed in a devil and a hell, and it is

easy for us to infer that he regarded with terror the signs of the lizard, the skull, the tiger; and that he contemplated with ecstasy the signs of the rabbit, house, and eagle. It is also easy to conceive that he became bitter and defiant under his poverty and labors, and that he longed for good days of plenty and freedom. For the life of the spirit is related to all nature, humanity, God, eternity, and each life is an inlet to the whole tide of existence. It is what it is, because life is composite, and the individual spirit is an index of it in its motions. This gives to the biography of the spirit its perennial charm, its ever-fresh interest, so that, in this later time, educators are approaching the conclusion that the true method of educating is by biography.

II.

Saint Augustine, Rousseau, Amiel, and Marie Bashkirtseff have written journals of the inmost life. With varying purpose, to quote the poet Sill, they faced their life, "that silent ghost, and forced it speak what it would have with them." Yet their apparent frankness is outweighed by their reserve. Like ourselves, they, too, fronted barriers to comprehensive self-knowledge and exact prescience of the final development of the spirit. Indeed, the key-word to their confessions is dissatisfaction. They felt that they had been thrust upon the stage before they were ready for the best playing of their part, and that they would be summoned from it before comprehending the plot of the drama, before knowing whether they had played in tragedy or farce.

Augustine believes that he will ultimately become transformed into the likeness of the divine Jesus, and that his part in the drama does not end when he disappears from the stage. Less popular than the *Confessions* of Jean Jacques or the *Journal Intime* of Amiel, Augustine's *Confessions* is a great autobiography, because it is saturated with passionate aspiration after the holiest—after God. The saint hungered and thirsted for God.

Rousseau was a deist who ignored the obligations of the moral imperative embodied in the law. He neither hungered nor thirsted for God. Bashkirtseff trifles with God, and charges him with disloyalty to himself. On a certain day she wrote, "The life of anyone—one's entire life, without any con-

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cealment or disguise—is always a grand and interesting spectacle." It is, indeed, the only grand and interesting spectacle. It is that which gives grandeur and interest to the arts, to science, to history, to letters, to poetry, to the drama. Poor Marie! "I still have my conscience, and I pray to God every night in despite of my reason," she wrote in her *Journal*. She patronized God, condescended to address him, associated him in a way with her art—and died.

It is, perhaps, too soon to compute the effect of Amiel's *Journal* upon modern thought, but not too soon to form a judgment on Amiel himself, that poet who wrote prose, that idealist who dreamed dreams and waited for a day that never came in which his dreams would body themselves in deeds.

Contrast with these the *Journal* of John Wesley. It lacks "charm," let us admit, because it is so ethically strenuous, so uncompromising. Wesley was not a saint, not a poet, not a philosopher, not an artist, not a creator of new industries, nor an inaugurator of new commercial relations; but his life was penetrated with the impulses of moral mastery; it was majestic in great achievement, because he recognized the end of existence to be the culture of the spirit of man under tutelage of the Spirit of God.

G. M. Hammell.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

In our March number of the present year we requested each of our subscribers to mail, on a postal card addressed to the editor, his vote for or against our cutting the leaves of the *Review.* As yet only a small number, not over five hundred, have responded. The polls are still open, and we renew our request for a full and immediate expression of preference. There are reasons why the leaves of the *Review* should not be cut unless there is a strong demand for the change.

Colonel T. W. Higginson remonstrates against a too sweeping denunciation of immigration. In the light of American history such denunciation is absurd, and, moreover, it is ungracious in any man upon our soil to wish to bar, except for the gravest reasons, the entrance of later arrivals by closing the ports at which he or his near ancestors came into the land. As human history runs it is not long since the Pilgrims landed. We are all newcomers. To say that the red man is the only native American is not much of an exaggeration.

"It is immigration, not natural increase, which has made the material greatness of this country." If for the most part they are the plebeians of Europe who come, we should remember that only the day before yesterday the ancestors of our present patricians were plebeians. Take the Astors for example. The latest arrivals are Americans in the making. If their appearance is appalling, they probably look no worse than did earlier crude and squalid immigrants who have vanished into respectable descendants. Taking our country as a whole, it is amazing with what rapidity the generality of newly arrived foreigners merge invisibly into the common mass of the population. Frequently their children, or at farthest the second generation, can scarcely be distinguished from the lineal descendants of the founders of the republic. In America, as De Tocqueville saw and said, a log hut, or a dugout, or a shanty, is "not a home, but a halting

place on the way to something better," possibly to the White House or a palatial mansion.

In order to deter us from permitting the snobbishness of race prejudice to grow up among us, Colonel Higginson first reminds us that in the past each new class of arrivals brought some good quality and did some useful work of its own; and then recites certain facts, trustworthily reported, which tend to show that it is "a mistake to assume that any one race monopolizes all the virtues, or that the community" receives more injury than benefit from new importations. He writes: "The late Rev. Horatio Wood, who was for more than half a century city missionary at Lowell, and who watched the whole change from American to Irish factory girls, told me that in one respect it brought a distinct moral improvement: the ignorant Irish girls were more uniformly chaste than the Protestant farmers' daughters whom they superseded. Now the French Canadians have replaced the Irish; but a Protestant physician of great experience, whose practice included several large manufacturing villages, almost wholly French, told me that he had never known an illegitimate birth there. At the old 'North End' of Boston, where Irish superseded Americans, and have now given place to Italians and Russian Jews, a city missionary has testified to a moral improvement from the change; the Italians, though quarrelsome, are temperate, and he says he never saw a Jew intoxicated. No doubt the prisons show a larger proportion of foreigners than of natives, because the foreigners represent the poorer class and the less befriended. But the eminent scoundrels, who are rich and shrewd enough to keep out of prison, are rarely foreigners; they are more often the native product and use the others as their tools; one such successful swindler doing more real harm in the community than twenty men convicted of drunkenness or petty larceny. Even as to crimes of violence it is not among the vehement Italians that lynchings occur, but in those portions of the Union least touched by foreign immigration. Let us make laws, then, to regulate those landing on our shores; but let us not forget that the ancestors of our lawmakers also landed here."

The writer of this editorial note, whose American citizenship dates back to the early English Puritan settlers of New England, seeing sense and fairness in Colonel Higginson's words, transcribes them here as a needed counterbalance to certain intemperate diatribes against immigration, as if it were a chief cause of nearly all the nation's ills and perils.

SCIENTIFIC TESTIMONY TO CHRISTIAN FAITH.

The question is often raised as to the side upon which the majority of scientists are ranged in the controversy between faith and unbelief. We know of no one who has taken the trouble to investigate the subject carefully. It is probably true that the few epoch-making scientific men of more recent times have been either antagonistic to Christianity or unable to accept it. On the other hand, a very large number of men occupying first rank in the realm of science have held more or less firmly and consistently to the Christian faith. In other words, with the few exceptions noted the expert testimony as to the compatibility of Christianity and modern science is by no means wholly unfavorable to the faith of Christ.

It is fair to ask whether both sides do not overestimate the value of the argument; and it is a noticeable fact that the popular apologists and assailants of Christianity are about the only ones who employ it at all. The attitude toward the Christian system of a celebrated scientist is, doubtless, a convenient defensive or offensive weapon; but it may be dangerous to our faith to allow, even by implication, that a small number of men, however able, can be appealed to on the ground of their scientific attainments for the settlement of the correctness or incorrectness of our faith in Jesus Christ. We did well to rejoice in the "conversion of Romanes," as we should in the conversion of any other unbeliever; but it is possible to place too much dependence on it in our popular contention against scientific unbelief.

Perhaps Christians have been compelled to reckon up the number of scientific men who espouse their cause, in order to rebut the extravagant claims of infidels. There appears, however, to be a tacit admission on both sides that learning can decide the issue. Very early in apologetic literature do we find a tendency to dwell with satisfaction upon the talents and erudition of certain adherents of Christianity. Because natural science is the most admired form of learning in our day this generation limits the appeal chiefly to its devotees. If this method of defense and attack means anything it is that scientific investigations are conducted with an exactness and a freedom from prejudice which thoroughly guarantee their conclusions.

Is, then, scientific thought more exact than any other thought? No one who knows what has been achieved in the investigation of nature can fail to admire the painstaking care with which these researches are conducted. But surely it is no detraction from the

merit of natural science to say that only in the means, and not in the principles of investigation, does it possess any advantage over other departments of learning. We name but one instance out of many when we say that historical research is as exact and severe in its methods, and as cautious in its announcement of conclusions, as is natural science.

This brief review will suffice to point out that natural science has no claim, on the ground of exactness, to the position of arbiter of the faith not equally valid for philosophy, psychology, and history. Nor have scientists any advantage in point of freedom from bias. It is a law of the human mind, from which scientific men are not exempt, that intense application to one idea blinds to the value of all that lies beyond that particular sphere of thought. History abounds with illustrations. Our civil war had come to an end twenty-five years before any considerable number of those who participated in its agonies could adjust themselves to new political problems. Bismarck has never been able to grasp any other thought than the unity of Germany, though that has been an accomplished fact for more than a quarter of a century. And even among scientific men, and within the realm of science itself, there are numerous instances. Martineau, in his *Study of Religion*, reminds us, although in another connection, that "Tycho Brahe, though a Copernican in relation to the planets, and, in applying the theory, himself the discoverer of three lunar inequalities, stood out against the diurnal and annual motion of the earth;" that "Huygens and John Bernouilli, entangled in the vortices and plenum of Descartes, set their faces against the Newtonian physics;" that "Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, could never let go Stahl's phlogistic theory of combustion;" and that Brewster could not "surrender to the undulatory doctrine of light."

Thus the laws and the history of thought demonstrate that the judgments of scientific men, as the judgments of others, are not infallible. Mental horizons are limited. The logician cannot understand the artist and the poet. The business man fails to fathom the motives of the student. The politician has no mental sense capable of putting him into sympathy with the dreams of the idealist. Those legal minds are rare which are capable of feeling the full force of an opponent's position.

If the man of science is no more exact or free from bias in his thinking than other men of trained minds, why should we lay so much stress on his testimony concerning Christianity? In fact, there is only one point upon which he is specially qualified to

speak with authority on these subjects, and that is as to the compatibility of certain forms of Christian doctrine with specific scientific theories. And even on this point the theologian is as capable of judging as is the scientist. Where incompatibility exists time only can reveal whether both or but one shall have to change ground.

When, therefore, we find scientific men denying the validity of the evidence for the existence of God, or of design in the structure of the world, we should recall the fact that their opinions on these points are worth no more than the opinions of other educated men, and that, owing to their habit of looking at nature, each in but a limited number of aspects, they may be even less capable of judging accurately concerning matters beyond the realm of their thought than others less skilled in science. No presumption for or against a religious tenet can be based on the opinion of a scientific man as such, for he has no means or abilities for testing their truth not equally possessed by multitudes of others. On a subject so vital and personal as one's religious faith each must determine for himself. And Christianity is of such a nature that all of its essential tenets, so far as they pertain to this life, may be tested by the thoughtful mind, in experience, here and now. The faculties necessary for this crowning evidence of the truth of Christianity are, though obscured in some, bestowed upon all, learned and unlearned, alike.

WHY MEN DIFFER IN REASONING.

The mind—the thinking power—has always puzzled philosophers at the most practical point in its operations. Minds being alike and the data for reasoning being the same, why do different minds reach unlike or antagonistic conclusions? The reasoning process itself is so simple that no mistakes seem possible. A familiar example runs: All men are mortal; John is a man; John is mortal.

The conclusion—John is mortal—is so plain that no mind ever did or can draw any other. One may deny that John is a man, and also assert that there is as yet no proof that John or any other living person is mortal. But we should not stop to discuss with people who denied either the major or the minor premise. And yet all differences in conclusions must arise out of variety in estimates of premises. Then, the matter must be thrown farther back; for major and minor premises depend on facts and the

meaning of facts. If the facts are differently appreciated, different premises will be laid down. It will be found in all large differences—say in politics—that the facts are not the same or that their values and meanings are differently weighed.

I. The data for reasoning are the same; but some minds do not know the data at all, or very inadequately. To ascertain the data one must take facts apart, see how they are made up, and construct data. As a rule a datum in any large concernment—as in politics or religion—is composite, a number of facts are grouped in it. And the facts constitute the field where the dispute ought to be waged; but as a rule men try to settle their differences by logic, though logic has nothing to do with the case. From time to time for centuries philosophers have taken up the case of a poor citizen of Athens, who believed that he owned all the ships in the harbor. He counted his ships, estimated their cargoes, the length of their voyages, the amounts gained by each ship, and his own profits. It was observed that his figures were remarkably accurate, so much so that he was seldom wrong in his estimates of his own income. He was wrong on only one point. He did not own the ships, and he thought that he owned them, and built his fortune on that false basis. The little fact that he made a mistake about destroyed all his calculations. No matter how perfectly he appreciated all the other facts, his one error overthrew the conclusion that he had a right to a large income; and they called him a lunatic. The mistake of fact was fundamental; on the fact of ownership all the rest depended. The world is full of men not in mental hospitals who are just like this poor Athenian. The facts at the bottom of their edifice of logic are all wrong; the logic is good, perfect; the error is down below the logic.

The differences, then, in our opinions start in knowledge of facts. The man who is wrong does not know his facts. It is possible that there may be ten or more wrong conclusions—that none of us may be right because no one knows the facts as they actually are. It is a familiar experience that two disputants may be both wrong; both are ignorant of the facts. On some questions no one in a thousand men may be right. Ignorance vitiates all logic. We have a familiar device for narrowing the field of possible error—the excluded middle. The planet Mars is inhabited by living beings or it is not so inhabited. No third supposition is possible. But it does not furnish any facts in proof of number one or number two merely to exclude number three. Many persons write and talk as though this device added some data to

their side. The question of fact remains open; we must ascertain the things essential to life, and ascertain their existence in Mars. But these facts prove only that Mars *may be* inhabited; that it *is* inhabited remains to be proved by other facts. If our telescopes show us the works of living beings on Mars the case is made out. We may err at each of the three stages: what we call essentials of life may be an imperfect list; these essentials may not exist in Mars, though we think they exist there; and what we call the works of living beings may be wrought by the elements.

II. In political and religious discussion—the two large matters of dispute among men—it is always the fact which is the real matter of difference. The fact is not a bit of reality; it is a piece of mentality; the mind in perceiving it gives it form, color, relations; and the coloring and relating of the fact differ in different minds through the affections, prepossessions, and interests of the different disputants. This is the second great cause of conflicting opinions.

The affections, including all the bias they produce, may exclude the fact from knowledge. "Ye will not come unto me that ye might have light." The case is typical of all rejections of light. "I am not reading anything on the other side," said a politician, when offered a document. The affection for an opinion hedges it round and excludes the fact; if it enters the field of vision it is modified to suit the needs of affection. Reasoning from consequences would seem to be fatal to whatever works evil or injury; but affection finds another cause for the evil. To go straight to a consequence is difficult when the thing to be found is unwelcome. The affection struggles to change route, and it is apt to succeed. Buckle had for thesis that faith—he called it credulity—retards or arrests civilization. He easily made all the facts say so; though most skeptics admit that some forms of faith are a force helpful to civilization.

What passes for argument in all fields is open to suspicion in regard to the facts under the premises. The mind makes history to please its affections; two minds make each a different history out of the same facts. There is no safety for the reason except in pure and disinterested purpose; and opinions may be dearer than lands or gold. We instinctively distrust the man who has an interest of a money sort in his opinion; but the man who has no such interest is often more dangerous through his love for his opinion.

III. We are apt to put too high a value on our reasoning

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powers. They are, in fact, so simple and easy for all men to exercise that culture of them is hardly needed. What we do need is a love of truth which will cast out the love of our own opinions. Then we shall reason to common conclusions if we all know the actual, inevitable fact. All culture of the mind ought to be concentrated upon finding facts, their relations and their weight. We shall find ourselves weighing them by logic, finding them by logic, fixing their relations by logic ; and we shall differ in our opinions because each of us has a different fact when we have finished the process, because we began with a different fact. There will be "many men of many minds" just as long as appreciations of facts differ. We shall see eye to eye when the facts we see are absolutely the same for us all.

The value of our study, if it has any, lies in locating the source of our differences. We are too apt to say that the other man reasons badly. Men never reason badly except from sheer purpose. The reasoning is correct when one is sincere, often when one is not sincere. The error is not one of logic ; it is one of fact. An analysis of the premises of two debaters will show that they are not talking about the same things—that they are building on different foundations. Common facts will make common premises and conclusions.

IV. Are we hopelessly shut up to ignorance of the facts? Must we go on differing because we know different facts which our debates assume to be the same facts? It is very common to say that no man can escape bias—that, therefore, affection in each of us must create our facts for us. It is equivalent to declaring that the truth cannot be known. It happens, however, that many facts and groups of facts are understood by all men alike ; that in a civilized society the number of such facts increases with civilization. Differences are relics of barbarism, survivals from more ignorant ages ; or they are engendered in perverse wills. Ignorance and sin cause most of them. Of course no reference is made here to those choices which satisfy our lawful affections and aptitudes, through which we choose our affections and our pursuits in diverse ways.

The reasoning man is in all of us the same ; the judge is one in his decisions. But ignorance and perversity make the same case a different case on which the judge renders diverse judgments with perfect accuracy. It is incorrect to say of any man that he cannot reason ; the proper statement is that the truth of fact is not in him.

THE ARENA.

"KNOWLEDGE AND FEELING IN SPIRITUALITY."

THE contributor of an article on this subject, the Rev. F. W. Crowder, Ph.D., claims that he is "fundamentally" misapprehended in our critique found in the November-December *Review* for 1896. Let us see. Our contention is not on the value or importance of intellectuality or of knowing the Scriptures; these cannot be urged too strongly. No more is it about the necessity of religion; but the question is one of location—of residence. The point at issue is as to whether religion is *mostly* within that realm of psychology called the intellect or of the sensibilities.

To show that this is fairly stated, and that the contributor holds knowledge to be *chiefly* the seat of spirituality, we quote his own words: "What is the seat of spirituality? . . . Let it for the moment be supposed that spirituality is mainly a state of the feelings—a position widely held among Christian people." He urges, then, that knowledge precedes and determines feeling, "and consequently that spirituality is primarily a matter of knowledge. This is one of the positions to establish which is the aim of his article." Again he says, "If spirituality is mainly a matter of the feelings, then it is apt to be concluded, as many thinkers in this day have concluded, that theories and doctrines have small place in it." And still again he writes, "Thus it is seen to what extremes of thought he is in danger of drifting who holds to the view that religion is primarily or mainly a thing of the feelings." His position, fairly stated in his own words, is that religion is not "primarily or mainly a thing of the feelings," but that it is "primarily or mainly" a thing of knowledge. Such teaching is incorrect and proportionately harmful.

In his reply the contributor admits our position, that the conscious self is a unit and always acts as such, yet he tries to hold that the knowledge in the unity always antedates the feeling, and if this is reversed the soul lapses into childhood or infantile heathenism. Yet we know that profound thinkers come to believe in immortality and other things because of feeling. In most noble souls love is the strongest argument for future life. One has well said that "no man who loves his mother can consign her to eternal sleep." This is not prejudice, but experience.

Our statement that "what satisfies the soul is, not thought, but the real, life-giving Christ himself," the contributor declares is a "dark mystery, into which no human mind can enter." It may be a great mystery, but not a dark one, as it is illuminated by the personal Holy Spirit, whose symbol is a tongue of flame. It is not true that "no human mind can enter" into this conscious communion and fellowship. It has become the most real thing in human consciousness, and that, too, by the laws of science and philosophy. It is not apprehended by the intellect, but in that department of the mind called the affections or feelings. Our

brother must admit that knowledge is not religion—at least, not the Christian religion. That is the same old Socratic idea that knowledge is virtue, the fallacy of which was shown in Christ's new philosophy of the heart. He buttresses his argument by a quotation: "Within the sphere of feeling the rapture of the sensualist and the devout elevation of the saint are precisely on a level; the one has as much justification as the other." This shows his estimate of a religion of the heart or affections. They are no more on "a level" than virtue and vice, the witness of the Holy Spirit and remorse, or Satan and God.

No man can think very far into this subject without seeing that the principal part of religion lies within man's pathematic nature—the affections, the feelings, the heart. We plead for the broadest, truest, and profoundest thought, for scholarship the most erudite and philosophical, both in Scripture and out. At the same time he must recognize the facts as to the proper adjustment of our holy religion to the human soul. The mind has three powers—intellect, sensibility, and will. These three are one, and act as a unit. Yet each has its office, and fills it. (1) The intellect is the faculty of perception, or thought. (2) Sensibility, or sensitivity, is the capacity of feeling; it includes "sensation, both external and internal, whether derived from contemplating outward and natural objects or relations and ideas, desires, affections, passions; it also includes the sentiments of the sublime and beautiful, the moral sentiment and the religious sentiment. (3) Will is the faculty by which the rational mind makes choice of its ends of action. Psychologists place the propensities within the pathematic sensibilities. Even curiosity, or the desire for knowledge, is a feeling. If seniority were the question, surely feeling must be regarded as senior and knowledge the junior. However, our discussion is not one of age or dates, but of location, as to where religion dwells. Veracity, or the propensity to utter the truth, is a feeling. So is the propensity of self-love or desire for happiness. Feeling is the home of all the benevolent affections; it includes the parental, filial, and fraternal. Within this realm is found philanthropy, or love of the race. Patriotism is a matter of feeling. The deepest consecration of the human mind is loyalty, which is not of the intellect, but of the affections. Take two men of equal knowledge, and one may be a Benedict Arnold and the other a George Washington. When the feeling changes one plunges from the heights of loyalty into the abyss of treason. Gratitude is an affection, and all the knowledge of an archangel will not make a soul religious if this be lacking. Out of the heart "are the issues of life." The highest of all authority makes it clear: "Love is the fulfilling of the law." Religion is love, and not a matter of knowledge, but of feeling. Knowledge goes with all these, but it is not religion.

Principal Caird, in his *Philosophy of Religion*, chap. vi, says: "That the essence of religion lies in feeling is held to be proved, either (1) simply by an appeal to ordinary popular convictions, or (2) by certain considerations of a more scientific character." He also writes: "The logical or scientific faculty, we instinctively feel, is not the organ of

communion with God, nor, by its greater or less acuteness and activity, can a man's spiritual state be tested. It is possible to possess ratiocinative powers of the highest order—keen and penetrative intelligence, capacities of observation, comparison, reflection, the cultured intelligence which renders a man a competent literary and historic critic, a subtle apologist, a deft framer of theological dogmas and systems of divinity—and yet with all this intellectual equipment to lack that element of 'living faith,' that state of the heart and affections which constitutes the essence of true piety." Dr. Caird places "living faith" among the feelings. Another clear statement from the same source is: "Indeed, if religion is a thing possible for all, if it is a relation of the soul to God not conditioned by any special gifts or arbitrary acquirements, its essence must obviously be altogether independent of that intellectual ability and culture which are far from universal. It must come to the human spirit in a way possible for the simplest and rudest alike with the most acute and cultured intelligence. Religion thus cannot be identified with knowledge, or regarded as having its seat in the intellect. . . . And if, as already shown, the inward principle of religion is not an intellectual one, where can it lie but in the region of feeling or emotion?"

The education of the intellect is important, and the work of our schools should receive greater emphasis, but it is not religion. The heart should have equal training with the intellect. Dr. Caird again says: "The ultimate source and secret of the religious nature is to be found neither in the philosophic intelligence nor in the sphere of external achievement, but in the feelings of self-abnegation, of conscious dependence, of awe, reverence, aspiration—in that disposition or attitude of the heart toward God, call it what you will, which often gives moral elevation to the humblest intelligence and spreads spiritual grandeur around the homeliest and obscurest life. . . . Religion is defined as the elevation of the human spirit into union with the divine. But this, it may be maintained, necessarily implies that the principle of religion lies in feeling. For it is here, and here only, that the deepest union between different natures can be achieved. It is only in feeling that any object ceases to be merely external, and becomes implicated with the very nature and consciousness of the subject itself. So long as a thing is merely known it is still something outward and foreign to my consciousness." He further shows that "knowledge implies the distinction of subject and object. In knowing I put myself in opposition to the object, I coolly contemplate and examine it. But in feeling this opposition vanishes, the determination of the object becomes one with the determination of my own inmost nature, so that, in a sense, they are no longer two, but one. When a being or object reveals itself to feeling, it, so to speak, loses any vestige of foreignness or estrangement, and becomes blended with the consciousness to which it is revealed."

It is well for the contributor to write on the importance of a converted man knowing the Scriptures; but the question as to that faculty of the human mind in which is found the essence of religion is entirely another

matter, and should be taught correctly, if at all. There is a tendency in our day toward a phase of scholasticism which undermines and subverts true and deep spirituality. Hence the transcendent importance of correct views upon so vital a matter. One must be more of a lover than a thinker, else he would stand ill at ease in the ranks of heaven.

Syracuse, N. Y. J. WALLACE WEBB.

FREDERICK W. ROBERTSON AND HIS PLACE IN ENGLISH THEOLOGY.

THE man that would arrive at a charitable estimate of the character of Robertson does well to make allowance for his poor health. His life was like the melancholy days of autumn when the sere leaves are covering the ground as with a shroud. This somber view of life falls short of the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ. For our Lord prayed, in "the purest pearl of devotion in the New Testament," that his joy might be fulfilled in his disciples, that is, might be made complete in them. Christ was more a man of joys than a man of sorrows. Was not the shattered body of the noted preacher of Brighton, England, a cause that led him to say so much about the cross and so little about the crown?

We would scarcely expect to find in Robertson a lack of breadth. Robertson belonged to the Evangelical or Low Church school at Oxford and at Winchester, the field of his first ministerial work. The later part of his life, especially during his ministry at Brighton, he displayed an intolerant opposition toward this branch of the Episcopal Church. The Low Church was especially engaged in revival and philanthropic work. Robertson's sermons themselves, in fact, lacked the power of immediate persuasion. His sermons lack the world-conquering rush of Wesley's sermons that urged the hearers on to immediate repentance of sin.

The Low Church, however, forty years ago was narrow and bigoted. We need not wonder that the able and learned Robertson left its warm ranks for the more scholarly ranks of the Broad Church, the school of Maurice and Kingsley, and, subsequently, of Stanley and Phillips Brooks. The company here was more congenial. For there is a world of difference between his teaching about different authors who, he claimed, wrote the Book of Genesis and the bitter tenacity of the *Record* newspaper in its assertion of the dogma of verbal inspiration. We need not be surprised that Robertson felt more at home in the Broad Church.

We cannot excuse, however, his blindness to the merits of the Low Church. In fact, he announced as a principle of his life to find the soul of goodness in things evil. His broad mind was not content, for instance, with a mere exposure of the error of Mariolatry. Why did the Catholic Church make this error? A Protestant does not deal adequately with the doctrine of Mariolatry until he gives in its place, not a systematic doctrine of the head, but a popular gospel of the heart, a gospel of comfort and tenderness and love. Why did Robertson not deal as broadly with the Evangelical school? But he did not seek to find the good. He rather revolted in disgust from his old party. On this subject his biographer, Stopford Brooke, says: "Robertson's conception of Christianity as the

religion of just and loving tolerance, and of Christ as the King of men through the power of meekness, made him draw back with horror from the violent and blind denunciation which the 'religious' papers of the extreme portion of the Evangelical party indulged in under the cloak of Christianity. 'They tell lies,' he said, 'in the name of God; others tell them in the name of the devil; that is the only difference.'"

Robertson passed over the great and good men in the Low Church school. Did he forget the humanitarian effort of Wilberforce in the freedom of slaves? Did he forget the precious memory of Simeon and his care for the unchurched masses? We would not expect that Robertson's gallant heart would forget the pathetic story of Cowper and Mary Unwin. Surely the author of the old favorite, "There is a fountain filled with blood," should not have been dismissed so summarily. Robertson was unjust in that he labeled all the adherents of the Evangelical school with the stamp of the *Record* newspaper.

Love of simple truth is the crowning trait of Robertson's character. We will see that this spirit marked his course in his attitude toward the Anglican views in the Episcopal Church and in his method of interpretation of the Bible. His lot was cast in a time of ferment in England on High Church doctrines. As he was a Low Churchman at one period of his life, so there was a time when Newman and Pusey made a deep impression upon him. But, unlike the so-called Tractarians, this lover of historic truth made a searching study of the Middle Ages. Ranke's *History of the Popes*—significantly placed by the Catholic authorities on the Prohibitory Catalogue—showed the Brighton pastor that he could not fellowship with the Anglican party.

We may appreciate this fair and admirable method better in contrast with the romantic method of the High Church. Cardinal Newman has painted the poetic side of the mediæval Church: "The fair form of Christianity rose up and grew and expanded like a beautiful pageant from north to south; day after day and in the still night, and over the woody hills and in the quiet plains, as constantly as the sun and moon and stars go forth in heaven, so regular and solemn was the stately march of blessed services on earth, high festival and gorgeous procession and soothing dirge and passing bell and familiar evening call to prayer, till he who recollected the old pagan time would think it all unreal that he beheld and heard, and would conclude he did but see a vision, so marvelously was heaven let down upon earth, so triumphantly were chased away the fiends of darkness to their prison below."

All this is beautiful and eloquent. But is the beautiful description a mirror true to the times? Is it not rather an idealized picture? Robertson would want Newman to speak of Maria and Theodora and the popes that Dante, himself a Catholic, found in the black and filthy pit of hell, where the sweet light did not strike their eyes. The thoughtful man builds on truth, the everlasting rock of truth.

Robertson pursued his search for facts no less in historical theology than in biblical theology. His method of interpretation of Scripture is

remarkably in accord with the method of the best scholars of to-day. We may not agree with all his results. For instance, does he not disparage the spiritual element in baptism ? His general method, however, is admirable. The historico-grammatical interpretation has yielded rich fruit in his discourses on Corinthians.

Such is the place of Robertson in English theology. His noble aim was to gain "the vantage ground of truth." In a time of violent storm, when the Bible was besieged by the vagaries of rationalistic critics and by overzealous friends, blind to the results of biblical inquiry, while the storm of the naturalists and dogmatists was raging about him, the Brighton preacher applied himself to a calm study of the Scriptures, and reached an independent and fair interpretation. The presumptuous claims of Anglicans he rejected. Fellowship with God without priest or ceremony is the inestimable boon of the children of God. The position of extreme High Churchmen is a chilling height of untruth.

Truth—truth with divine light and life—not venerable tradition, but the truth of history and the Bible, is the polar star that guides the Christian to good success. And the great second thought of the Christian world will be, We are determined to have light and life. This is the message of one of nature's noblemen to the Church of our time. And Tennyson, admired by Robertson, has given lofty expression to the spirit of this message in the lines:

> Follow you the Star that lights a desert pathway, yours or mine.
> Forward, till you see the highest human is divine.
> Follow Light, and do the Right—for man can half control his doom—
> Till you find the deathless Angel seated in the vacant tomb.

Oconto, Wis. ROBERT SENEY INGRAHAM.

ROMANS II, 6–11.

Authorized Version.—"Who will render to every man according to his deeds: to them who by patient continuance in welldoing seek for glory and honor and immortality, eternal life: but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil; of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile; but glory, honor, and peace, to every man that worketh good; to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile: for there is no respect of persons with God."

Revised Version.—"Who will render to every man according to his works: to them that by patience in welldoing seek for glory and honor and incorruption, eternal life: but unto them that are factious, and obey not the truth, but obey unrighteousness, *shall be* wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that worketh evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Greek; but glory and honor and peace to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek: for there is no respect of persons with God."

Conybeare and Howson.—"And he will pay to all their due, according to their deeds; to those who with steadfast endurance in welldoing seek the glory which cannot perish, he will give life eternal; but for men of guile, who are obedient to unrighteousness, and disobedient to the truth,

indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish shall fall upon them; yea, upon every soul of man that does the work of evil, upon the Jew first, and also upon the Gentile. But glory and peace shall be given to every man who does the work of good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile; for there is no respect of persons with God."

The doctrines of the passage, Rom. ii, 6–11, are such as to give it rank among the most important passages in the book to which it belongs. It may be doubted, however, whether these doctrines, as set forth in the above translations, are as impressive as Paul and the inspiring Spirit intended. The force of the thought of any particular passage is dependent to a considerable extent on the force of the language in which it is presented. We may accept as tenable the statement that Paul is entitled to the credit of having cast the passage before us with due regard to the balance of its several parts. It will take little time or effort to convince one who has taken the pains to examine the foregoing translations that, singly or combined, they do not accord to the apostle such credit. Now, if Paul's language is to be accepted as correct in respect to its symmetry, then the translations are to be considered as an imperfect expression of the apostle's language. And so Paul's teachings are, as exhibited by them, necessarily placed in obscurity and are, consequently, less impressive than they were intended to be by their author.

The plain purpose of Paul was to express himself in what may, perhaps, be called a double inverted antithesis. But the above translations do not, evidently, show such purpose. The first contents itself with a translation of the words, and leaves the reader to determine as best he can the form of the language. The second attempts to clear up the first by forming a single antithesis, and so leaves its second term as to stand in readiness also to do further duty; but the second antithesis does not appear, and the language is left more or less confused. The third differs from the other two in that it uses the first member of the second antithesis as the second part of the first antithesis, leaving the second to go begging for a first member. They all agree in that they offend against the symmetry of the passage, though the last does so more openly.

The evident difficulty is with respect to the four words, "indignation," "wrath," "tribulation," "anguish." It will be observed that these words are in the nominative case. And they are nominative, too, where an objective only might seem to be in place. The question is, What shall be done with them? The answer of the Authorized Version is, Do nothing with them. The Revised Version and Conybeare accept a change of construction and supply a verb.

There is another translation which demands attention. It is that of Beet, who, in respect to the disposition of these nominatives, is in agreement with Meyer and Whedon. The translation is as follows: "Who will give back to each man according to his works (Psalm lxii, 12). To them who, according to perseverance in good work, seek glory and honor and incorruption, he will give eternal life: but to those of a mercenary spirit, and disobedient to the truth, but obedient to unrighteous-

ness, shall there be anger and fury. Affliction and helplessness will come upon every soul of man that works out the bad, both of Jew first and of Greek; but glory and honor and peace to everyone that works the good, both to Jew first and to Greek. For there is no respect of persons with God." Without doubt symmetry is secured in this translation. But can the method be commended? It differs from the others in that it divides the several words in question, using the first two in opposition to eternal life, and the second two to open the second antithesis. But why divide these words? They naturally belong together. Even the explanation that the first two are to be recognized as feeling and action in and by God, which result in the sad effects described in the second two in respect to man, does not save the method from question.

A criticism which may be entered, more or less, against all these translations, unless it be the first, is that acceptance of a change of construction may be noted in respect to the close of the first contrast. The first member of this contrast ends in a clear objective, namely, life eternal. It seems, therefore, out of place for the second member to end in a nominative. It would be an easy construction, and far more natural, to supply an objective to contrast with eternal life. And what idea would come to mind more readily to contrast with eternal life than that of eternal death? It must be considered a loss in impressiveness to pass within the contrast, from the plane of an idea itself to its contents, but especially so when the passage is from one idea to the contents of an opposite idea. This is done when the contrast passes from life eternal to the contents of death eternal, that is, from life eternal to "indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish." The real opposite of eternal life is eternal death. The objection cannot be accepted as valid, namely, that in the second antithesis the contrast is between the contents of eternal life and those of eternal death. For, in this case, there is no change in plane within the contrast. And, if the second antithesis, by comparing contents of the ideas rather than the ideas themselves, be thought to be below the first, let it be considered what gain is made by, after ideas themselves are compared, bringing on a contrast between the contents of the ideas, especially when, as here, this is done in an inverted order.

We venture to submit a translation which preserves the construction and at the same time maintains the proper symmetry of the passage. It will be observed that the changes made are additions to the Authorized Version. It is as follows: "Who will render to every man according to his deeds: to them who by patient continuance in welldoing seek for glory and honor and immortality, eternal life; but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey the unrighteousness, he will render eternal death. Indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish shall be poured out upon every soul of man that doeth evil; of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile; but glory, honor, and peace shall be given to every man that worketh good; to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile: for there is no respect of persons with God." E. J. V. Booth.

Crestline, O.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

SCIENTIFIC SPECULATION AND BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION.

A DISTINCTION must be observed between scientific certitude and scientific speculation. What has been established beyond all doubt must be accepted in its bearing upon religious problems, while what is merely speculation should command only respectful consideration. It is a safe law that whatever Scripture contradicts a positive and incontrovertible fact must be reexamined to ascertain whether it has not been misinterpreted. New study of truth has often shown new meanings to familiar passages. In this way advances in scientific and philosophical knowledge become very helpful to the comprehension of the word of God.

On the other hand, the Christian scholar must also consider modern speculation in the light of Bible truth, and may at times be able to correct the former by the latter. While a scientific or philosophical discovery is still unproved it cannot destroy the validity of Bible statements which are apparently contradictory to it. New discoveries in any department of inquiry related to religious truth must always be considered in their bearings on interpretations of the Scriptures. When there has been a long discussion, and some conclusion has been reached that seems satisfactory, men adjust themselves to the decision and settle down into the conviction that so much has been established for all time to come. Soon, however, some new form of doubt arises, perhaps from an entirely different point of view, and we are called upon to reinvestigate the same points which we supposed had been settled forever.

The doctrine of extreme evolution, as applied to intellectual, moral, and spiritual truth, is an illustration of the tendency, and raises questions of Scripture exposition from a new standpoint. If all we are is caused by what our ancestors have been and what our environments have made us, and not by anything with which we have had to do or could possibly control, we must reread our Bibles and note the harmonies or disharmonies growing out of such a doctrine; and we must reexamine the story of the fall of man and ask whether by any honest interpretation the first chapter of Genesis can be harmonized with this view. The evolution doctrine makes man begin at the bottom and rise by gradual processes until he has reached his present state of perfection. We must then ask what is the Bible account of man's original position. Our current theology assumes that man was made in God's image, that he was wise and pure and good. It is claimed that he was originally perfect, and that the fall of man in paradise was the root of his degeneracy. Now we have a direct contradiction, unless the matter can be adjusted by a new interpretation of the biblical account. Attempts are now being made to adjust the statement of the fall to this evolution hypothesis, but thus far without success. Canon Gore is reported in the *Expository Times* of

April, 1897, to have attempted a harmonization thus: "It is not true that the Bible represents man as perfect. No doubt theologians have thought so, from the Augustinian age until now, and some of them have unreservedly said so. Thus, Robert South supposes that 'Aristotle was but the rubbish of Adam, and Athens but the rudiment of paradise.' But the Bible does not say so, and it was repudiated by the earliest Christian theologians, East and West." He adds: "The Bible does not claim that man was created perfect. It looks forward to man's perfecting; it does not look backward." Here we notice the influence of the doctrine of evolution in interpretation. If the doctrine be accepted we must either reject the authority of the early chapters in Genesis or interpret them in a way not currently accepted by the Church. But this view of evolution is not universally received, and therefore we may with perfect freedom discuss the question of the fall of man from the standpoint of philosophy and in the light of the historic interpretation. It is enough for this time to call attention to the fact that as interpreters of Scripture ministers should gather light from every quarter, but that they may not allow unproved hypotheses to overthrow current beliefs.

UNITY IN CHRISTENDOM.

It would be very difficult to define in what respect the Church, either Roman Catholic or Protestant, may be said to be one. It is a proud boast of Roman Catholicism that it is one in succession from the primacy of Peter, and also one in the sense that it is everywhere the same. The absurdity of this boast is manifest on the slightest examination. Not only have there been interruptions in the historic continuity of the Romish Church, resulting in wide schisms within the body, but there have also been changes in doctrine and in forms such as to make it a very different body from what it was a few centuries ago. The doctrine of the immaculate conception may serve as an illustration of her changed attitude toward historic truth. With strange inconsistency Roman Catholic writers arraign Protestant Christendom for its divisions, when the divisions existing in their own ranks are equally great. They attempt to reconcile these things by affirming that they all march under the banner of Roman Catholicism. With equal accuracy we might say that all Protestant bodies exist under the general name Protestantism.

But our discussion is related to Protestantism. What is the unity of Protestant Christendom? There is certainly little unity of Church government. It is a study for the theologian to comprehend the varied forms of ecclesiastical government, from the absolute democracy to the most advanced hierarchy, some organizations founding their government and ordinances on New Testament usage and others claiming the right to adapt government, form, and ceremony to the age in which they live. The attempt at uniformity in this respect is a signal failure.

There can be no real uniformity in doctrinal formulas. The creeds of Christendom are varied largely from each other in general statement, so

that if we take the general formulas of the Church they are not all one. The creeds of the individual denominations of Protestant Christendom also vary extensively. Any attempt to formulate an extended utterance on anthropology, Christology, and eschatology which would be satisfactory to everybody must result in failure. General statements could be admitted, but in details they would widely differ. There can be no satisfactory basis of unity in doctrinal formulas.

The proposed bond of unity around the historic episcopate has proved entirely unsatisfactory. The questions are at once raised, What is the historic episcopate, and who is in possession of it? Roman Catholicism denies it to the Church of England; the Church of England denies it in turn to all other forms of episcopacy; the Greek Church differs from both in its claim of the historic episcopate, and hence that cannot constitute a ground of unity.

Nor would any form of Church government be accepted by the various bodies of Protestant Christendom. This might be extended to a discussion of the forms and ceremonies of the Church which each holds as more or less vital to its existence as an organized body and which few would be willing to surrender to any general organization that would propose to include all; and yet such surrender would be absolutely necessary if the unity of Protestant Christendom would be secured. The only method of reaching such external unity would be in the calling of a general council composed proportionately of the members of every organized Christian body, with an absolute agreement of each body that the decision of the majority should constitute the basis of union. With so many conflicting opinions on all the points under consideration we can scarcely expect that such a council will be called during the present generation.

The unity of Christendom must be a unity of spirit rather than of external form, either of government or of ordinances. It would be possible for a creed to be laid down which should embrace only fundamentals, and to state these in a form so general that few could take exception to them, but the very generality of the statement would destroy its power. The unity of Protestant Christendom, then, must remain largely where it now is for many years to come, namely, the unity of spirit and the unity of purpose. The salvation of men from sin, the promotion of the highest ethical life, of which Christ is ever the teacher and the model, and the bringing of mankind to the life of blessedness beyond the grave—these constitute a basis of unity around which all may gather together and work together, united in the spirit of Christ and in the high purpose of the world's redemption, without the surrender of any of those things on which the body to which they respectively belong depends.

In all this nothing is intended to be said which should antagonize in any way the effort that is being made to promote the absolute unity of Protestant Christendom. Perhaps the development of the kingdom of Christ may bring about a condition of things in which each may sink the claims of his own personal organization, but such a state of things we cannot now anticipate. This we must leave to the future. The unity of

Protestant Christendom—based on the authority of the Holy Scriptures, on the supreme dignity of Jesus Christ, and on the freedom of interpretation of the word of God, or on some conditions similar to these—may yet come to pass, but to all appearances it is not yet.

THE MINISTER'S SUMMERING.

It is remarkable how the minister's work season coincides with the external conditions of the gay world in which he labors. As civilization advances stated periods of repose become more frequent. The fashionable world, on the other hand, arranges its amusements somewhat with respect to the Church calendar. During the Lenten season many Christians dress in somber or plain garments, and when the Easter bells ring out the glad announcement, "Christ is risen," as if by magic they array themselves in gay and festive attire. It is not of the essence of Christianity; it is rather the formal expression of religiousness. Holiday and festal seasons also demand the time of the people, and it is practically impossible to conduct aggressive work during certain periods of social activity. In many city churches the season of active labor, therefore, does not last more than six months. As soon as the spring opens many families go away to their country seats and do not return until late in the autumn. For several months the church is practically or completely closed, and nothing is possible for the minister but to do the best he can.

The summer for everybody, except those engaged in manual labor, has become a season of change and relaxation. Even those who do not give up business altogether are flitting from place to place, and the environment of the preacher's life makes this the season for his rest. This is true even in places remote from the city. The habit has grown until the summer months, especially July and August, have become recognized periods of relaxation, at least from excessive toil; and at this season the subject of the minister's vacation is of special interest.

A condition of the minister's summering should be that he shall gain strength for active work afterward. A church can better afford to supply its pulpit during its pastor's necessary absence for recuperation than to have him work on in an exhausted physical condition. If it should be objected that the same principle would apply to all workers, we would answer that in a measure it is so. We believe that every employer would consult his own interests by giving a reasonable vacation to those in his service, but this is especially the case with ministers. The nervous exhaustion consequent upon preaching is such as does not belong to other walks in life, nor indeed to the other professions. The extreme tension of preaching services involves an amount of nervous strain incomprehensible to those who have not passed through it. The minister's summering, however, should not go to the extent of requiring a more extended vacation than is necessary for his good and that of the church.

A minister's vacation should be one of absolute rest. It is to be feared that our summerings have become occasions of mental excitement rather

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than periods of healthful repose. One cannot go very far in the summer without being conscious of the presence around him of a restless, surging lot of people, moving in every direction, more intense, apparently, than when engaged in their ordinary duties. These are undoubtedly on the way to rest, but they should sometime find it. When one has been for months under intense physical and mental pressure the mind and the body should have a season of absolute repose. A minister of great eminence once told the writer that after a period of almost perfect exhaustion he had actually slept almost six months—not, of course, continuously, but every day his sleep occupied a great deal of his time. He found himself completely restored to health, and is now nearly eighty years of age. For a busy man the quiet nooks where few people go, where there is no telegraph office and only a weekly mail, will be most favorable. The tendency of the time, however, is to aggregation. Men and women in the summer move in crowds and seek excitements which certainly are not restful, except so far as rest is involved in change of work. It would be a false view, however, to imagine that all one's vacation should be spent in absolute inactivity. A part of it may well be spent in recuperation among congenial associates and associations, and especially in those places where the mind is occasionally occupied by lectures and other matters of general interest. A couple of weeks spent amid such environment may be restful, as well as intellectually profitable, but even here the minister should only attend what he can assimilate easily. One should never try to hear everything. As he looks over the programme of a summer school, for example, and sees the list of eminent speakers on very interesting topics, it is very natural that he should want to omit nothing. This is a mistake. He should only select those exercises which he will enjoy most, and which will be the most profitable, without taxing himself too greatly. The helpfulness of the summer school would be largely augmented if this principle were kept in mind by those who desire to participate in its benefits.

Again, a minister's vacation should be in the midst of associations quite unlike those of his ordinary routine. One who is in a place that is eminently healthful will find great advantage in going to another place which is in itself no more healthful, but where the whole atmosphere is different. One whose home is among the mountains would do well to seek the seashore and feast his eyes and mind on the new environment that he will find there. Not only is the air different, but the general aspect of things is different, and he will gain much by the change. Those from the sea, on the contrary, should go where the noise of its waves is not heard, and where they can look on grove and hill and mountain. They will find something new, and therefore stimulating. Those from the country churches would do well to go where they can gaze upon architecture and art, and gather inspiration from these lines of thought and life. In fact, the advantage of summering is, on the whole, that of change; change from nervous excitement to quiet; change from mountain to valley—change from the river to the sea.

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ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

ALPHABETIC WRITING.

The origin of writing, or the use of characters and signs of various kinds to record events and to convey ideas to others, must not be confounded with alphabetic writing. Cumbersome and intricate systems, more or less perfect, have been known to several countries of the ancient world from the infancy of the human race. But alphabetic writing, so simple and yet so perfect and well adapted to reproduce most sounds, and which has readily adapted itself to all lands, is comparatively new. This is natural, for the invention of a system of signs, which has been adopted with some modifications by all the more civilized and cultured nations of the world, presupposes a time of great mental activity. Indeed, it is no wonder that tradition makes the gods the first teachers of penmanship, for, as Renan has truly said, the invention of alphabetic writing is one of the greatest creations of the human mind.

The alphabet as employed by us is the product of development, which, step by step, can be retraced through the Latin and Greek to the original on the Syrian coast. But, having followed letters back to the countries on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, we come to a standstill and are obliged to ask, Whence did the Syrians or Phœnicians derive their system, so different from the cuneiform script of the Babylonians or the more artistic hieroglyphs of Egypt? Is the so-called Phœnician alphabet a pure invention, or are these letters in turn modifications of still older alphabets? One thing only is certain, namely, if the Phœnician alphabet was evolved from an older system the connecting link between it and its prototype has not yet been discovered.

We know that Babylonia had its script at least thirty-eight or forty centuries before our era, and possibly many, many centuries earlier even than this; for since Professor Hilprecht's latest discoveries at Niffer it begins to look as if Babylonian culture was nothing more than a development of a much older civilization. So, also, the hieroglyphs of Egypt have been traced back in almost an unbroken line to about the year 4000 before the birth of our Lord. The Phœnician alphabet, however, though supposed to have been invented about 1500 B. C., has left no traces of itself as belonging to so early an age. The oldest undisputed specimen of alphabetic writing so far discovered is that in Phœnician characters on a portion of a bronze cup found in the island of Cyprus and dedicated to Baal-Lebanon, perhaps in the time of Hiram I, some ten centuries before Christ. The next oldest, excepting possibly some seals on which a word or two has been engraved, is the famous Moabite Stone, brought to the notice of the learned world in 1869 by Dr. Klein, a German missionary. It was found among the ruins of ancient Dibon. This stela, measuring four by two feet, and containing thirty-four lines in clear-cut

Phœnician letters, when first discovered was in a very perfect state. It was subsequently badly mutilated by the greedy and bigoted Mohammedans, not, however, before good squeezes of it had been taken under the directions of Clermont-Ganneau. The inscription describes the siege of the capital of King Mesha and his final great victory over the combined forces of Israel, Judah, and Edom. The age of this ancient Moabite monument can be fixed with great precision, for the Mesha whose victories are here recorded must have lived about the time of Ahab, king of Israel, since we read in the third chapter of Second Kings that Mesha, the king of Moab, rebelled against Israel immediately after Ahab's death. Supposing, then, that the monument was executed during the lifetime of the monarch whose triumphs are herein recorded, it must belong to the first part of the ninth century before Christ.

But to return to the origin of Phœnician letters. In the absence of authentic records it cannot be established whether these great people were indebted to Egypt, Babylonia, or some other country for the form of their alphabet. Indeed, there are those like Professor Edward Meyer, of Halle (see his *Geschichte des Alterthums*), who derives the Phœnician alphabet from the Hittite syllabary. His theory, however, deserves nothing more than a mention, and should be dismissed at once, inasmuch as our knowledge of the Hittite language is exceedingly precarious. Arthur Evans, of the British Museum, in his recent work on Cretan inscriptions, argues that the Phœnician style of writing had its origin in the little island of Crete. It is clear, however, that the majority of authorities, both ancient and modern, believe that the Phœnician alphabet was at least suggested by the Egyptian characters. The trade between Phœnicia and Egypt, both by land and by sea, was very great from the remotest times. It is but natural to conclude that the keen, businesslike merchants of Tyre and Sidon must have had some method of bookkeeping, and that they must have seen the necessity of a simpler system for keeping their accounts than that afforded by either the difficult cuneiform script of their northern neighbors or the more elaborate ideographs and pictorial hieroglyphs of Egypt. Which of the two systems would they select? Deecke, with some show of learning, finds the prototype of the Phœnician alphabet among those dwelling along the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris. Others, like Halévy of France and Levy of Germany, claim that at least twelve or thirteen of the Phœnician characters were directly taken from the hieroglyphs of Egypt. Champollion was the first to suggest the view now held by most students of epigraphy, that the origin of alphabetic writing must be sought in the hieratic system of Egypt. A comparison of this latter with the most ancient Semitic alphabets, as found on the various monuments, shows the possibility of such a theory. Indeed, some of the Semitic letters bear such close resemblance to the corresponding Egyptian characters as to make it almost certain that the one musthave been derived from the other.

But, whatever the original source of the Phœnician alphabet might have been, there can be no doubt that the Greeks borrowed their letters from

the maritime traders of Syria, and that the Romans, as well as all the modern nations of Europe, can trace their alphabets through Greece back to Phœnicia. This is a fact so patent, so well attested to both by tradition and history, as well as by the forms and names of the letters, as scarcely to require anything more than a mere mention. It would at the same time be interesting to cite some of the most ancient authorities. Herodotus, the father of history, says in Book v, 38: "The Phœnicians who came with Cadmus . . . introduced into Greece upon their arrival a great variety of arts—among the rest that of writing, whereof the Greeks till then had, as I think, been ignorant. And originally they shaped their letters exactly like all the other Phœnicians; but afterward, in course of time, they changed by degress their language and together with it the form, likewise, of their characters." He further tells us that the Greeks of his time were in the habit of calling "the letters Phœnician, as justice required, after the name of those who were the first to introduce them into Greece." Roman authorities differ. Some, like Lucan (see *Pharsalia*, iii, 220, *f.*), agree with Herodotus; others, like Pliny, believed that the alphabet had its origin among the Assyrians, though even in his days other writers claimed that either Egypt or Syria should have the honor of having invented the alphabet. Tacitus (see *Annals*, xi, 14) says: "The Egyptians also give out that they were the inventors of letters; that the Phœnicians learned them from them, and, as they were the masters of the sea, introduced them into Greece, thus acquiring celebrity as inventors of what they had received from others. Some hold that Cecrops, the Athenian, or Linus, of Thebes, and Palamedes, the Argive, who lived during the Trojan times, invented the form of sixteen letters, and that by others afterward, especially by Simonides, the rest were added." The fact that these ancient historians differ so widely shows clearly that the alphabet had been invented many ages before.

One has only to glance over a comparative table containing the most archaic Semitic and Greek alphabets to be convinced that the one is evolved from the other. Not only are the characters used on the most ancient Greek inscriptions very similar to those on the earliest Semitic monuments, but, as in the latter, so also in the Greek inscriptions, they are written from right to left, while others are in *boustrophedon* style—that is, in alternate lines, one from right to left and the next from left to right. Another fact worthy of mention is that the names of the letters in Hebrew and Greek are often almost identical. The Aleph, Beth, Gimel, etc., of the former are evidently the same as the Alpha, Beta, Gamma (formerly Gamla) of the latter. That the Greeks copied their letters from the Phœnicians, and not *vice versâ*, becomes clear in another way. Many letters in Greek, though formerly almost identical in form with those of the Phœnicians, have no special meaning, but the characters were used among the Greeks in a purely arbitrary manner; while in Hebrew, on the other hand, there seems to be a correspondence between the form of the letter and the object after which it was named. Take, for instance, the letters, daleth, a door; zain, a lance; and shin, a tooth.

This last fact, also, seems to favor the conclusion that Phœnician writing was at first more pictorial than at a later age. We say this notwithstanding some of the letters, even in the most archaic forms in which we possess them, bear no resemblance whatever to the object whose name they bear. This, notwithstanding the various objections raised, is more plausible than the theory recently proposed, namely, that the Phœnician letters were never pictorial, but that the similarity between a given letter and some object is either purely accidental or imaginary. The fact that a letter bears the name of some animal or any object whatever must be explained much in the same way as in our primers for children, where letters are written alongside of a certain picture simply to facilitate the memorizing of the same; for example, "B is a boy, C is a cat, or Z is a zebra."

So much as to the origin of alphabetic writing in general. It is indeed of great interest to the Old Testament student to know that the earliest Phœnician characters correspond in almost every particular with the earliest specimen of writing found in Judea. As already stated, there is every reason for believing that the art was known to the Phœnicians at least 1500 B. C., or a little earlier than the exodus from Egypt. The questions thus naturally arise: How extensively was this script used among the Semitic people? Were these the first characters employed by the Hebrews? Moses, no doubt, was acquainted with the Egyptian systems current in his day, and possibly with the cuneiform script so widely used in the fifteenth century before Christ. The discovery of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets favors the conclusion that the Babylonian script was at one time the universal means of communication between the civilized nations of the ancient world. The cuneiform script, however, might have been employed only in diplomatic correspondence between the various courts, while the several nations had their own script, as they had their own language, for domestic purposes. Be that as it may, we have not yet discovered any Hebrew inscriptions or documents of extreme antiquity. The oldest Hebrew writing of any length is what has been called the Siloam inscription, accidentally discovered in 1880 by a lad on one of the rocky walls of the pool of Siloam, in Jerusalem. The inscription, containing only some six lines, but in elegant Hebrew, refers to the excavation of the tunnel leading to the reservoir. It bears no date. The forms of the letters are very similar to those on the bronze cup found in Cyprus and on the Moabite Stone. But, as things moved slowly in the East, we cannot conclude that this inscription is of the same age as the two above mentioned. Some scholars infer from 2 Chron. xxxii, 30, and 2 Kings xx, 20, that the tunnel of Siloam was made during the reign of Hezekiah. If that be so—and it is very probable—the inscription dates to the end of the eighth century before our era. The fact, however, that inscriptions in similar characters have been found in Cyprus, Moab, and Jerusalem which must have been executed between the tenth and eighth centuries before Christ, and which show fine workmanship, gives us the hope of greater discoveries in these far-away lands, made so famous by the heroes and prophets of Israel.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

SILENT FORCES AT WORK IN INDIA.

It is with no ordinary interest that one finds cropping out in a heathen community either expressions of sentiment or statements of fact favorable or unfavorable to Christian, and especially missionary, work in their midst. These expressions also carry additional weight when they emanate from what we would suppose to be unwilling sources. Some of the native periodicals of India furnish from time to time this sort of testimony, not always wittingly nor willingly. It is found sometimes in appeals to Hindus to rouse themselves to a greater display of energy in antagonizing the Christian forces operating among them or in imitating their methods. Sometimes there seems to be a concession of the benefits resulting from the presence and teaching of the Christian missionary.

A few quotations will be sufficient to illustrate this subject. A Hindu newspaper, *The Indian Social Reformer*, has the following: "One thing which the Christian missionaries have done to us we have reason to be thankful for, and that is the social elevation of those whom it is defilement for the caste Hindus to touch. If it is possible for any religion, as a religion, to make the whole world kin, it seems to us that this universal kinship can be realized by Christianity." Another newspaper, *The Hindu*, candidly but not cheerfully accords credit to Christianity as the patronizing force among the low-caste people. It says: "Between the Hindu community proper and the Pariahs there is little love. Indeed, of the lower castes of the Hindu society and of the outcast population the Christian missionary seems to be the only and the most willing and competent protector and regenerator. That this should be so reflects no credit on Hindu society; yet it is a fact, and no reasonable Hindu can ignore the great work that these ministers of a foreign religion did in elevating a large class of people who are supposed to be attached to our social system, but whom the leading classes of our society have done their best to degrade and sink."

The Hindu, at another time discussing the influence of the education of girls and the absence of caste restrictions among a native Christian community, declares that this "will eventually give them an advantage which no amount of intellectual precocity can compensate the Brahmans for." This remark was provoked by the fact that it appeared, from the matriculation examinations of that year, that of nineteen female candidates who were successful seven were native Christians, and of the Hindus there were none; and that in the higher examination for women sixty-one were native Christian women, out of two hundred and thirty-four candidates, and only four were Hindus. The various industrial schools of the Bombay Presidency enrolled seven hundred and thirty-nine pupils, of whom seventy-five were caste students, seventeen were

low caste or outcasts, and only five were Brahmans. The editor said, in reviewing these facts, "The native Christians are a very poor community, and it does great credit to them that they so largely take the industrial education."

This condition of things is not always complacently viewed by the native Hindus. One well-known Calcutta vernacular daily paper asks, "Can ruin be far off under circumstances such as these?" In truth, the silent operation of Western educational forces is making of India a new nation, and the measures are such as will necessarily turn society bottom side up. In one year for which we have the figures the art colleges in the Madras Presidency had two hundred and fifty-three native Christian undergraduates against thirty-eight Mohammedans, though the Moslem community largely outnumbers the native Christians; and of school-mistresses in training in normal schools two hundred and sixteen were native Christians out of a total of two hundred and eighty-nine, while in the higher examination for women the native Christian women counted sixty-eight against an aggregate from all other sections of the native community of only five; and of two hundred and sixteen girls in the lower secondary department nearly one half were native Christians. Among the native Christian community early marriages are less common, the Christian community naturally becomes more and more physically and mentally superior, the number of intelligent wives and mothers is steadily and rapidly on the increase, and of all this improvement the native Christian society has the lion's share. All these forces are in operation out of sight, but they are just as certainly revolutionary, being ruinous to Brahmanism, and leaving the Moslem community which antagonizes the education of women far in the rear.

REFORM IN THE CHINESE EMPIRE.

It seems to be conceded by all persons who understand the situation in the centers of influence throughout the Chinese empire that a crisis of momentous importance is on the nation. Had the Chinese been victorious in the late conflict with Japan the probable result would have been an intolerable increase of their self-conceit and pride, with increased antagonism to the missionary movement and to everything else foreign; but the testimony from the most remote points, as well as from the ports, indicates that the Chinese feel a sense of humiliation, even in the interior districts, where the people scarcely yet know of the defeat. This has driven the government to ask for schemes of reform—all of which is interesting enough in itself, while, owing to a combination of circumstances, this crisis becomes a missionary crisis as well. It so turns out, in view of the competition of the Western powers for advanced influence in China, that the government does not take advice as to its reform measures from any political quarters without a good many grains of salt. Whatever influence they may have had in the past, the foreign ambassadors and merchants are scarcely looked upon now as disinterested parties. It is a great

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credit to the honesty and candor of the missionaries that, as a class, they have retained the confidence of the high officials at Peking and the viceroy. The missionaries, on the other hand, recognize that this is a critical opportunity, and that if they would increase their influence even for the success of their evangelistic measures, they must show a thorough sympathy with, if not take the lead in, a great social and industrial reform. Some object to this as being too indirect missionary work to be attempted by those who are supported ostensibly for more immediate evangelical labor. Nevertheless, all appreciate the desirability, if not the crucial obligation on the missionary body as a whole, of remolding society in some way at this unusual transition period.

Much larger attention, perhaps, will have to be given to the influences which are to emanate from the establishment in the principal cities of schools, which the government has decreed shall be established for the giving of instruction in the English language and Western sciences. The measure of the results of this concession on the part of the government is not easily taken. The very proclamation itself affirms grounds for the government action which, however quiet may be its operation, involves not merely the reformation but the revolution of existing conditions of society. The imperial order reads, "China must educate the masses and encourage inventive genius and foreign learning among her people, together with that love for country and home and that devout patriotism so conspicuously ingrained in the hearts of those who have studied such languages and sciences." It will scarcely appear at first sight how penetrating these brief utterances are. The acknowledgment that a proud literary nation must learn of any other people would mark of itself an intellectual era. But perhaps farther reaching is the acknowledgment that paternal government has become insufficient, and that the people must develop a patriotism they are to learn of Western nations.

A special effort is being made to help meet this crisis on the part of missionaries through such measures as will break down the deeply rooted prejudices of the lettered class, "the stupendous minority who hold the welfare of the nation in their hands." The Christian Literature Society is making considerable progress in this direction under the leadership of two men, Rev. Young J. Allen and Rev. Timothy Richards, who have been set apart by their respective missionary societies for special literary work. It is not purely missionary literature which absorbs their efforts, but the issuing of scientific and educational works, such as arithmetics, books on international law, the history of the war between China and Japan, and the history of the nineteenth century, all of them written by missionaries. The peculiar adaptation of this movement to the change in the attitude of the Chinese mind at this hour is indicated by a great variety of considerations, such as the fact that the native Chinese have reprinted these books themselves and have sold them at a good profit where before they could scarcely have given them away. The advice and help of missionaries have been eagerly sought at some of the great examination centers by the students, partly owing to the fact that some

of the examiners are giving questions whose answers can only be found in the publications of the Christian Literature Society or by consulting the missionaries. It is said that the viceroy, who winked at the riots of 1891, has sent for the secretary of the Christian Literature Society, to secure from him suggestions about reforms that might be instituted; and, even in the province of Hunan—where the population is the most hostile in the empire, and whence has issued literature most antagonistic to Christianity—we are informed that earnest efforts have been made to secure the help of the foreign missionary, even to the extent of begging the chief Chinese editor of the Christian Literature Society to accept the leading professorship in their principal college. The Society proposes to extend its operations to all the government competitive examinations, and to present every student with a small packet containing some carefully prepared Christian literature and Scripture portions. If they had the funds it is estimated that two millions of students of all ages and from all corners of the empire might thus be reached.

It goes without the saying that a transition period such as China seems to have entered upon is not only fraught with opportunity but with peril. There has been perhaps no hour since the beginning of missionary operations under Morrison—unless it were at the Taiping rebellion, when the West lost its opportunity—in which it has seemed more needful than now for the Church to give devout and prayerful consideration to the agencies it shall use, and the vigor with which it shall use them, for the establishment and extension of God's kingdom in the great Celestial Empire.

THE DEACONESS IN MISSIONARY WORK.

THE "Inner Mission," as the Germans use the phrase, is far broader and more philosophically inclusive than our phrase "Home Missions." It includes the department of work assigned to deaconesses, which is now a well-defined part of our denominational home missionary activity. Rev. G. U. Wenner, D.D., traces the history of this movement in Germany, England, and America, in the *Lutheran Quarterly* for October, 1896, and tells of the establishment of a deaconess house in Pittsburg by Fliedner himself, who in 1849 brought five sisters from Germany for the purpose. The project did not, however, succeed, the demand for deaconess work then being not sufficiently great. Dr. Muhlenberg also established the sisterhood of the Holy Communion in New York, on the plans of the Kaiserswerth House; but this effort was likewise unsuccessful. In 1884 ten deaconesses from Germany were brought to the German hospital in Philadelphia, and proved so efficient that a patron built a house costing a half million dollars and endowed it with another half million. After tracing the growth and development of the several deaconess institutions of the country Dr. Wenner says: "But the palm for most rapid and substantial success belongs to the Methodist Episcopal Church, which in its last report shows for America alone thirty-six houses and three hundred and eighty-nine deaconesses."

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FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

A. Sabatier. He must not be confused with P. Sabatier, the author of the *Life of St. Francis of Assisi.* In a recent work, entitled *Essay d'une théorie critique de la connaisance religieuse*, he has developed a theory of religious or, perhaps better, of theological knowledge which is, to say the least, worthy of attention. He holds that religion must have a well-defined theory of knowledge, and this he seeks to produce. He rejects the three principal explanations of our religious ideas, namely, that of an original revelation, and those of the idealistic and the sensualistic philosophy. In speaking of Kant's theory of knowledge, he dwells at length on the antinomy between scientific determinism, which does away with the possibility of ethical conduct, and the fact of ethical conduct, which breaks through scientific determinism. The conflict between these two can be resolved only by the religion of a self-comprehending mind, in an act of inner faith which is nothing else than the instinctive attempt at self-preservation, by which the spiritual life of man testifies to its own reality. This, however, is but the practical solution of the conflict. Theoretically, it is solvable in two ways: first, psychologically, by means of the identity of the subject both of this determinism and this ethical freedom, or of the theoretical and practical reason; and, second, speculatively, as the faith in the rulership of spirit in us and in the world. There are three marks which distinguish the natural sciences from those of the spirit. The first is the subjectivity of the latter and the objectivity of the former. By this objectivity, however, is not meant the knowledge of things in themselves, but the necessary connection of the phenomena among themselves and the stern exclusion of the feelings and subjective will. The second distinction between natural science and religion, as related to knowledge, is that between mechanism and teleology. The mechanical explanation of phenomena and scientific determinism, however, excludes teleology only when the former transforms itself into metaphysical materialism. In fact, cause and goal are but two aspects of the same act. In the former the mind is directed backward; in the latter, forward. The third distinguishing mark of religious knowledge is its symbolical character. That is, all expressions of religious knowledge are inadequate. We cannot give to the transcendent object of our faith any expression, except such as is drawn from the phenomenal world. This is true even of the Scriptures; and preeminently is it true of all creeds, which after all are but attempts to state in the language of man the nature of facts that cannot be reduced to the categories of time and space. We call especial attention to this third distinguishing mark. The frequent recollection of it would spare theology much adverse criticism and many serious disputes.

E. Ehrhardt. An attempt to explain the influences which were formative in the ethics of Jesus has brought Ehrhardt prominently before the thinking world. The development of the apocalyptic element in Judaism brought with it, he thinks, two factors which contradicted each other. Jewish ethics in the time of Christ hesitated between heaven and earth. The ethics of Jesus shows a corresponding duality. On the one side was the earnest demand for separation from the world; on the other, the high estimate of the social life. The existence of these two opposite ideas in Jesus is explicable on the ground of his relation to God, which was an immediate contact with him, not conditioned by anything earthly. Consequently, Jesus experienced within a real otherworldliness. The consequences of this experience were directly contrary to the maintenance of the Messianic idea within him. Nevertheless, Jesus spoke the language of the Messiahship. This is because two streams met in him—one of which had its source in the feeling of his present enjoyment of God, and the other, the Messianic, which tended to lead men to find God. As a mere reformer he could have done without the latter. But, as a Saviour, he must preach in such a way as to lead men to abandon the thought of this world. From this standpoint we can comprehend the profound interest of Jesus in eschatological problems. The benefit of communion with God, therefore, took the form of future salvation in the Messianic kingdom. Clearness cannot exactly be named as one of the characteristics of Ehrhardt's style of thought. Still, the above comes tolerably near to expressing, in brief, what he thinks on the subject in hand. It is evident that he regards the Messianic, eschatological element in the preaching of Jesus as incidental ; and that he believes the essential elements to be his emphasis upon the social life, which, as he says, could hold such a prominent place in the thought of Jesus simply because for him the enjoyment of God was not future but present. The fact is that Jesus did lay much stress on the duties we owe to one another, and in all his conduct set a corresponding example. But it was not that he therefore valued them for their own sakes. Rather were they the fruit of true communion with God. So his disciples understood him when they represented him as saying that the first and great commandment was love to God, and the secondary, love to man; and, when coupled with this, they made love to man a test of their love to God. But, aside from these considerations, there is nothing in the faithful performance of our social duties to militate against the hope of redemption from the evils of the present world in a world to come.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

La Révocation de l'édit de Nantes à Paris d'après des documents inédits (Paris and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, according to Unedited Documents). By O. Douen. Three volumes. Paris, Fischbacher, 1894. Readers of the French who are interested in French Protestant history will here find a work of inestimable value. It is

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all the more interesting because it treats of the Protestantism of Paris, which has been strangely neglected. The work is true history, but at the same time is so woven from the original sources that it is valuable to one who wishes to work out the history for himself. The author has drawn on the documents in the national archives—papers from the Bastile, cabinet correspondence, police reports, and the like. In his Introduction the pleasant personal relations of many Romanist and Protestant families and individuals are noted, although the idea of religious toleration was practically unknown. Still, it is evident that persecutions were mainly the result of the influence of the Jesuits upon clergy and people. Once the spirit of persecution was firmly implanted the clergy incessantly urged Louis XIV from one hostile act to another, until the final act was performed and the edict was revoked. The second volume of Douen gives a minute account of the fate of each of the elders of the Paris congregation. The story of the manner in which bookdealers, bookbinders, and books themselves were handled is told. It is pitiful to think that in a Christian land not even the dead objects could be spared, although we have a standing instance of it in the *Index Expurgatorius.* In December, 1685, the dragonnade was introduced into Paris, although it was not conducted by soldiers, but by police. It was so successful that in nineteen days it resulted in the apostasy of two thousand nine hundred and six Protestants. Many denied their faith for a financial consideration, generally bestowed in some indirect form. The many that were imprisoned, however, testify to the faithfulness of the majority, who were subjected to every manner of mental and physical torture at the hands of cruel nuns and priests. The sufferers included men, women, and children of tenderest age. The struggle between the authorities and the Protestants was terrible both for the king and his subjects, whether Protestants or Romanists. One of the most interesting portions of the work describes the flight of the Huguenots into foreign lands. There is a certain gratification in the recollection of the fact that in various ways some of the Huguenots succeeded in eluding, even in Paris, the vigilance of the police.

Sündfluth und Völkerwanderungen (The Deluge and the Migration of Nations). By Franz von Schwarz. Stuttgart, Enke, 1894. One of the supposed most sure results of recent geology has been that the biblical deluge left no material traces. Von Schwarz believes that certain discoveries of his in Turkestan confirm the biblical account of the flood, and enable him to fix its place, date, and general character quite accurately. The first part of the book treats of the genealogy of the human race, its unity, divisions, and the former and present inhabitants of the earth. The second part treats of the primitive locality of man, which he thinks was the southern part of the Sahara. The people themselves were black, and lived in trees. Their reason for leaving their original home was the drying up of the Saharan Sea. The third part treats of the occasion, course, and consequences of the flood. Schwarz first establishes

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the fact that with the exception of the primitive inhabitants of Greece all peoples that have preserved legends of a deluge were those who wandered out from central Asia, which was the second great migration of nations. From this he concludes that the scene of the deluge must have been Mongolia and the depression in the regions of the Aral and Caspian Seas. According to Chinese information, with which the traditions of Babylon and Israel more or less fully agree, the flood took place in the year 2297 B. C. All this agrees with the author's discoveries in Turkestan, where he found in some of the mountains remarkable erosions in the rocks, and in others a clearly defined watermark. He concludes, therefore, that there was at one time a great Mediterranean Sea occupying the present site of Mongolia, the desert of Gobi, and other adjacent territory, and that the surface of this sea lay six thousand feet above the surface of the ocean. The erosions above mentioned he accounts for by the sudden emptying out of this supposed sea. An earthquake opened a passage through the mountains at the northwest corner of this sea, and the mighty stream of water poured with tearing force and speed westward over the Aral-Caspian bottoms and broke through into the Black Sea. This forced open the Bosporus and the Dardanelles, and the Mediterranean Sea was so swollen as to cause the tradition of a flood among the people of Greece, which refilled the Sahara and broke through the narrow neck of land that, until then, joined Europe and Africa, thus forming the Strait of Gibraltar. The effect upon Europe was a new glacial period, and for central Asia a drying out and an increasing barrenness of the soil, which in turn caused the second migration of nations mentioned above. The theory and its development are both ingeniously wrought out and show that there are geological phenomena which may sometime confirm the legends, and thus remove all doubt of the Scripture narrative.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Ministerial Supply in the Prussian State Church. An article in a recent number of *Die christliche Welt* furnishes some interesting figures and reflections which will prove suggestive. Since the year 1888 there has been a decided falling off in the number of students of theology in the evangelical faculties of German universities. In the summer of 1890 the whole number of students of evangelical (Protestant) theology was 4,527, and this marked a small decrease. In the winter of 1895–96 the evangelical students were 2,917, of whom but 1,160 were looking toward the ministry of the Prussian State Church. In the winter of 1887–88, when the number was highest, there were 2,061, showing a falling off in the prospective ministerial supply of about two fifths. Each student must take at least six semesters, so that at most the rate in 1895–96 was but 193 new students per semester. But this is too high an estimate, since many study more than the required six semesters. For this and other reasons the writer argues that if 300 per year are reckoned as choosing

the study of theology, in connection with the State Church of Prussia, it would be an amply large estimate. But of these by no means all take the examinations. A small fraction fall out for one or another cause; others change from the study of theology to other departments, particularly to pedagogy, while still others prefer to enter the service of other Churches than the Prussian State Church. It follows that in a short time there will be but about 280 candidates yearly. But the State Church of Prussia needs at least 312 additions to its ministerial ranks to meet the inevitable requirements. And since the larger parishes in the cities are divided into two or more, as it is becoming customary to do, the demand will be still larger. There was, for a time, a surplus of ministerial candidates; but this will soon be exhausted, and then, it is evident, at the present rate the ministerial supply will be too small to meet the demand. In view of the overcrowded state of all other learned callings this is a surprising prospect. Another fact of importance is that the principal falling off in the number of theological students is found in connection with the Prussian State Church. From 1888 to 1896 there was a falling off of two fifths. In the same period, taking only the German State Churches outside of Prussia, the falling off in students of theology was less than three tenths. From 1890 to 1896 the students in connection with the old Prussian faculty of Breslau decreased 50 per cent; of Berlin, 46; of Königsburg, 42; of Halle, 41; while in Tübingen the loss was but 37 per cent; in Giessen, 36; in Heidelberg, 30; and in Strasburg, 26 per cent. Bonn, in spite of the agitation against its faculty now raging, has lost but 30 per cent. Rostock, which is but little affected by the changes in the rest of Germany, lost but 18 per cent. The two most orthodox faculties of Germany, Erlangen and Greifswald, gained in the number of students respectively 7 and 16 per cent. In Greifswald the number of theological students was 274 in the summer of 1890, and in the summer of 1896 there were 320. The writer of the article in *Die christliche Welt* then undertakes to find the explanation for the situation. He thinks that, at the end of the eighties, the overfilled condition of the ministerial supply, making almost certain a period of waiting extending four or five years before a definite position could be expected, may have frightened some out of the thought of preparing for the ministry. Then the small remuneration of the pastor, amounting, besides a parsonage, to only 1,800 marks at the beginning and to but 3,600 after forty-five years of service (that is, $450 to $900), may have had its effect in diminishing the number of candidates. Still, the writer thinks that if it had been the first-mentioned reason which caused the decrease it would have operated only until the surplusage was exhausted; and, as for the second, he thinks that, bad as the situation is, it improves somewhat from year to year. His conclusion is that the only way by which to account for the unwillingness of young men to enter the ministry is to attribute it to the continued agitation which has been waged against the theological faculties, and especially those of old Prussia, in recent years. Parents who are made to believe that their sons will have their faith disturbed if they send them to the universities to study theology

strive to turn them away from the ministry. So the writer thinks that not only does the agitation violate the fundamental principle of Protestantism—that of the right of private judgment—but that it now threatens to disturb or destroy the Church itself. But he asserts that the agitation is as unjust as it is dangerous. While it fails to hinder attendance upon the lectures of the objectionable professors it also hinders young men from preparing for the ministry at all. Taking a table made out by the ultraconservatives themselves, which he claims places some in the ranks of the historical-critical school who indignantly deny that they should be so classed, he finds that, counting the two higher classes of instructors in the Prussian universities, the conservatives have a considerable majority, the proportions being 23 to 35. Leaving out of the latter the faculty of Greifswald, consisting of 7, all of whom are conservative, the proportions would be 23 to 28. In Berlin, where it is supposed so many are radical, the proportions are 6 to 10. The writer says that the conservatives claim only that they should have a proportionate representation in the faculties, along with the critical. This, he asserts, the figures show that they have, and hence argues that they should now cease the agitation and no longer hinder young men from entering the ministry; and all the more so since the effect is not to prevent attendance upon the lectures of the objectionable professors. We have given the argument for what it is worth. But we seriously doubt whether it is not an instance of special pleading, after all. In the first place, Breslau, with but two critical and six conservative professors, lost 50 per cent. On the other hand, Bonn, against which the agitation is now particularly severe, lost but 30 per cent. The gain at Erlangen and at Greifswald, where conservatism rules, is not enough to attract special attention. Any growing institution is liable to an increase in any department. Cries of heresy generally advertise faculties against which they are made. To an American it appears as though poor pay and long waiting for position have more to do with the decrease in theological students than the agitation against the critics, though in a State Church such an agitation is peculiarly shameful.

Modern Machiavellianism.—In his recent Romanes lecture at Oxford Mr. John Morley defined Machiavelli's fundamental principle to be that the application of moral standards to the business of government "is as little to the point as it would be in the navigation of a ship." Quoting this, the London *Methodist Times* declares that the government is now carrying out the principles of Machiavelli. Already, it affirms, they have permitted the massacre of one hundred thousand Armenian Christians, and now consent to the destruction of Greece. Mr. Rhodes, also, "by whatever means, has added a big slice to the British empire." Yet, says the *Times*, the teachings of Isaiah are diametrically opposite to those of Machiavelli. The difference between the two "represents all the difference between heaven and hell." And "the moral instinct of the human race is right when it loathes Machiavelli and reverences Isaiah."

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SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

The rare spectacle in governmental life of an unbroken reign of sixty years is justly receiving large notice in current American literature, as well as in English print. Prominent among the articles of our own periodicals is that of Florence Hayward in the June *Century*, entitled "Queen Victoria's 'Coronation Roll.'" It is embellished with portraits of Her Majesty at four, in 1838, in 1840, and in 1895, and has facsimiles of a part of the roll and of the oath subscribed to by the queen. The roll itself "is like the rolls of all her predecessors since the time of Richard II—a huge, bulky roll of parchment. It is what the lawyers would call a deed poll as distinguished from an indenture. It has its preambles and recitals and its obligation, all of which are quaintly set out in stilted phrases on a series of pieces of sheepskin, each fifteen inches wide, fastened together by loose stitches, until the whole attain the length of nearly one hundred lineal feet. . . . Speaking generally, the result, as a whole, is over a hundred square feet of solid reading in one breath and in a language that is a mixture of legal, mediæval, and court phrases; but each line gives one a glimpse not to be had otherwise of the intricacy, dignity, and significance of the coronation ceremony." Under the graphic leadership of the writer one becomes again a spectator of that far-away pageant whose participants for the most part have passed from view. And the description starts a dreamy melancholy. "We close the record and sit fingering the roll, already yellowed by the passage of sixty years, the measure of the reign the formal beginning of which it chronicled. From it is reflected as in a vision the masses of life astir upon the streets of London from the three o'clock dawn of that June day; the lines of soldiers making a living wall down all the way that the royal cortége is to pass; the arches, the flags, the decorations of the house fronts; the windows and housetops packed with impatiently patient spectators; the equipages of state, containing perhaps those of the blood royal, perhaps representatives of foreign powers—Esterhazy, 'all diamonds, diamonds to his very boot heels;' Soult, grim, weather-beaten, military in every gesture or lack of gesture, and greeted with cheers as ringing as those accorded to Wellington as each passes along on his way to perform his allotted part in the ceremonial. All this the imagination sees with a brilliancy that for once is not greater than the reality. But more vivid than any other part of the splendid picture stands out, as it should, the central figure—the figure of one woman amidst all the throng of men about her. Tiny of stature, pathetically young, pathetically isolated although so surrounded, this child-woman, with her silvery voice, her grave yet sweet demeanor, her evident realization of all that she is promising 'to do and to perform,' her graciousness—this figure stands clear in outline, unmistakable in pose—the queen, Victoria." Not less impressive is W. T. Stead's article,

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crowded as it is with valuable statistics, entitled "The Queen's Empire—A Retrospect of Sixty Years," in the *Review of Reviews* for June. The "one supreme characteristic of the Victorian reign," says the writer, "has been the progress which it has made toward admitting all the people, rich and poor, male and female, noble and plebeian, Anglican and Nonconformist, Catholic and Jew, to a full and equal share in all that is going at home or abroad." The territorial expansion of the Empire, the advance in inventions, the results of the free trade movement, the social reforms, the changes in religion, the increased privileges of woman, and the development of journalism are among the features of the Victorian rule which Mr. Stead discusses. It is fortunate, he concludes, to "have been permitted to live in such a reign, where such great events were occurring among men. . . . Never at any previous period, not even when England faced coalesced Europe and maintained alone and indomitable the cause of liberty and nationality against Napoleon, have we occupied a prouder position in the world than we do to-day."

Of the conditions surrounding the birth of "the fourth American college" Professor John De Witt, D.D., writes, in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for April, under the title of "The Planting of Princeton College." President D. W. Fisher, D.D., in considering "Socialism in Italy," declares that "the socialist has the ear of the laboring people, and so long at least as he preaches mainly his 'minimum' programme, he is likely to retain it." The discussion of "The Problem of Public Worship," by Professor T. G. Darling, D.D., is timely and vigorous. The reader will gain a new conception of the travesty upon the name of worship "to which ultra-Protestantism resorts in its bidding for the crowd," as he reads from the closing paragraph of this article: "A resurrected apostle entering our churches on what is in our new Church calendar 'Harvest Sunday' might conceive himself as having stumbled on some agricultural side show; while the clamor from a hundred bird cages confuses and outrages the orator of the day, gesticulating over the pulpit flower garden. The mellow apple, the ostentatious pumpkin, and the crooked squash, are called from their accustomed barn bins and gravely summoned to praise the Lord in his sanctuary, where an imaginative and commercially minded people are supposed to be unable to return sincere thanks for the kindly fruits of the earth unless they see in quality and quantity just how much they have to be thankful for. As yet, I believe, the last improvements in agricultural implements have not been paraded in the pulpit; nor has the ill-savored fertilizer, to which in fairness a part of the glory is due, been admitted to its proper share of sanctuary admiration; nor has any choir ventured to parody the psalm which calls upon all things which have breath to praise the Lord. A sense, perhaps, of the spiritual vulgarity of the performance has so far hindered the agricultural anthem from which might echo the refrain, 'Praise Him, all ye various vegetables by your several unæsthetic names.'" The following articles are:

ostolic and Modern Missions," by Professor Chalmers Martin; "The ical Usage of 'Soul' and 'Spirit,'" by the Rev. W. H. Hodge; "Morals re Moses," by Professor Howard Osgood, D.D.; and "Efficient ching," by R. F. Sample, D.D. From the many practical teachings the last article may be quoted only the following: "The great want of lay is a holier ministry. We do not need more stalwart polemics, mighty apologists, or preachers who compass a wider range of ural knowledge—important as these are; not Chrysostoms, Mellvilles, Robertsons, but men of God like the preachers of Anworth, Kidder-ster, and Ayr by the sea, who bring the atmosphere of heaven with n to the pulpit and speak from the borders of another world."

THE *Edinburgh Review* for April has: 1. "A Great Historian;" 2. Novels of the Italian Renaissance;" 3. "The Exodus of Pictures from gland;" 4. "Old Eton and Modern Public Schools;" 5. "The Crisis American Affairs;" 6. "Jowett;" 7. "The Sculptured Tomb of llas;" 8. "Un Royaume Anglo-Corse;" 9. "Painters Behind the nes;" 10. "National Defense." The historian whom the first article tices is Gibbon. A new understanding of the man and his work is now sible through the letters of Maria Josepha Holroyd—daughter of Lord field, the friend and editor of Gibbon—and Gibbon's Autobiographies d "his hitherto unpublished correspondence." The fourth article con-des with the statement that "the condition of [English] schools now very far in advance of the merry days when Keate and Hawtrey wielded rod, and when every schoolboy had to pass through an ordeal like at of Long Chamber at Eton and 'Commoners' at Winchester." The nking system of the United States, says the English critic of American airs in the fifth article, is "a weak system;" our "Treasury system is d;" the "system of issue of notes" by our banks is "the third weak-s in American finance;" and our politicians have, "during the last enty years, been committing the almost indescribable folly of regularly, tematically, deliberately, and, indeed, almost conscientiously, tamper-g with their standard of value." Jowett's life, says the next article, has imprinted a deep and permanent mark on the thought and character this century." The eighth article says some instructive things on rsica. In the next article such prominent painters are noticed as Fred-rick Walker, Ford Madox Brown, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Jean Fran-s Millet, Henry Stacy Marks, and W. P. Frith. The last article urges tter national defense in England. "To a greater or less degree," says writer, "our interests clash with those of almost every great power cept the United States."

THE *Quarterly Review of the United Brethren* opens with an article by Wilbur Chapman, D.D., on "After Regeneration, What?" Its con-ding sentence is the keynote of the whole: "If, as a Christian, you

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preach the Holy Spirit to yourself as you preach Christ to the unsaved, you will have the truth which has transformed many a life and may change yours." Professor S. D. Faust, D.D., writes on "Our Preacher," discussing the characteristics of the successful Christian minister; and Professor W. J. Zuck considers "The Uses of Poetry for the Preacher." In his favorable verdict he says, "Let the preacher number among his best friends Milton and Wordsworth, Tennyson and Browning, Whittier and Longfellow, and a host of others who have caroled their message to the world only to make it brighter and better and happier. The wonder is not that we love our Bible so much, but that we love our poets so little." The Rev. W. I. Beatty, Ph.D., writes on "Higher Education;" the Rev. H. B. Dohner on "Paganism in Bible Lands;" and M. E. Wilson, D.D., on "Buddha." In "Spiritual Dynamics" the Rev. A. E. Davis declares that "men with the life of Christ and the Spirit of God are the great forces transforming 'the desert and the solitary place' into the blooming garden of the Lord." The concluding article, by the Rev. E. S. Lorenz, discusses "The Influence of Calvinism on Life and Method."

Christian Literature for June has: "The Development of the Doctrine of Infant Salvation—III (Continued)," by Professor B. B. Warfield, D.D.; "Free Church Unity—The New Movement—II," by the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes; "Henry Drummond—I," by W. Robertson Nicoll; "John William Burgon," by H. W. Yule, D.C.L., and G. H. Gwilliam; "The Pope and the Archbishops—I," by Robert Rainy; and "Turkish Courage." ——The *Homiletic Review* for June has among its important articles: "How Best to Present the Life of Christ from the Pulpit," by Dean Farrar; "Goldwin Smith on Agnosticism," by Professor J. B. Thomas, D.D; and "Wanted, a Newspaper," by D. J. Burrell, D.D.——Noticeable among the attractive articles in the *North American* for May are two suggestive of summer outing, "Recent Achievements in Mountaineering," by Sir W. M. Conway, and "Exercise and Longevity," by Professor D. A. Sargent. The June number of the same periodical begins with "How the House Does Business," by Speaker Reed. It also has "Popular Errors in Living," by Dr. C. W. Purdy; "Literary Treasure-Trove on the Nile," by Rodolfo Lanciani; "Progress of the United States. II—The Middle States," by M. G. Mulhall, F.S.S.; "The Trust and the Working-Man," by the Honorable Lloyd Bryce; "The Record Reign," by the Marquis of Lorne; and "The Queen's Parliaments—I," by H. W. Lucy.——The *Methodist Magazine and Review* for June opens with an article by Dean Farrar on "John Wesley." This Canadian publication is full of attractive home reading.——The *Yale Review* for May has: "Limits of Constitutional Law," by Thomas Thatcher; "Street Railways and Their Relation to the Public," by C. E. Curtis; "The Rationale of Congressional Extravagance," by Rollo Ogden; "Public Baths, or the Gospel of Cleanness," by W. H. Tolman; and "The Massachusetts Farmer and Taxation," by C. S. Walker.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Evolution and Religion; or, Faith as a Part of a Complete Cosmic System. By JOHN BASCOM. Crown 8vo, pp. 205. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $1 25.

Thoughtfulness, insight, a modern view-point, familiarity with the latest results of research, a frank and fearless purpose to adjust the forms of faith's expression in harmony with all newly known facts or freshly reasoned conclusions, a passion for integration and coordination, and an intellectual flexibility capable for reinterpretations, reconstructions, and reconciliations—these are elements and qualities which may almost be predicated beforehand of any volume written by Dr. John Bascom. He is one of those who keep at the front of the mental movement of the age, abreast of science and philosophy, giving answer to their latest word, with the intention of showing that the old faith survives and thrives in the newest light, that all genuine progress of knowledge and thought has the effect to confirm and not discredit Christianity's affirmations, to broaden and not undermine its ancient foundations. Whatever critical judgment we may hold as to the success of his efforts at suitable and adequate restatement and response, we must respect the sense of responsibility to the age and to the Church, which impels the effort as well as the ability therein displayed. Such efforts are always watched with apprehension and distrust by the ill-informed who through ignorance fail to perceive any need for such endeavors, and also by minds of strongly conservative temper who are pretty sure to think that the irenical adjuster is going too far, compromising away some inestimable treasures, surrendering the substance by his modification of the forms, and betraying the faith into the hands of its foes. In the opinion of some any conference of theology with modern science and philosophy for the purpose of establishing an amicable and decent *modus vivendi* is a treasonable parley with infidelity. Although they sometimes retard progress, such minds in the Church may have their balancing use. A legislative body which was all Left, without any Center or Right, would be unbalanced, rash, and precipitate. But on the other hand the Church is responsible for making its message intelligible to living men. Better not speak at all than confine itself to an antiquated, outworn, and irrelevant vocabulary, which is the same as preaching in an unknown tongue—a thing forbidden by the Scriptures. The representatives and spokesmen of Christianity must not lay themselves open to be silenced and ruled off the floor by an opponent rising to a question of order and saying, "The honorable gentleman is not speaking to the motion as it is now before the house; he forgets or is unaware that the form of the motion has been changed since yesterday." If a devout scholar of scientific training and temper undertakes to show that on the lowest tenable hypoth-

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esis, and looking from the standpoint of physical science, the Christian thinker finds the resurrection of Jesus Christ to be reasonably credible, let him have space and thanks for his contribution to Christian apologetics. If a learned and loyal Christian teacher inclines to think that evolution may be a method of the divine operation, and claims the privilege of showing that such a view only confirms and deepens spiritual beliefs; or if he wishes to quiet the fears or correct the misapprehensions of those who imagine modern scientific teaching to be unfavorable to religious faith, and so tries to prove that, even supposing evolution to be true, Christianity still holds its own in the intellectual court of highest resort, let us give him our grateful good wishes, listen attentively to his argument, and rejoice if it succeeds. The book before us is one of many such efforts. It seeks to show that "evolution is not a conception in extinction of reason, nor yet a movement in overthrow of faith;" that "our spiritual life is involved in it and built up by it as its most comprehensive and consummate product;" that "we in no way grasp our religious beliefs so firmly as when we see that they are woven into the entire web of events." Dr. Bascom first examines evolution as a conception; then considers it as giving unity to the field of knowledge and action; and afterward discusses its present spiritual phases and the proofs it offers to spiritual beliefs. The fundamental characteristic of evolution is that in its view the world is not so much a product of mechanical construction as of vital growth. Science busies itself with ascertaining and reporting the simple facts of a development which proceeds by a close-knit series of slight changes. It is the office of philosophy to consider the rational implications of reported facts, the ultimate nature of cosmic phenomena, and the origin of the energies operant and expressed in the movement of events. It is the function of the Christian apologist to adjust theology with ascertained facts; and that this is a necessitated function is implied in the sentence, "Religion cannot handle its own statements without raising concerning them all the questions of science and philosophy." We cannot discuss at length the contents of Dr. Bascom's latest book. Like several other volumes from the same hand, it belongs to what is named "The New Theology," which is no newer than Wesley's and Watson's were in their day. Whether we agree or disagree it must be attended to and reckoned with. A few quotations will give glimpses of the author's quality and style: "The doctrine of the Divinity of Christ and that of the Trinity have stood for the hold of men on the highest mystery. They have subserved a weighty symbolic purpose. Their very incomprehensibility has kept them fluent and serviceable. They have marked an inevitable and instructive transition in thought. These doctrines are much to be preferred to real, to blank, agnosticism. We say real, blank agnosticism for any considerable period. It soon gathers its own meaning, takes on its own expression of the 'unknown,' and a mystery of ultimate being is put back of the words. Its disciples, like Spencer and Harrison, fall by the ears as to the nature of this spirit that begins to stir in the darkness beyond. The believing mind feels, in the

very boldness of its faith, that it is dealing with the undefinable, and that its safety lies in that fact. 'The assertion that Christ cannot be very God of very God, in a sense infinitely beyond what may be truthfully said of all other human beings, is sheer intellectual presumption, is indeed dogmatism of the worse kind.' . . . One of the great reasons why this supersensuous and unverifiable doctrine of the Trinity has had such a hold on the minds of men is that it remains the best symbol of mystery, most fully floods the spirit with the sense or mystery without altogether sweeping it from its footing. From time to time men put upon it some new terms of intelligibility, restore its symbolical power by associating the persons of the Trinity with some triple relation in the world about us—as (for example) the substantial phase, the personal phase, the truth phase of being. The very best and purest minds, men like Pascal, have had their thoughts deepened and their spiritual experiences enlarged by dogmas of this order." The closing chapter affirms, and aims measurably to prove, that evolution correctly understood brings confirmation to our spiritual convictions and strengthens the validity of our highest conceptions; that evolution stands for the universality and continuity of intelligible relations and of creative processes; and that sober application may make evolution a key to spiritual knowledge. Evolution uncovers "a movement onward which is a revelation of order—the disclosure of a tranquil and brooding purpose;" shows that "the universe is knit together by an eternal and undergirding thought;" and this conception, "the most adequate and sublime possible, begins at once to get to itself the force of truth by its combining power, and lifts the mind to the point of utmost vision." By it "our theistic faith becomes comprehensive and sure . . . The character of God, as it is revealed to us from within and from without, is transformed into the most pregnant and prophetic term of the world. Prediction, hope, life, flow inevitably and freely out of it. The deeper we penetrate into the spirit of the world the more completely are we enveloped by it. This ruling idea, the character of God, is forever gaining disclosure in the universal movement. Scattered events, here and there, the mishaps which lie nearest to us, are capable of easy misapprehension, are already misapprehended by the hold they have on our feelings; but when we fall back on the ever-growing conception of God, and reason from it, light breaks in, not as from a lamp in one's hand, but as a diffused and increasing presence in the upper air, as lines of radiation from a center not yet fully disclosed which lie quite athwart the clouds . . . The external support we can bring to any single dogma to which we may hang our faith, like the inspiration of the Scriptures, is slight indeed compared with this direct resting back on God in the entire creative process, in an evolution we are daily sharing. From this ruling conception all light flows, and the moment any belief begins to cast a baneful shadow nothing hinders our setting it aside." "Our intellectual experiences involve three elements—an instinctive, a rational, and an ethical one:" these point in the same general direction and converge toward

similar conclusions, the sum total of which constitute, if not in form, then in solution, the substantial verities of our faith. For clearness and force the statements of this book do not always satisfy us. Some of its interpretations seem to us far from convincing, however permissible as tentative suggestions. The style, though good, is in no way remarkable. We have noticed no paragraph more felicitously significant than the following: "The mind does wisely when it follows in the rear of ruling ideas. Our roads are well laid out when they accept the lead of the brooks. They thread the ravines and reach the fruitful plains, associated all the way with the quiet murmur, bright reflection, and unstaying flow of a cosmic force." That brief bit throws its suggestion far and wide in various directions through many things. It is a fertile hint.

The New Apologetic. By MILTON S. TERRY, D.D., LL.D., Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 12mo, pp. 199. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 85 cents.

Apologetics is the name given to the science which studies and teaches how best to arrange and handle the evidences of Christianity so as to meet and defeat the various kinds of attacks made against it, and which aims to make it clear that the truth of Christianity cannot be disproved, but must be accepted. The form which the argument of defensive apologetics must take at any time and place is determined by the form of the particular attack then and there made. Schaff truly says that "every age must produce its own apologies, adapted to prevailing tendencies and wants." In defense the tactics of the enemy dictate our tactics. Our argument must fit and answer his argument; and as he is forever varying the shape and method of his attack a new arrangement of evidence and argument, forming a new apologetic, is needed as often as the enemy alters the arrangement of his forces. Vigilance must be alert enough to perceive his movements, in order to direct effective counter-movements. Lee ordered J. B. Gordon to move his command to Spottsylvania because he knew Grant and his army would be there on the morrow. It is bad management to keep on bombarding the intrenchments in front. where the enemy was yesterday, not knowing that he has withdrawn his forces therefrom and is now threatening our flank. An agile foe makes necessary a frequent change of front. In this valuable little volume Dr. Terry aims to give warning against the use of methods which are erroneous and inefficient because antiquated or otherwise unsuitable. and suggests some outlines of argument which may best serve the interests of Christian truth against present-day attacks, and also he indicates, in his chapter on "The Positive Apology," the proper arrangement of the evidences for Christianity in its aggressive movement upon the intellectual, moral, and spiritual nature of mankind, to the end that the world may be subdued to Jesus Christ. The attacks upon Christian truth are grouped and treated under three heads, the rationalistic-philosophical. the literary-critical, and those drawn from a comparison with rival religions. In the "Historical Retrospect" it is shown that rationalism, higher criticism, and the claims of other religions have been at work,

both in the Church and out of it, from the days of the apostles; and against all these attacks, continued through eighteen centuries, the Bible and the Christian faith have survived unharmed, despite the virulent and tireless ingenuity of enemies and the fears of timid disciples. A fine consistency knits together all parts of this compact and comprehensive book. The author lives up to his own doctrine that "the Christian apologist can afford to be liberal." He quotes the following from Professor A. B. Bruce as illustrating the spirit and attitude of the true apologist: "It is very important to grasp the truth that modern agnosticism and the doctrine of evolution, though often associated in fact, are by no means inseparable. An impression to the contrary might readily mislead the advocate of Christian theism into a precarious policy of uncompromising antagonism to prevalent scientific views concerning the origin of the world, as if to refute these were a matter of life and death. I, for my part, have no sympathy with such a view of the apologist's present duty. I feel no jealousy of the doctrine of evolution, and see no occasion for cherishing such a feeling. I do not profess competency to pronounce on the scientific pretensions of the doctrine; but I am very sensible of the grandeur of the view which it presents of the universe, and I am not indisposed to accept it as truth and to acknowledge the obligation thence arising to adjust our whole mode of thinking on religious questions to the new situation." In the same spirit Dr. Terry writes: "God forbid that we should speak with contempt of men like Spinoza and Hegel and Huxley and Herbert Spencer, and deny the sincerity of their inquiries after truth. The fact that they have not been persuaded of the truth of doctrines which we hold dear should admonish us of what Butler's *Analogy* emphasized, namely, that the evidences of Christianity belong to the class called *probable*, not *demonstrative*." And in like vein: "No good comes from denouncing and exasperating men whom we think to be in error. It is better, if possible, to make friends of them. I would say to the idealist, the materialist, and the pantheist: 'You have taken hold of great truths. Your systems contain elements which have arrested the attention of philosophic minds in all ages. But, I beseech you, observe that the Christian concept of God and the world accounts for more of the facts in question than any other. The biblical idea of God and the world has been on probation for several millenniums, and claims to be more simple, more comprehensive, and more rational than any other philosophy of the universe.'" The lecture on "The Literary-Critical Apology," observing that "biblical criticism is as old as the biblical canon," inquires what is to be done by the Christian apologist with the demands of scientific criticism, with the questions of texts and dates and authors. Shall we ignore them? or shall we wage open warfare against the results of criticism? The author sees a more excellent way, which is to treat the whole matter as a subject for careful inquiry and calm, intelligent judgment, searching out what the facts are and what is the truth about them. A succinct presentation is given of the methods of higher criticism as applied to Ecclesiastes and

Proverbs and Psalms and Isaiah, with the conclusions therefrom. Concerning the Book of Ecclesiastes Dr. Terry says: "Ancient tradition assigns its authorship to Solomon. At the beginning of the book we read, 'The words of the Preacher, the son of David, king in Jerusalem.' In the twelfth and thirteenth verses of the same chapter the writer says, 'I the Preacher was king over Israel in Jerusalem. And I gave my heart to seek and to search out by wisdom concerning all things that are done under heaven.' This language certainly has all the appearance of a direct claim by the author to be Solomon, the son of David. And yet, with almost complete unanimity, the great critics of our day regard the book as one of the latest compositions of the Old Testament. Harman's *Introduction*, which the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church prescribe as a regular study for all candidates for the ministry, says: 'There can be little doubt that it is the latest book of the canon, and could not have been written earlier than the time of Malachi; but in all probability it was written still later.' Adam Clarke, the time-honored authority in Wesleyan exegesis, says that the attempts to overthrow the evidences of a post-exile date are 'often trifling and generally ineffectual.'" Remarking that in this one example we have a fair illustration of the nature of higher criticism, Dr. Terry says: "I have sometimes wondered that those who make the loudest outcry against such criticism when directed upon the Pentateuch and Isaiah seem never to have heard of this remarkable onslaught on Ecclesiastes. In the face of the assertions of the book itself we are told by cautious and conservative scholars (like Adam Clarke and Dr. Harman) that the work cannot be reasonably believed to be the composition of Solomon." Anent the question whether there are errors in the Bible Dr. Terry offers this parable: "A certain man had three sons who fell to disputing one day over the question whether a well-known and fertile field of their father's contained any stones. The first said, 'No, there cannot be stones in a field that has been glorified as that field has been.' But the second son said, 'There are stones there, for I have noticed them time and again.' The first son refused for a while to look at a specimen, and when he did look he pronounced it, not a stone, but a hard lump. At length the third son said, 'Brothers, let us all go out into the field and examine for ourselves.' Whereupon they went and found various small stones scattered here and there around the field. But then they disagreed again as to what should be done with the stones. The first son busied himself a long time in going about the field and trying to cover up all those troublesome stones with dirt. But the next plowshare that passed through the soil turned them up again to view. The other two succeeded in removing a number of the stones out of the field. But after a while one of them asked, 'Why should we be so much concerned about these scattered stones? They do no real harm to the field. The fruits and grains grow just as well in spite of them. Is it not the nature of this soil to have such stones in it? Why should we ever have set up the notion that this field must needs be without stones?'" Emphasizing the necessity of recognizing the great difference between

questions of literature and those of fundamental doctrine, the author writes: "Whether Paul or Apollos or Barnabas or Luke wrote the Epistle to Hebrews is a question of literary history, and its determination one way or another will not affect the value of the epistle nor the essentials of the Christian faith." Again: "The essentials of the Gospel are not dependent upon the successful defense of the traditional authorship of a written document. I would not allow even the question of the authorship of the fourth gospel to hold an essential place in general apologetics. The fundamental truths of Christianity can be shown from the three synoptic gospels and the four unquestioned epistles of Paul, our enemies themselves being judges." There is no wiser chapter in the book than that containing "The Apology of Comparative Religion." These five lectures on true and false methods of meeting modern attacks upon the Christian religion cover a wide range in a comparatively brief survey, compress much information for ordinary readers, illuminate the subjects treated, correct various prevalent misconceptions, and show the solidity of the foundations of the Christian faith.

Modern Methods in Church Work. The Gospel Renaissance. By Rev. GEORGE WHITEFIED MEAD, with an Introduction by Rev. CHARLES L. THOMPSON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 363. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

No minister who cares to win men or who wishes to know what the Church of to-day is doing can afford to be without this book. It is a practical discussion of needs and a magazine of methods for meeting them. It will impress all who read it with the ingenuity and fertile inventiveness of religious enterprise and the general alertness of the modern Church. It is a handbook of applied Christianity in the various forms of present-day activity. What our readers may find in it is indicated in the chapter titles: "Cardinal Principles;" "The Free, the Open, and the Institutional Church;" "Church Members—Where Are They? What Are They?" "Reaching People Outside the Church;" "Personal Work;" "Reaching Strangers at the Services;" "Ushers' Association;" "The Choir;" "The Men's Sunday Evening Club;" "The Sunday Evening Service;" "The After Meeting;" "The Pleasant Sunday Afternoon;" "Young People's Societies;" "The Prayer Meeting;" "The Cottage Prayer Meeting;" "Open-Air Preaching;" "Chapels and Missions;" "Country Evangelization;" "Men's Clubs;" "Reaching and Holding Young Men;" "Athletics;" "Church Libraries, Reading Rooms, Literary Societies, and Entertainment Courses;" "Teaching by Means of Classes;" "Women's Work;" "Work with Girls and Young Women;" "The Social Problem of the Church;" "The Children of the Church;" "The Sunday School;" "Lectures to Boys Only;" "The Boys' Club;" "The Boys' Brigade;" "Industrial Classes;" "Day Nurseries and Kindergartens;" "Temperance Work;" "Healing;" "Relief Work;" "Beneficiary and Loan Associations, and the Penny Provident Fund;" "The Plural Pastorate;" "The Free Pew and Voluntary Offering System;" "Church Programs, Year Books, Bulletins, Vestibule Cards, Papers, Letters, and Advertising;" "Church Architec-

ture;" "Mobilizing the Work;" "Results of the New Methods;" "The Inspiration of the New Movement, and the Realization of the Kingdom." Not only ministers, but workers in Sabbath schools, in young people's associations, in evangelistic movements, in charitable efforts, or in almost any other form of Christian activity may learn something from this survey and description of methods.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Book and Heart. Essays on Literature and Life. By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. 12mo, pp. 237. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

Twelve essays under "Literature," and twenty-three under "Life," not one of them tedious or tame; a shrewd, genial, mellow wisdom pervading them all. To say this is not to agree with every opinion. A large variety of topic and treatment diversifies the volume. In the essay on "Discontinuance of the Guideboard" the author writes: "There is undoubtedly a tendency to rely more and more upon what has been well called 'the presumption of brains' in the reader. Note, for instance, the steady disappearance of the italic letter from the printed page. Once used as freely as in an epistle from one of Thackeray's fine ladies, it is now employed by careful writers almost wholly to indicate foreign words or book titles; a change in which Emerson and Hawthorne were conspicuous leaders. There is a feeling that only a very crude literary art will now depend on typography for shades of meaning which should be rendered by the very structure of the sentence. The same fate of banishment is overtaking the exclamation point, so long used by the poets—conspicuously by Whittier—as a note of admiration also. Here, too, as in the other case, the emphasis is now left to render itself; and even the last verse of the poem, which often—to cite Whittier again—contained the detached moral of the lay, is now commonly clipped off, leaving the reader to draw the moral for himself. The poet now makes his point as best he can, and leaves it without a guideboard; in this foreshadowing precisely that change which has also come over the prose novel." Realism in literature and art is considered to be not a permanency, but a swing of the pendulum to one extreme; and yet such oscillations are in their time irresistible. To oppose them is as useless as it was for Lowell to go on lighting his pipe for years with flint and steel, which he actually did rather than accept promptly the innovation of friction matches. When Higginson "pointed out to Browning some unfortunate alterations in his later editions, and charged him with having made them to accommodate stupid people, he admitted the charge and promised to alter them back again, although he never did." The following is quoted from Florence King, formerly Director of the United States Geological Survey: "With all its novel powers and practical sense, I am obliged to admit that the purely scientific brain is miserably mechanical; it seems to have become a splendid sort of self-directed machine, an incredible automaton, grinding on with its analyses or constructions. But for pure sentiment, for all that

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spontaneous, joyous Greek waywardness of fancy, for the temperature of passion and the subtle thrill of ideality, you might as well look to a cast-iron derrick." Thoreau said there was never yet a definition of poetry so good but the poet would promptly proceed to disregard it by setting aside all its requisitions. Mozart wrote: "My ideas come as they will, I don't know how, in a stream. If I can hold on to them they begin to join on to one another, as if they were bits that a pastry cook should join on in his pantry. And now my soul gets heated, and if nothing disturbs me the piece grows larger and brighter, until, however long it is, it is all finished at once, so that I can see it at a glance." In "A Bit of War Photography" the author prints five pages in eulogy of Stephen Crane's *Red Badge of Courage*, likening its power to that of Tolstoi in bringing out vividly the daily life of war. "It is this Tolstoi quality—the real tumult and tatters of the thing itself—which amazes the readers of Crane's novel." He is called even more wonderful than Tolstoi because the latter has been through war in person, while Crane is but a youth born since our civil war. But success contains peril. "Goethe says that as soon as a man has done one good thing the world conspires against him to keep him from doing another. Mr. Crane has done one good thing, not to say two; but the conspiracy of admiration may yet be too much for him." The author of *The Red Badge of Courage*, being engaged as a war correspondent reporting the conflict between Greece and Turkey, an American journal administers the following criticism as an antidotal pellet against the dizzying effects of the wine of adulation: "Occasionally as the smoke of battle lifts on the plains of Greece the world catches a glimpse of the impressive figure of Mr. Stephen Crane. When last seen he was calmly rolling a cigarette between his fingers and a splendid symbolistic phrase on his tongue. He was standing amid an 'avalanche of thunder.' The downward rush of this vast mass of noise did not overwhelm him, but he was observed to pick up a few chunks of it and put them in his pockets for future use." Of Lowell's father it is written: "The Rev. Dr. Lowell was a man of sufficiently mild clericalism to preach sermons only fifteen minutes long, and this in a Congregational pulpit. He had, moreover, a sense of humor, for no one without it would have finally silenced a woman made garrulous by bereavement and steadfastly refusing all consolation—'But, after all, my dear madam, what do you expect to do about it?'" Colonel Higginson thinks the noblest series of accumulated climaxes to be found in the orations of Wendell Phillips is in his celebrated comparison between war and slavery, which ends with, "Tell me, where is the battlefield that is not white—white as an angel's wing—compared with the blackness of that darkness which has brooded over the Carolinas for centuries?" He says, "Matthew Arnold thought that Worcester, Mass., must be a small and trivial town because he had but few to hear him and was left at a hotel, but regarded Haverhill as a great and promising city because he was entertained at a private house and had a good audience." Arnold denied to Emerson the name of poet and philosopher, but proclaimed him "the friend and comforter of those

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who would live in the spirit." The following on manners goes to the heart of the matter: "Good manners are not a matter of veneering but ingrain. Self-respect, self-control, kind feeling, refined habits—these are the basis. The trivialities of spoons and napkins are easily enough acquired. I have sat at table with a Pueblo Indian chief, introduced for the first time to silver forks, who handled these and all other implements with an awkwardness so dignified and delicate that it actually gave a charm. Never have I seen finer manners than those of an old 'body-servant' whom I knew in my youth on a Virginia plantation, who could neither read nor write, and had never gone farther from home than the White Sulphur Springs. . . . First get the real qualities, which lie at the basis, whether of social manners or of literary style, and all the rest shall be added unto you." Higginson thinks Lowell's "Commemoration Ode" the high-water mark of American poetry. Americans are described as a laborious and nervous race, in an exhausting climate, hurried on by what a poet calls "the whip of the sky." E. L. Godkin in his *Political and Economic Essays* speaks of the labor problem as insoluble, because it is really the problem of "making the manual laborers of the world content with their lot," which is difficult because such laborers imagine their life to be exceptionally laborious, whereas no pursuit is without a large amount of drudgery. Many a man of wealth in this country works willingly on a scale which would appall any day laborer, and this simply from love of the exertion, and is only glad when a portion of it may come in the form of actual manual labor. The author sees members of Congress and eminent lawyers retiring from public and professional life because of the enormous drudgery; an eminent physician, aged eighty, spending three successive nights at the bedside of one patient; the banker leading a life of tremendous and wearing drudgery. He concludes that among all pursuits the choice is only as to the form of drudgery one will prefer, and the form which seems to this man of literature least repellent and most attractive is that of the boat-builders on a certain sunny wharf, "who work all day in their airy shops with an endless stream of friends coming in to chat or children to play, where the work always ends in something graceful and beautiful and useful, and even the shavings are sweet-scented and the dust is clean." Referring to the drudgery of the law, President James Walker, of Harvard, said, "Put it down as a rule that no really eminent lawyer ever gets time to read a book." Discussing "The Complaint of the Poor," Higginson says that wealth does not get full credit for the good it does; that more money is devoted now and here by rich men for the benefit of the community than ever in any other time or place, and that the benevolent spirit and intention are spreading rapidly among respectable rich people. He remarks that the only American millionaire habitually reverenced in the more radical newspapers is Peter Cooper, and this not so much for the money he spent or gave as for the way in which he did it. Speaking of the deference and predominance accorded to honorable age, the author writes: "There is always a period when the young look with a certain

admiration and envy on the old, and sometimes for five minutes at a time would even change places with them. The old discreetly hold their tongues and accept the sort of supremacy forced upon them. So long as they say nothing the impression stands." Sir Robert Walpole, who lived to near eighty, remarked of his coeval, Lord Tyrawley, "Tyrawley and I have been dead for two years, but we don't tell anybody."

Behind the Arras. A Book of the Unseen. By BLISS CARMAN. 16mo, pp. 102. Boston and New York: Lamson, Wolffe & Co. Price, ornamental, $1.50.

Two poems much alike in theme are the first and the twelfth, "Behind the Arras" and "Beyond the Gamut." Under the figure of the first events and people of this life seem to this poet's fancy like scenes and figures woven on suspended tapestry, all plain enough to see and touch. On this marvelous tapestry of the visible he beholds many strange things, "degraded shapes and splendid seraph forms,"

> And beings with hair.
> And moving eyes in the face,
> And white bone teeth and hideous grins, who race
> From place to place.
>
> They build great temples to their John-a-nod,
> And fume and plod
> To deck themselves with gold
> And paint themselves like chattels to be sold;
> Then turn to mold.

But the tapestry which holds the figures, many and various, is swayed by windlike forces from the farther side, stirs often as if some one went to and fro behind it brushing against or pushing it with hands. Seeing which the poet falls a-wondering what is "Behind the Arras," suspects footfalls and voices almost audible, and hunts to find some peephole in the curtain. In "Beyond the Gamut" the same general theme is treated under a different figure. The violinist, feeling his dear instrument thrill as it nestles between chin and shoulder, asks what reason any find to doubt that past the seven notes, both up and down, are notes and music further and additional, could we but hear. There might be hearing so acute that the motions of the spider's loom would roar like a tornado. That little pearl and coral conch shell which we call the ear is not the measure of the sea of sound. Through realms of manifold music "Beyond the Gamut" Carman's fancy listens and through fourteen pages reports more or less of what it thinks it hears; report which is secure in one advantage—no man living can well contradict it. It is expected that in life's later, larger, loftier rooms man will develop new senses of soul, if not of body, senses now unknown, if not undreamed of. Had we the powers of court or legislature we would decree a change of name; it should hereafter be Bliss Carmen, because, in large degree and in undertone when not in dominant note, his poetry is a song of bliss. He knows reasons why each new morn that stands a-tiptoe on the mountain top is a jocund day. It is happily safe to float on the roll of his rhythm, for there are no treacherous currents, no dangerous eddies sucking faith under; no deadly sea-puss sticking its claws into the swimmer;

no monster of the slime reaching up its clammy tentacles to seize and drag the soul down to drown in the dark and be devoured in the ooze. The joy of life is full and strong in Carman; above the world's gray tears he marks the sun's gold glee; but his test for all things, low or high, is what they import to the soul. He holds that the "joys of earth are journey-aids to heaven;" and as for ills, sufferings, and privations, dangers and hardships—without them there would be among men no touch of pathos or of daring, none of the unquenchable valor of the overcomer, none of the patience which endures, nor the unflinching loyalties of love. He calls evil a false note; is of opinion it will not persist but die away, and at last, far on, be whelmed in God's triumphant harmony, so that hearkening down his deep, wide universe he will hear not one discordant note. The poet seldom argues; he affirms or hints. Neither science nor logic dictates his forms. He is no professed philosopher, bound to explain things. He no more binds himself to complete statement than a piano player promises to strike all the keys at once. When he says that Shakespeare's people are "sweet, and elemental, and serene" he means that some of them are. When he writes, "Good is impetus to Godward; evil, but our ignorance of laws," he omits to make his semicircle whole by a supplementary statement that evil as it exists in the human world includes a vast amount of deliberate or passionate defiance and stubborn disobedience of laws which are as painfully well known as they are clearly revealed and solemnly sanctioned. In the claims and conquests of The Good, Carman has an assured confidence; earth's brief twilight dirges shall melt in long Te Deums. Through his verse breathes such faith and hope and trust as might enable an aging or a failing man to say to friends or to the stripped and friendless years,

> Slowly, therefore, and softly,
> With more memories than tongue can tell,
> Lower me down the slope of life and leave me,
> Knowing the hereafter will be well.

In "The Cruise of the Galleon," he pictures an old battered and laboring galleon, lettered on its stern, TELLUS, the earth, "laded deep and rolling hard," but bound to weather the storms, clear the reefs, and at last, beyond the zones of sorrow, go "bowling down an open bee line for the latitudes of joy." Carman's poetry is not hard to interpret; mostly its meaning can be caught on the fly. The two poems first mentioned in this notice are somewhat more subtle than the rest. Among those whose message is most obvious are "The Lodger," "The Juggler," and "The Night Express." The Lodger signs his name, "Spiritus;" a mysterious tenant, biding a while in a house of tinted clay: biding and hiding, a silent secret guest who minds his own affairs in a very private fashion, goes softly in and out; mostly keeps himself upstairs. No Paul Pry at his keyhole ever sees him; but

> The light under his door
> Is glory enough;
> It outshines any star
> That I know of;

and "his presence is worse to miss than the sun's best shine." In most of these verses we meet God and the soul or overhear them pretty much everywhere and all the time; a God not feared but greatly revered and trusted, a soul buoyant, eager, believing, affirming. The conception in "The Juggler" is finely written out in fourteen verses, easy, beautiful, charming. The Juggler is God; the worlds are his golden balls; he throws them up and up; there is never one that falls; he teaches them all their curves, and there never is one that swerves. His hand never hurries nor halts; he forgets not their time of return; he sees just where they are; he knows them all like a book; they will come home to his grasp at last; and

> Likely enough, when the show is done
> And the balls are all back in his hand,
> He'll tell us why he is smiling so,
> And we shall understand.

"The Night Express" is our on-rushing life, in which "we are traveling safe and warm with our little baggage of cares" because a Driver of iron nerve handles the throttle-bar and gathers the track in his smile:

> For he of the sleepless hand
>   Will drive till the night is done—
> Will watch till morning springs from the sea,
>   And the rails stand gold in the sun;
> Then he will slow to a stop
>   The tread of the driving-rod,
> When the night express rolls into the dawn;
>   For the Driver's name is God.

Just as we close Bliss Carman's little book we catch the picture of a river wandering fast and far, "through a gate in the mountains left ajar," and the Delaware Water Gap flashes into mental view. To save some one else the need of saying it, we remark that this book notice is an appreciation rather than a literary criticism; and we beg leave to add apologetically that to enjoy may be as judicial as to find fault.

The House of Dreams. 16mo, pp. 207. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This book, published anonymously, but popularly attributed to Rev. W. J. Dawson, of London, once a Wesleyan and now a Congregationalist, author of two books published by our Book Concern, *Quest and Vision* and *The Church of To-morrow*, is sufficiently peculiar. It is a vague, mystical, dreamy vision of things after death and the world behind the veil. Its poetic, sentimental, semiphilosophic quality reminds us slightly of Alden's *Study of Death.* One thing held in solution, of which as we read we have most frequent and distinct glimpses, is an eternal hope of possible ultimate restoration for all souls. Unless we mistake, this hope lies at the bottom of the author's heart. *The House of Dreams* begins in its prologue with a sentence uttered bitterly by Cyril Reade, a young man for whom life had gone ill. "A bank had failed, and he whose habits had been those of the easy student had been forced to sell his books and find a drudging means of livelihood in an office. His mother had died the year before and his wife a year earlier. He was

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thus left alone, and he had little genius for friendship. His mind was equally divided between vague enthusiasms, leading to the goal of a radical reconstruction of society, and a melancholy conviction that no sane reconstruction was possible. Thus it happened that young men of undistracted hopefulness of temper found him uncongenial, and those whose creed was thoroughgoing cynicism found him unsatisfactory. The men of merely sordid mind avoided him altogether. He took no interest in their pleasures and made no effort to conceal his disdain. He had no friend in the office, and outside the office door the world was inhospitable to him. So his mind grew bitter in him as he walked th e stony streets. On a winter night in London Cyril Reade walked with the one who tells us of it. "The freezing wind drove like a host of hostile spears along the street. Strong men drew the collars of their overcoats around their ears and fled from it; thinly clothed people stooped before it and shivered with a fear of what the night would be. A man stood beside the railings of the Church of St. Clement Danes offering matches in his swollen hands. His face was gray with cold, his eyelids red, his eyes like a dog's, patient and reproachful. Near him stood a woman with a child huddled to her bosom in a frayed shawl. She spoke from time to time in a weak, mechanical voice, as though she were reciting a lesson. The voice was hoarse and its tone leaden. The mire of the street, flung by a thousand passing wheels, spattered her, but she took no notice. It was the unmemorable accident of a life of misery. High in the air a clock struck four, and over the roar of streets instantly a mellow music broke from a hundred steeples. It was as though the notes were caught up like leaves in a great wind, and went whizzing past in a kind of ghostly murmur. The streets replied with a louder roar of thunder, and the wheels rolled on vindictively over the body of the dead hour. 'Ah,' said Cyril, 'who cares for these—for this man and this woman and the thousands like them? Look at the man's hands, see how the nails are broken, the joints swelled, the fingers bent. That is the hand of a man who has toiled. Your beggar by profession never had a hand like that. That hand has delved the earth, or held the plow that we might be fed; it has cut the tunnels through which the lighted trains rush night and day; it has perhaps controlled the lever on which the happiness of a hundred homes depended; it has found its tasks in the iron bowels of great steamships, amid oil and dust and heat; it is by such a hand as that the great machine we call civilization is kept at work. It has grown weak now, and no one wants it. There is a deep scar across those blue knuckles. Fire did that. There is a bulging at his wrist where it was broken long ago. That will be an accusing hand for somebody when it is lifted up above the throng of angels in the day of judgment.' At this moment the man hobbled forward holding out his matches in front of two well-dressed men who were passing. They repulsed him with rough and heartless words. 'I told you so,' said Cyril. 'No one cares. Yet possibly that poor woman standing there worked to clothe those two fellows in their fur coats. Let us ask her how she came to beg in the

streets.' The woman tells them that she has worked at shirt-making and trouser-making, and last for a furrier, picking over skins, until strength failed. 'That's what did for me. The nasty stuff got on my chest, and I've never been well since.' She stopped to cough. Her flat chest heaved and shook like a paper screen in the wind. 'Told you so,' said Cyril, with increased bitterness, 'the stitches wrought by that woman's thin fingers are very likely on my back and yours at this hour. She paid her lungs as the price of those fellows' fur coats. Look at her face. That blanched whiteness means famine. I can see death grinning through the sunken cheeks. She'll be under the rotten soil of a city cemetery directly, and those two bulls of Bashan in fur coats will go on stalking through the earth and neither know nor care. My God, to think of it all!' He shuddered, put his hands before his eyes, and whispered, 'I can hear Death sharpening his scythe on the steps of St. Clement Danes.' And then he said bitterly to me, 'Your God is dead, for none can hear his breath; he is certainly asleep, for none can waken him.'" This desperate sentence was the last in the author's mind when he fell asleep and dreamed the things which are in the twelve chapters, which have such titles as "The Sanctuary of the Wind," "The Sixth Sense," "The Judgment of the Woman," "The Arch of Fear," "The Man who was Loved," "The Land of the Lonely," "The Bridge of Hell." In the last chapter it is written that the throne of the Highest is in the form of a cross. The book closes with thirty verses like the following:

> All that aspired, at last shall find its mark;
> See, how each morn the little eager lark
> Throbs up the sky all hungry for the dawn,
> And finds the punctual light beyond the dark.
>
> O Soul, be sure that this must be God's plan
> To warm the germ of God concealed in man,
> Till it outsoar in scorn the ended flesh,
> As seeds the husk in which their life began.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Governments and Parties in Continental Europe. By A. LAWRENCE LOWELL. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. 376, 454. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $5.

The author in his Preface well describes the motive and the aim of his book: "The State has been represented at sundry times under different figures. In the frontispiece to Hobbes's *Leviathan*, in the edition of 1651, it is given the form of a gigantic prince whose body is composed of minute human beings of every kind. A more common symbol is that of a ship sailing the trackless ocean, with a venerable pilot at the helm, steering by the light of the everlasting stars. To the writer the State sometimes presents itself under the figure of a stagecoach with the horses running away. On the front a number of eager men are urging the most contrary advice on the driver, whose chief object is to keep his seat; while at the back a couple of old gentlemen with spyglasses are

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carefully surveying the road already traversed. Now, useful as all these persons undoubtedly are, there ought to be room also for the quiet observers, who watch the movements of the horses and note the strain on the wheels, axles, and bolts; who listen to the hubbub on the front seat and the grave conversation at the rear. To drop the simile and speak directly, there is need to-day of a thorough examination into the actual working of modern governments; and in one direction at least that need is still imperfectly satisfied. I refer to the activity of the parties which furnish the main motive power in public life. A great deal of discussion has taken place of late over the question whether political parties are a good or an evil; but from a scientific point of view this seems very like making the same inquiry about the winds and the tides. In reality parties are a fact, and as such their manifestations ought to be studied. Moreover, it is impossible to say that parties in the abstract are a good or an evil, because the result depends on the circumstances under which they act and the way in which they are managed. In Venice, for example, the absence of parties or factions prevented the State from falling into anarchy and despotism like the other Italian republics. In England the existence of two strong parties enabled the people to control the crown, and made parliamentary government possible. In France the subdivision of parties has prevented the parliamentary system from being a success, and both there and in Germany it has been a constant obstacle to popular government; while in Switzerland the subdivision and low development of parties has enabled the people to maintain one of the most perfect democracies the world has ever seen." Remarking that the phenomena of parties considered as facts have not been sufficiently examined hitherto, he proceeds in these two volumes to describe and explain the relation between the development of parties and the mechanism of modern government. The study includes the institutions and parties of France, Italy, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland—countries where there is not, as usually in Anglo-Saxon countries, a simple division into two great parties, but rather a division into a larger number of more or less distinctly defined political groups. The treatment of each country begins with a description of its chief institutions or political organizations, which is followed by a sketch of its recent history, showing how the parties actually work, and, finally, by an attempt to find the causes of the condition and operation of party life. In his study of the condition of parties in Germany and the probable course of affairs the author, remarking that the disposition and character of the present emperor is a chief factor in the problem, goes on to say: "It is extraordinary that although William II has now been on the throne over eight years, and has seized every possible opportunity to declare his sentiments on every conceivable subject, his character is still an enigma. It is not clear whether he has really profound theories of government or not, and whether, like his grandfather, he has the strength of will to carry out his plans in spite of serious opposition, or whether, as his course on the education bill and during the friction with England about the Transvaal seems to indicate, he would give way before determined

existence. He has, however, one quality about which there can be no mistake, and that is his desire to identify himself personally and publicly with his government, to make every act of his administration visibly his own. This is largely due, no doubt, to his craving for theatrical display and to his love for acting the part of king in the drama of the world; but it arises also from his conception of his duty as a sovereign anointed by God. He apparently regards himself as commissioned, not only to govern the State, but to lead and guide his people in all matters. The most curious exhibition of this notion was given in his address on the proper method of teaching history, made before a meeting of instructors in December, 1890. The address embodies his political ideas and illustrates his practical tone of mind. He told his hearers that the present mode of teaching history is all wrong; that instead of beginning with Greece and Rome and coming down to recent times they ought to begin with the present century and then go backward. He also remarked that students ought to be taught that the French Revolution was an unmitigated crime against God and man, and that they ought to be shown the fallacy of socialism. In his opinion the object of education is to teach politics, to create obedient subjects and loyal supporters of the crown. The emperor is an ardent believer in the monarchical theory which has recently come into large vogue in Germany—a theory that decries universal suffrage and proclaims the military monarchy as the best possible form of government—thus furnishing one of many examples of the way the end of the century is rejecting the principles and reversing the conclusions so laboriously developed during the last hundred years. The fact is that ever since the battle of Sadowa a profound change has been coming over the German character. The dreamy, poetical, mystical temperament has given way before the hard, practical, organizing spirit of the Prussians. The unity of the Fatherland, which the dreamers failed to accomplish, was brought about by means of the drill sergeant, and hence the nation is ruled by his methods." In Germany to-day the circles of scholarship and culture give large support to the doctrine of the superiority of a military monarchy, while among the lower classes this doctrine and its results cause irritation and a sullen discontent which is making ominous headway. The growing Socialist vote is the answer of the common people to the emperor's rigid and insistent personal government.

The Mycenæan Age. A Study of the Monuments and Culture of Pre-Homeric Greece. By Dr. CHRESTOS TSOUNTAS, Ephor of Antiquities and Director of Excavations at Mycenæ, and J. IRVING MANATT, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Greek Literature and History in Brown University. With an Introduction by Dr. DÖRPFELD. 8vo, pp. 417. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $6.

For about a dozen years Dr. Tsountas, a Greek archæologist commissioned by his government, has been working with a specialist's keen enthusiasm at Mycenæ, continuing the explorations begun by Schliemann. His fame as an explorer rests upon achievements like these: He has brought to light "the palace of the Pelopid kings; unearthed and studied the humbler abodes of their retainers and menials; traced the fortress

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walls through all the stages of construction and extension, and discovered the secret waterway which enabled the citadel to hold out against a siege; in short, he has laid bare the old Achæan capital in its great enduring features, thus revealing to modern eyes the typical Acropolis of the Heroic Age. Moreover, he has explored the lower town, and particularly the clan or village cemeteries, each composed of a group of rock-hewn tombs whose disposition and contents have shed new light on the civic and religious life of the time. While patiently pursuing this great task he has taken occasional archæological excursions with brilliant results. In 1889 he excavated the bee-hive tomb at Vaphio (near Sparta), and there recovered those unrivaled masterpieces of Mycenæan art, the Vaphio cups. A year later he crossed Taygetus, and, under the height crowned by the Homeric Gerenia, explored another *tholos*, which yielded the curious figures of lead known as the Kampos statuettes. Still more recently he has made more than one fruitful reconnoissance on the island of Amorgos." In 1893 this brilliant explorer published in Athens a volume entitled *Mycenæ and the Mycenæan Civilization*, which was not simply a record of his own finds, but also undertook for the first time a systematic handling of the whole subject of prehistoric Greek culture in the light of the monuments. From that volume the book before us grew. Professor Manatt has taken that work of Tsountas, recast, enlarged, and adapted it to a wider public. Moreover the present volume contains in addition the results of explorations made within the last three years, during which "Tsountas himself has gone on with his great task at Mycenæ; Noack and de Ridder have explored the mighty Minyan works in and about Lake Copaïs; Staës and others have brought to light half a dozen prehistoric settlements in Attica and the adjacent islands; Evans has made known the results of his memorable researches in Crete; and, to crown all, Dörpfeld has laid bare the walls and towers, the houses and (possibly) a temple of Homer's Troy." The contents are arranged in fifteen chapters, showing what light has been thrown by archæological discovery on the Mycenæan civilization, upon its palaces, its private houses and domestic life, the dwellings of the dead, dress and personal adornment, weapons and war, phases of art, writing in Mycenæan Greece, religion, chronology, Homer, and Troy. The book contains twenty-two full-page plates and one hundred and sixty-nine illustrations in the text. A good index makes the contents readily accessible. Professor Manatt's volume, as he says, signalizes the end of the second decade of Mycenæology: "Twenty years ago the wires flashed from Mycenæ to King George's palace at Athens Schliemann's jubilant message that he had found the Royal Tombs, with their heroic tenants still masked in gold and their heroic equipage about them." That was the beginning of the discoveries which have already in great measure restored the landmarks of pre-Homeric Greece, and with them the real background of the Homeric poems. Dr. Dörpfeld, in his Introduction, notes how recent excavations attest the accuracy of the descriptions of life in the Heroic Age of Greece found in the Homeric poems, many of which have been supposed to be fanciful.

For example, few believed that the palaces were actually adorned (as Homer describes them) with friezes of blue glass; but the excavations at Tiryns, Mycenæ, Orchomenos, and elsewhere show the fidelity of that description. The tombs which have been unearthed bear witness to the prevalence of the worship of the dead among the Mycenæans. Some are of opinion that with the Greeks and with other races ancestor worship was the root and origin of all religion. Writing in support of this opinion, Fustel de Coulanges said: "Man worshiped the dead before he worshiped Zeus; he feared them and so addressed to them his prayers. (In this way, say some, the religious sentiment originated.) It was, perhaps, while looking on the dead that man first conceived the idea of the supernatural, and began to have a hope beyond what he saw. Death was the first mystery, and it put man on the track of other mysteries. It raised his thoughts from the visible to the invisible, from the transitory to the eternal, from the human to the divine." After this fashion reason De Coulanges and others.

Ulysses S. Grant. Conversations and Unpublished Letters. By M. J. CRAMER, D.D., LL.D., ex-United States Minister to Denmark and to Switzerland. 16mo, pp. 207. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

The recent dedication of the Grant tomb at Riverside Park has directed the attention of the nation anew to the conspicuous services of its great leader in the late rebellion, and makes particularly opportune this modest volume of reminiscences. In it we hear again, as it were, the living voice of the hero of Appomattox, and are permitted to know his views upon some of the questions of warfare, reconstruction, social progress, and human destiny which occupied his thought. While the "conversations" which Dr. Cramer has recorded are not usually given *verbatim*, yet they are sufficiently full to be clear and instructive. To quote at random and but briefly from the book, General Grant is here on record as saying that he hated warfare. But, he adds, "When the war broke out I felt it my duty to offer my services to the government that had educated me." In his devotion to his work, "whatever he tried to do, he always did it with all his might. He had no patience with lazy people." His conscientiousness was also marked. "The idea of obligation, responsibility, faithfulness to trust, rectitude, justice, right—all these qualities were highly developed in him. Anyone who had the privilege of listening to his conversations in the privacy of the family circle or among intimate friends must have noticed that these qualities were prominent in his character." He did not desire political office. Says Dr. Cramer: "He told me that it cost him a severe struggle to accept the nomination as candidate for the presidency, offered to him by the Republican party in 1868, and that only upon the strong presentation of the case by the leaders of that party, and taking the situation and circumstances into consideration, he felt it his duty to obey that call and serve his country in the position to which the people afterward elected him." Originally he was not an abolitionist, but as the rebellion progressed he grew convinced that "slavery was doomed and must go," and even came to look upon

the war itself as "a divine punishment for the sin of slavery." In other words, he firmly held the doctrine of an overruling Providence, and in conversation on the assassination of Mr. Lincoln and his own escape, said to Dr. Cramer, "I am a profound believer in a special and a general providence that shapes the destiny of individuals and nations." His estimate of public men was wise—Lincoln, Stanton, Seward, Chase, and Johnson being among those upon whom he pronounces his accurate judgment. After the war and during his visits to other lands, he became an intelligent student of the European and oriental civilizations. "He thought that the Prussian, the Danish, and the American public schools were the best in the world." At Elsinore such a subject as the historicity of the play of "Hamlet" interested him; and at Bernstorff Castle he surprised the king and queen of Denmark by his knowledge of Danish history, politics, and resources. English rule in India so favorably impressed him that he declares "it would be a sad day for the people of India and for the commerce of the world if the English should withdraw." On Chinese conservatism and Japanese progress he intelligently comments, and of Russian and Turkish autocracy speaks words truly prophetic, to the effect that both are "determined to repress all liberal sentiments, even at the expense, if need be, of the Christian inhabitants of Turkey." In Christian missions he announced his firm faith, as a result of his world-wide wanderings, and in answer to the question if he believed in Christianity as a prime factor in modern civilization replied, "Certainly I do; and it is to be hoped that the Eastern nations will come to see it and adopt its fundamental principles." In spirit also General Grant was religious. Once, while President, and in the Metropolitan Church, he asked Mr. Colfax to accompany him to the communion, but the latter declining, "I, too," said the general, "stayed away." When asked by Dr. Cramer if he ever prayed he answered, "Yes, I often prayed silently to God at night and during the day that he might aid me in the performance of my duties, though I said nothing to anyone about it." And, in his last illness, as he looked into the impending future, he observed, "I wish I had the strong faith that my sister Mary has." But not less valuable than these conversations of General Grant are the various letters from his pen now published for the first time. Some were written in the earlier days of the war, amid the smoke of his battles along the Mississippi; some from the Executive Mansion at Washington; and some from beyond the seas. From Mexico, Mo., he writes his father concerning his promotion, under date of July 3, 1861: "I see from the papers that my name has been sent in for brigadier general. This is certainly very complimentary to me, particularly as I have never asked a friend to intercede in my behalf. My only acquaintance with men of influence in the State was while on duty at Springfield, 'and there I saw so much pulling and hauling for favors that I determined never to ask for anything, and never have, not even a colonelcy." And again to his father, August 3, 1862, he writes from Corinth, Miss., concerning attacks made upon him: "You must not expect me to write in my own

defense, nor to permit it from anyone about me. I know that the feeling of the troops under my command is favorable to me, and so long as I continue to do my duty faithfully it will remain so." Of those traders who were in the camp for personal gain he jocularly says, in a letter to his sister: "To all my other trials I have to contend against is added that of speculators whose patriotism is measured by dollars and cents. Country has no value with them compared with money." On June 15, 1863, he writes his father from Walnut Hills, in prevision of his sweeping victory as near at hand: "I do not look upon the fall of Vicksburg as in the least doubtful. If, however, I could have carried the place on the twenty-second of last month I could by this time have made a campaign that would have made the State of Mississippi almost safe for a solitary horseman to ride over." In February, 1864, apparently in connection with the mention of his name for office, he definitely writes: "I am not a candidate for any office. All I want is to be left alone to fight this war out, fight all rebel opposition, and restore a happy Union in the shortest possible time." And once more—to cite but a single extract from his later letters—he evidently expresses to Dr. Cramer his disrelish of a further political candidacy in a letter written from Burmah, March 20, 1879: "We expect to reach San Francisco about the first half of July. Although homesick to be settled down, I dread getting back. The clamor of the partisan and so-called independent press will be such as to make life there unpleasant for a time." These are but a few of many possible quotations, yet they are enough to show the character of the hero they commemorate—his high sense of manhood, his simplicity of habit, his lack of selfish ambition, and his loyalty to the high interests of the republic he served. Dr. Cramer has written of him—after the lapse of a decade since he joined the army now tenting on the eternal hills—with simplicity, good taste, and accuracy.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Conditions of Our Lord's Life on Earth. Being Five Lectures Delivered on the Bishop Paddock Foundation, in the General Seminary at New York, 1896. To Which is Prefixed Part of a First Professorial Lecture at Cambridge. By ARTHUR JAMES MASON, D.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge; Canon of St. Saviour's, Canterbury. 12mo, pp. 194. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Such scholarly and evangelical addresses as these would be profitable in any theological seminary of the general Church. The first lecture is entitled "The Historical Method of Studying Our Lord's Life upon Earth," and argues that we may, "with good reason, expect to see a truly human life lived out before us in the scenes which the gospels record." In the second lecture Professor Mason discusses "The Development of Our Lord's Moral Character as Man." Christ began life, he holds, "without our disadvantage of original sin;" he was "constantly tempted;" his life was one of faith, prayer, and obedience; and "all the

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phenomena" of his "inward experience during his life on earth, which are recorded for us, combine to suggest that his moral growth . . . was of the same kind as ours at its best, only so immeasurably better." The third lecture treats of "Our Lord's Power upon Earth;" points out the difference between the miracles of the Old Testament and those of Christ; and suggests that "instead of supposing Christ to have walked the earth in constant exercise of his own divine powers" we may think of him as undergoing the double sacrifice of "not only refusing, as has been often said, to use his divine omnipotence for his own advantage, but also refusing to use it even for ours." In the fourth lecture, entitled "Our Lord's Knowledge upon Earth—Appearances of Limitation," the speaker finds some proofs that Christ's knowledge was not "an unvarying, exhaustive, all-comprising acquaintance with all facts, great and small, in all their bearings; but that it was a progressive knowledge, as ours is." The final lecture considers "Our Lord's Knowledge upon Earth—Its Transcendence." Some things he knew better than other and ordinary men. "All that it was profitable to know for his perfection and for our salvation, that we are assured that he knew with an accuracy and completeness in which there was no room for improvement." To the reader of this book there will come new and valuable views of the character and work of the Christ.

The Open Mystery. A Reading of the Mosaic Story. By A. D. T. WHITNEY. 12mo, pp. 41O. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

A reverent, thoughtful exposition of the story of the Pentateuch. While intended primarily for intelligent young people, as the dedication "to my grandsons, for and with whom these studies were begun," will show, it is by no means a book to be neglected by older persons. Mrs. Whitney evidently does not believe that the two revelations of nature and the written word, emanations from the same divine Source, can when rightly interpreted present contradictory testimony, and she does not ignore the results unearthed by science because some traditional and practically tentative theological rendering of the Scriptures needs bolstering up. The book is fresh, suggestive, helpful, and the very opposite of "dry."

Inebriety. Its Source, Prevention, and Cure. By CHARLES FOLLEN PALMER. 12mo, pp. 109. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

An important conclusion reached by the author of this treatise from certain assumed premises is as follows: "Alcoholic inebriety is often based upon and dependent on diseased conditions, which demand proper medical or hygienic treatment for their removal. The inebriate is a diseased person, and the disease has either preceded the inebriety or is dependent upon it." Among the agencies employed for the restoration of the intemperate Mr. Palmer considers the resort to inebriate asylums, personal occupation, attention to hygienic rules, self-denial, and the purgation of evil thoughts. We do not find mention, however, of that means of recovery which, in the estimate of many, is the only effectual door of escape—the faith of the Gospel.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1897.

ART. I.—WHICH WAY?

In an article printed a few years ago in these pages, entitled "Whither?—A Study of Tendency," an endeavor was made to show some of the directions in which American Christianity is moving. In this paper the intention is to indicate some tendencies in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to suggest questions as to which are worthy of development and which of arrest. The writer is aware of the danger that, on account of the office he holds, some may think that the fears expressed have their origin in solicitude for episcopacy, rather than for the general welfare of the Church to which his father, uncle, brother, and himself have given one hundred and thirty-eight years of ministerial service. Such possibly may read more charitably if they know that anxieties finding expression herein antedate by many years accession to episcopal position, and were expressed at that early date.

To those whose ancestry has guaranteed a knowledge of our history, and who remain in our Church by mature preference and conviction, it is no small matter that, before every General Conference, almost every peculiarity of our machinery is attacked in our Church papers. The mechanism by which, through the Spirit's help, such wonderful results have been accomplished is not only inspected, but declared by individuals over their own names to be superfluous, ineffective, or hopelessly worn. This is very much better than indifference, or silence from timidity. It proves that there is nothing in our spirit or polity destructive of the liberty of the individual.

Moreover, we do well to rejoice in the safety afforded by discussion. Men do not discuss that which is of slight interest. They are better content when everyone's views are freely tested in the assay of debate.

Nevertheless, the organs of some other denominations, not over-sympathetic with our polity or doctrine, took occasion thereby to state that our order was on the verge of dissolution from widespread dissatisfaction among ministers and laymen. These congratulated their readers that we were approaching their ideals. Some representatives of non-episcopal Methodist opinion were particularly emphatic in prophecies of change, and in self-felicitation. But the General Conference met and adjourned without substantial change at any point. Our whole machinery was closely inspected. Every proposition looking toward amendment was considered by large committees. But few lived long in committee, and fewer still reached the Conference itself. It added a Board of Insurance. It simplified and adjusted our legal code. It expanded here and contracted there, but it manifestly concluded that as a whole the Church is in good order, is well adapted to its work, and had justified itself in the last quadrennium in every department of Christian activity. It left the principle of the itinerancy untouched, and postponed the question of time limit for further light, though its lack of action took a prophetic form. It did nothing to limit the power of the General Superintendency, but extended it to questioned jurisdictions. Never were the bishops treated with greater courtesy; nor were their views ever more eagerly sought, more carefully weighed, or more largely adopted. It may also be stated—though it is written from memory only—that in every case where the administration of a bishop was questioned by complaint it was decided that no violation of law or privilege could be laid at their door. The presiding eldership was not made elective; laymen were not admitted to the bishops' council; the order for the consecration of bishops was not expunged, but carried out over three bishops elect, under circumstances of marked solemnity and spiritual power; superannuated bishops were not returned for support to the funds of the Annual Conferences, but were commended to the liberal consider-

ation of the Book Committee; presiding elders were not made coordinate with the bishops in appointing power. Observe, this is not intended as a catalogue of things wisely not done or as an expression of opinion. Its scope is simply to show that a great representative body, called from every quarter of the globe, found no reason to change the doctrine or methods of the Church in any essential particular.

This is certainly an ample introduction to the question, "Which way are we going?" Are we to be assimilated to the non-episcopal bodies, more fully to the episcopal, or show an eclectic assimilation to both? Are there visible signs of drift? Have they been long enough in sight to forecast the future? Are there any which may be accepted with gladness, any which must be watched with apprehension?

From a doctrinal point of view no change or controversy is in sight. Other than our own journals notice our freedom from heresy trials and internal doctrinal debate. The happy simplicity of our creed, the ethical character of our general rules as conditions of membership, leave nothing to be desired. We are not cumbered with obsolete or obsolescent statement of doctrine, with difficult philosophical definitions, nor Athanasian anathemas. The changes of the years do not compel silence as to our views of the extent of the atonement. Adam's sin in its relation to the transmission of guilt to the race has never given humanity, with us, an aspect of hopeless diabolism. The children born into our homes are not little fiends, but children of God, being of the kingdom of heaven. No question as to the mode of baptism divides us, as the mode is left to the conscience of the believer. Our theology does not hold men responsible for inheritances and environments. They had no part in choosing. Nor have we so hopelessly committed ourselves against scientific truth, or to any one doctrine of inspiration, as to burden conscience with reservation. Our missionary work does not proceed on a false conception of the relation of heathen nations to the fatherhood of God, or to his Holy Spirit as his gift to all who work righteousness in the fear of God. Higher criticism does not destroy our faith in the Holy Scriptures as containing the word of God, nor in the Gospel as the one solution of the

world's difficulties. Nor is it because the results of modern study are unknown among us. No American Church has more students at the sources of critical learning; none a greater number with eyes upon all that is new, and with judgments weighing new and old. Our ministers never have been, and never will be, pledged to any other vow at ordination than, "Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation?" Our eschatology does not require either a second probation or a purgatory, holding as we do that the justice of the divine nature is an all-sufficient security against condemnation or limitation, in the life to come, from the involuntary effects of heredity and environment. Our theology will stand unchanged and secure so long as we have a converted ministry in close contact with the common people. It is the man of books who doubts, not the man of books and of the people. Such as chiefly know only those who have all of this world and all it can say are troubled as to immortality, or as to the divine elements in the Gospel. The highest and lowest in the present social scale are equally slow in the complete service of the cross of Christ. Theology may be modified as to presentations of the mode of creative energy; as to the grounds for believing the Scriptures to be the sole rule of faith, but not as to the fact; as to the philosophical arguments by which the immortality of the race has been sustained. It may be that more spiritual expression will be given as to the nature of the life to come, both as to felicity and sorrow. But there is no tendency among us toward the destruction of the Christianity we know by any result of critical study. Our doctrinal statements and religious methods will continue to be assimilated without credit by other Churches, as they have been. There will be greater competition through greater unity of faith and toil. Methodism will continue to be despised by name and accepted in fact, to be shunned for what it has never been and condemned for what it has never taught. It is from the hierarchical standpoint too subversive in its return to the early order of the Church; too strenuous in its invasion of religious complacency, personal contentment, intellectual pride, fossilized faith, and ecclesiastical pretension to be the home of those for whom the shadow

is as dear as the substance and the machine as precious as the power. But its radiant face is toward the future, because it has the world-defying spirit of reform. It is not free from moral failure, nor from human elements which outmaster the spiritual. But it is not chained to an accusing and immutable past; owes no high place to subserviency to the State; is not more respectable because of its piping plaint as to sin and the decay of devotion through love of the world. Its authority does not rest upon forged decretals, nor is it tainted by accepting their benefits. It is in our power to throw away everything but the early deposit of faith and still march on.

We write these words where we have but to rise to our feet to see the dome of St. Peter's. We have been in Rome long enough to understand her charm and abhor her methods. Never again can we refer to Constantine's vision of a parhelion, which he mistook for a cross, as the beginning of a true Christian victory. Here one is in the mood to wish that Constantine had been beaten by Maxentius, rather than Maxentius by Constantine. The pope does well to have their battle pictured on his walls. Then began the union of Church with State; the modern papacy; all the corruptions of Christianity; the recrudescence of imperialism, through the claims of the Bishop of Rome; the wealth of the Church, which leaves the people poor; all, in short, which has delayed the personal and social victory of true Christianity. The Roman ritual is so elaborate that cardinals must have prompters. All others seem contemptible in comparison. She is organized and decorated according to the fashion of this world. Not long ago, as the pope entered a consistory, the crowd shouted, "*Viva il papa re*"—"Long live the pope-king." One hysterical American woman screamed, "Long live the King of kings." Rome accepts both these titles. To her bigots Rome ought to be the spiritual and political dictator of the world. Let no softening of Roman tones deceive our American people with them; she is under the eye of a stalwart Protestantism. The Roman emperor survives in the keen-eyed but cadaverous Leo. If the writer thought that our Christianity were moving toward this, by anything in its spirit or order, it would be to him henceforth an enemy of mankind.

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This episode seems warranted by the considerations which follow. No one can keep his ear close to the voices in our Church without hearing two movements in opposite directions. One is toward the modification, if not destruction, of all which indicates our descent from the Church of England; the other seeks to assimilate our worship and the plan of our episcopal supervision to that from which our fathers came out. For a moment let us recall our history. We receive from that Church our Articles of Religion, our ritual, our ministerial orders and office; and from her Arminian divines our theology. But we are not the heirs of her spirit. Of this the Protestant Episcopal Church is the sole American possessor. Our mother has changed as she has aged, and has grown more narrow, more exclusive, if not more aristocratic. She has more tenderness for the Roman and Greek communions than for the Protestant Churches. All this approach to Rome in spirit and ritual is rewarded by the bull which declares that her bishops are no bishops, and her orders utterly void and worthless. She will remain so much in the control of a generation trained in Tractarian ideas that no change will be immediately visible. The next generation will assuredly be broader. It will perceive that the unity of Christendom is impossible until the claims of the Roman Church are humbled and she be reduced, by combat of her errors, to a less pretentious place. This is a large task, but its successful accomplishment is as inevitable as the growth of science, the substitution of radical faith for superstition, and greater freedom in free countries for the Roman Church itself.

There is, therefore, no reason why we should accelerate a drift, if it existed, toward the Anglican Church, so far as her present teaching and spirit go. Though she is doing better philanthropic work than before, she is not doing her spiritual work on a truer basis. Like Rome, she teaches dependence upon priestly functions and priestly sacrifice, diminishing her past teachings as to the priesthood of all believers. She is in the Judaistic stage of sacerdotalism and legalism. When she abolishes all intercession between the soul and God, other than that of the compassionate grace of God manifested in Jesus Christ, and reduces ceremonial, in symbolism and obligation,

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to the orderly, decent, and excellent expression of the Church's life and aspiration; when she sees that her true place is in the head of Protestant forces against Roman error, it will be time enough for us to come into larger sympathy with the mother, who, always unkind to her strongest child, now declares it to be illegitimate.

But the case is different with regard to the enrichment of our worship, and possibly with regard to the localization of our episcopate. Toward these decided advance has been made of late. Three items in the English service have been formally placed in our order of worship, namely, the recitation of the Apostles' Creed, the responsive readings of the Psalms, and the *Gloria Patri* thereafter. These were in use in some churches without authority, and often not in their historical place. That their use is now directed by the supréme body proved what the writer has believed for years, that our Church moves toward a larger use of Wesley's *Sunday Service*, adopted by our fathers. The absence of provision for ancient expressions of doctrine in the ordinary service of the Church, while we have never been without it for ordinations, sacraments, and special occasions, has been long lamented by many in our ministry and laity. With reason these changes have been dreaded by some. But such do not seem to have sufficiently distinguished between the effect of a liturgy intoned by a priest, and largely reserved for him, and one free to all who, ordained or not, are called on to conduct public worship. Nor have they sufficiently distinguished between a liturgy obligatory on all churches—the only lawful expression of devotion, chilling natural ardor into speechlessness—and one left to the free choice of the churches as may be deemed best for edification. Our fathers did well in their early missionary conditions to abandon the use of our prayer book. It was—both on account of prejudice against things English, after the Revolution, and the impossibility of adequately rendering it in the woods, barns, and log houses where our fathers did their noble work—very wise to suffer it to fall into disuse. But its use has not, we think, been forbidden, except by implication, unless the adoption of some orders of worship are so interpreted. Even then, the kind of prayer and song has been left to the discretion of the pastor.

The time is not near when all our churches would be benefited by increased liturgical elements. But some would be. The Protestant Episcopal Church has been confined chiefly to the pavements of large cities, and to chapels of ease in the country, by the obligatory use of the Prayer Book. Our Church is not in danger through that mistake. But musical culture and literary taste rapidly increase, through the newspapers, magazines, and schools. The services of all non-liturgical Churches are being enriched. May we not delay too long in granting liberty to individual congregations? Observing that certain minds in certain moods, and these often very intelligent, desire to assist devotional feeling by the use of venerable forms, may we not have made the use of those we have unnecessarily difficult? Have we not made the transition of a certain type of mind to other communions too easy?

In connection with the tendency to a greater localization of episcopal supervision we have used the word "possibly." If this is to be foretold, in the light of what was arranged by the bishops themselves and what was attempted in the effort to station the bishops by the authority of the General Conference, the localization at no distant day of bishops is more than probable. For the withdrawal of appointing power from the bishops, or giving others coordinate power in that regard, there seems to be no certain outlook. The last General Conference, with the utmost deference to venerable and vigorous men, did show a strong conviction that there is no necessary connection between seniority in office and personal fitness for administration or residence in particular localities. Elected as the bishops are by an ecumenical council, not by a diocesan convention—the underlying thought being fitness for a general superintendency—the effort has been made, by designating certain cities as episcopal residences, to secure local as well as general supervision. This having been tried for several quadrenniums, complaint is now made that it does not secure fully the ends desired. If one were, however, to judge by the clamor of cities to be made episcopal residences, it is not wholly unwelcome or futile. The plan to station bishops by report from the Committee on Episcopacy had large following in the last General Conference. But this is a very difficult

matter. The bishops who are attached to a particular locality by age, long residence, individual property, close and paternal relation to educational institutions, cannot be changed without a severe wrench. Moreover, the average age of the present board is very high, and the course of nature, as well as the settled policy of superannuation, ought to be taken into account. These considerations seem fatal to violent action in the cases which have reached final choice of residence under past conditions. But there appear no fatal objections in the case of bishops not so related, and particularly to those who may yet be chosen. Notwithstanding this position may not have in some eyes an aspect wholly just, it is probably of greater practical justice to all interests than a more radical procedure. To many it does not seem that general and diocesan superintendency can be widely combined beyond this. The districting of the bishops involves, inevitably, tremendous changes as to the number and authority of presiding elders, and as to the number of bishops. It also involves a total change in the wide knowledge of our entire work by the whole board—one of the most characteristic results of our economy, and immensely available in the appointment of ministers, in the benevolent boards, as well as in the national influence of bishops great in pulpit and platform power. The Church may well hesitate to introduce a system which immediately grades its bishops by the situation of the districts to which they are assigned, and which stirs up friends and foes to a vigorous canvass of their merits. Moreover, it does not yet appear that longer presidencies over groups of Conferences will foster the unity of the Church or the contentment of ministers and churches. That experiment is being tried in some of our foreign fields, by the suggestion and appointment of the bishops themselves in the assignment of a bishop for two years. Engaged, as the writer is, in one of these fields, he is not yet convinced. The Conferences in Europe are nine in number, cover a vast extent of territory and climate, demand incessant travel, and are beyond, as to large local work, the time and strength of any one man. If a resident bishop should be the successor of the present arrangement his work would suffer in representation and vote by his absence from the Missionary Committee, or involve

great expense in frequent journeys. In some quarters it seems to be desired at home that bishops should return a second year to face, as the phrase goes, "their own work." But might not the result be either greater timidity in the case of difficult administration, or the perpetuation of the criticised policy? The cases are not few where the authority, temporarily unpopular, must be exercised to break up oppressive coöperation, extinguish inefficient leadership, and put men of success, irrespective of age, into places demanded chiefly on the ground of seniority. It takes time to justify or condemn these changes, and often more than a single year.

Certain it is, the greater the localization of the bishop the less the dignity and authority of the presiding elders. We have probably no office less esteemed, as compensating for its cost, in the older portions of our work. While this comes from inadequate consideration of all the facts, it yet is pressed into sight in many ways. These are, however, precisely the sections where bishops abound in service and counsel. Is there no connection between these facts?

Does it seem probable from visible signs that the election of presiding elders is near at hand? Is their coordination with the bishops in appointing power an oncoming modification? As to the first, the evidences are not many; as to the second, they are even fewer. The discussion has brought into prominence the consideration that division of authority weakens the sense of responsibility; that reforms in Conference administration would be more difficult; that hope for change of unwelcome conditions, in the *personnel* and spirit of local supervision, would be so diminished as to approach despair. What would happen if a majority of presiding elders should outvote the bishop, or districts insist upon the retention of an elder when, to all else, the Church is suffering? In all these cases the bishop cannot proceed too cautiously, considerately, or with too much accessibility to all sources of information. But under either of the propositions the Church would see the pitiful spectacle of a bishop rendered powerless by the votes of those most interested in defeating him.

If one states that present conditions are often unjust to a bishop an incredulous smile will be the first reply. Recently

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an honored minister published over his own name, in the New York *Advocate*, several points of desired reform. Among them was one relating to the crushing of a young minister by a transfer to the church he hoped for, or some change in his appointment thereby. Without knowledge as to the case mentioned, we risk a statement and expect a smile. Present conditions put bishops into a singular place, namely, that ministers and laymen break our laws cheerfully, but demand that the bishops obey them. Ministers and churches, against the advice of the General Conference, interfere with the free exercise of the appointing power, and then hold the bishops responsible for misfortunes which follow. On no subject is there so much feeling, in some Conferences, as on that of transfers. We exclude from this discussion transfers recommended or made by bishops for the exigencies of the work during the Conference year. The essence of the complaint is that men are transferred to the injury of men already in the field. From the lay point of view the obligation to take a pastor from the immediate locality is not felt. Rightly or wrongly, they insist upon their right to select from the whole body of the ministry. They show how this is the privilege in other denominations, and will accept no other view. It is difficult, considering the history of the Annual Conference, to prove that this is not a right view. When there was but one Conference there could be no transfer power. When there were two or more the transfer power was simply the exercise of the appointing power. It is so to-day. Our theory has never been that any have an inalienable right to appointment in any particular territory, but to an appointment within the bounds of the Church, as exigencies may determine. There is not a bishop who would not gladly fill all the appointments in a Conference from the men belonging to it. For it is an administrative truth that, if churches sometimes press the bishop to go beyond Conference lines for the pastor desired, the members of the stronger Conferences press the bishop to stay in. They are often very unwilling to go out that another may come. An involuntary transfer out of a preferred Conference is felt to be an intolerable hardship. The bishops feel bound to respect to the uttermost the wishes of pastors as

to the Conference in which they desire to work. In these conditions of church and pastoral desire the bishop is in a strait. If he refuses the transfer he may break up a church, and, at the least, put a burden upon the loyalty of many. If he grants it he grieves good men who feel that they have earned promotion. What does the refusal of a strongly desired transfer generally involve? The sending of some good man to opposition, and often rejection, advertised to his damage by a press ever willing to magnify trouble in churches. The bishop may know that many in the Conference are capable; he may have privately urged their claims; he may have resisted to the last the pressure; but, if convinced that there is nothing unfitting in the appointment itself, and that some good man would be brought by refusal into a year of pain, he would decide that it was best to make the transfer. If the experience of other bishops is like our own, the difficulty of getting men to go out at all from the stronger Conferences and neighborhood of large centers is very great. We have always sought equivalent exchanges, and have been defeated only by the men who declined to leave a beloved Conference by any consent of their own. A frequent occasion for asking for a transfer is the inability of a board to agree on one, among several, members of the Conference. Several have strong friends, who will not desert them as long as any man in the Conference is considered. But unity is easily had over some one from another Conference. So that, as long as churches go beyond the law in inviting certain men, and ministers are unwilling to sacrifice Conference relations, and the bishop is obliged to give every effective man an appointment, the complaints will come. There is no cure but in return to the early days of appointing, freely according to the judgment of the bishop, or by wholly Congregationalizing the Church. It must not be forgotten that it is as much a tyrannical act to refuse the well-considered wish of a church as that of a minister.

There is a strong current visible in the direction of the greater participation of laymen in the General and Annual Conferences, and to the election of trustees and stewards by the vote of all the adult members of the church. This is to be found in the European churches, especially in Scandinavia,

as well as at home. The equalization of lay and clerical delegates seems likely to take place at no distant date. The sentiment which acquiesces in the presence of laymen as members of the Annual Conference is by no means so largely developed. The ministry feels that, as the beginnings of the ministry are wholly in lay hands in the matters of license and recommendation, and that no minister has a vote in the trial of a layman, the laity ought not to be admitted to vote on election to orders, nor in ministerial trials, nor in admission on trial. There would probably be no serious disturbance of constitutional equilibrum could these questions be reserved to the ministry. The practical difficulty in such case of entertaining the Annual Conference is already being met by the necessity, in some sections, of providing by another method than that of hospitality. Upon such equalization the question would soon arise whether Annual Conferences could not be trusted with local legislative powers, not in contravention of the authority of the General Conference, but in local adaptation of general legislation similar to those powers possessed by diocesan conventions. And if any are seeking for a brake on the possibility of overriding our Constitution by a hurried vote of an excited General Conference, it could be found in granting initiative and referendum to the Annual Conferences thus constituted. There is a growing feeling, which found expression in the last General Conference, that in all States, and not in some as now, trustees must be elected by the adult membership. The power of the pastor in nominating stewards for election by the Quarterly Conference is not always a happy privilege. Failing to renominate any one, he may count it as being a permanent ground of offense. Moreover, the official board as now selected often does not represent the church in its demands on the appointing power. Responsibility to the membership of the church, through election by the membership, would certainly often change the temper and constitution of the supervising body of the local church. Nor could any great peril come from the election of delegates to the Lay Electoral Conference in the same way. When lay and clerical representation are equalized we might thus hope for the continued return to the General Conference of

experienced and eminent laymen. With very few exceptions the scanty opportunity now given for lay presence in that body prevents, by sending new men, the just and valuable influence of laymen who have knowledge of General Conference legislation and wide acquaintance.

It is the joy of all that our Church has accepted with such fullness the modern trend toward utilizing the young people of the Church. It is worth all the dangers of the experiment, and its results upon education, religious work, and denominational loyalty are incalculable. Next to this in importance, as exhibiting the growth of benevolent work and as affording opportunity for occupation and usefulness to single women, we may place the growth of the deaconess movement. Without this our work in Germany and in Catholic countries must be very slow. The mercy of God to suffering humanity, exhibited by these blessed women in the name of the Church, is a daily and persuasive sermon. Nor will we be long without similar and carefully guarded opportunities for the unpaid labor of good men, in teaching and other service, who feel themselves called to Christly work, but not to the cure of souls. We must not forget that one of the great sources of influence in the Roman Church is that she affords cheap education to the young. She can do her work more cheaply than Protestant Churches in these respects, because she accepts unpaid service. But if any of the horrible evils of monastic life are necessarily connected with such service, as some fear, it is infinitely better to go on as we are. Nothing is more visible to the writer here in Europe than the great advantage we have in our polity, so far as it takes the ancient form, without the ancient errors, of *jure divino* authority and dependence on the state. Our compact organization, the powers of the Annual Conference, the representation of ministry and laity in the General Conference, the joy of being a part of a vast organic life, our nomenclature, our preservation of the early office and the two New Testament orders are all helpful to the Gospel we preach and to the care and ingathering of souls. Those who come to us may feel a social wrench, but this is the chief penalty paid. They do not have to apologize for a society instead of a Church, nor defend claims to

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power on the basis of a ghostly succession. These characteristics are known to those who precede us in this field, and who do not deny us vigor, order, loyalty to humanity and Christ.

It would be unfitting to close this article without some note of rejoicing over the higher educational standards imposed by the highest authority, as well as by the spontaneous action of the Annual Conferences. It is here our best future lies, apart from the grace of God. Our tendency here is ever onward. The motto of our fathers was, "Fire." Their sons write above their thresholds, "Culture and fire." God preserve us from that icy learning which dissociates its possessor from sympathy with the common people, and makes it impossible to conceive of its possessor exhorting a sinner to repent! We have no pulpit for a man who ceases to be evangelical in being learned. God is multiplying among us those for whom home and foreign schools have done their best, whose culture keeps pace with their love for souls. Our educated men are becoming more and more ashamed if their learning does not increase their revival power. They are hearing the call from men who need help at the hands of men who know all things that they may help all. Students of social problems and forces in our ministry occupy the best possible positions—not above, nor beneath, but in the currents they observe.

By the order of the Church the writer is expatriated for nearly two years. The movement of our home life is softened to his ears by three thousand miles of sea. But there is no moment so occupied with the toil of travel, the pleasure of novelty, or the care of the churches that he does not listen for "the sound of a going" in the dear land at home. He sees here a Christianity expressing itself in the forms, methods, and dogma of a superstitious and wicked past; demanding obedience to a claimed monopoly of venerable error. Here, he sees everywhere the native Churches chained to the State, seeking ever to be its master, but succeeding chiefly in being its slave. They try to manifest Christ through ceremonies, vestments, candles, and the smoke of incense. Even among those of our own speech there are privileged Churches whose eyes are carried so loftily that they cannot see clearly their own chains, the wrongs amid which they live, or any good in

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work unlike their own. Their heart seems fixed, as to their leaders, upon the preservation of the one barrier to Christian unity, the denial through a Judaic priesthood of the universal priesthood of believers. A crowd of emperors, kings, princes, and princelets, mostly insignificant of person, dwarfed of brain, and many scant in morals, are at the top. Beneath them are "nobilities," created long ago by "anointed" monarchs as rewards for bloody service, political complacency, or bastard relationship. Beneath these are a few with more than royal wealth, acquired by commerce and manufactures, who eagerly sell an occasional daughter for a coronet, and thus enrich "noble" blood and purse—a fashion now followed by some rich Americans. Below these are the masses, burdened with taxes which bring them small return, and conscripted to die for hates they do not feel. These band themselves together to prevent encroachment and preserve power. They suffer for each other with amazing courage. They hate the Church, and cheer for Jesus Christ as a martyr to the cause of manhood and truth. It is with this common people that the future lies, not with a dancing, hunting, feasting, racing, gambling "nobility." The destruction of some old ideas is near; the *renaissance* of some, long sleeping. Whether these shall be born into peaceful life or bloody strife depends upon the hold of Jesus Christ on the next generation.

One has thus a mighty joy that we are still true to the common people. Let us pay all penalties gladly. We pay more here than at home—ostracism, contempt, persecution, one or the other everywhere. Seeing that God has given us a place, large at home and ever enlarging here, may he help us to preserve whatever strengthens our hold of doctrine, method, or government on the masses. Whatever weakens it, let us gladly hide away in the museum of disused, because outworn, forces.

Danl A. Goodsell

ART. II.—RELATION OF EXTRA-CANONICAL JEWISH LITERATURE TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THERE is no more incontestable and valuable principle of interpretation than this, that, in order to understand an author or a book, we must understand the national, intellectual, and religious environment in which the author lived, out of which the book came. Inspiration does not abrogate this principle. In both the Old Testament and the New we reverently and gladly recognize the pervading influence of the Holy Spirit, moving and qualifying men to give such a record and exposition of the facts and history of redemption as shall forever abide the rule of faith and practice. At the same time we are constrained, by the unmistakable phenomena of Holy Scripture, to frankly recognize the human element throughout—the idiosyncrasies of the several writers, the characteristics of the various schools of thought, the impress of the changing culture of the ages during which the sacred literature was produced.

To understand the New Testament, then, we must know the national, intellectual, and religious life out of which it came forth. Unquestionably the main literary influence to be recognized in the production of the New Testament is the Old Testament of the Hebrew canon. We may see this influence in every fiber of the New Testament. But there is a Jewish literature beyond the canon of the Old Testament; a literature large and varied; a literature more or less interesting in itself, but interesting especially as marking development of thought between the Old Testament and the New; a literature whose relation to the New Testament is, therefore, properly becoming in our critical age a subject of careful investigation and of eager discussion. This literature consists of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, the apocalyptic books of Palestine, and the writings of Philo. The Apocrypha of the Old Testament comprises books that are extra-canonical from our Protestant point of view, as well as from that of the Jews of Palestine. These books, while not proceeding from the great creation epochs of the history of redemption, are not to be depreciated or ignored. There is in some of them much which is strong

in thought and noble in expression, a worthy echo of the Old Testament; and in them all there is valuable material for the history of opinion during the dark ages of Jewish history. Some of these books, as Judith and Tobit, are highly interesting as religious romances, and are alive with the principles of patriotism and religion which were powerful in the later Jewish life and thought. The Books of Maccabees are immensely valuable as contemporary, or nearly contemporary, history. The most important, from the theological point of view, are the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, commonly known as Ecclesiasticus, and the Wisdom of Solomon—the former Palestinian in tone and modeled upon the canonical Book of Proverbs, the latter Alexandrian in tone and origin, presenting us with the characteristic Alexandrian mingling of Jewish and Greek modes of thought, and furnishing in its doctrine of the wisdom of God a link between Plato and St. John.

Closer in date to the New Testament, less known, but more important for our present investigation, are the so-called pseudepigraphic, or apocalyptic, writings. While the Apocrypha is chiefly Alexandrian in origin and tone, these works are Palestinian. Nothing in them is as lofty in thought and style as the best parts of the Apocrypha, but they are crammed with valuable data for New Testament exegesis and theology. They are entitled the *Pseudepigrapha*, because several of them were published under the name and prestige of some great personage of earlier Jewish history, sometimes, perhaps, partly to shield the real author, but probably mainly to excite interest and secure favor by this literary fiction. They are more commonly known as apocalyptic, because to so large an extent they consist of apocalyptic glimpses into the future of Israel and the world. This literature probably began in the early Maccabean period, when pious and patriotic men, meditating on the decay and oppression, wrong and outrage, of their own time, were constrained to look from the present to the future, from the real to the ideal, and, with a noble confidence in the fulfillment of divine promises, to paint glowing pictures of coming strength, victory, and felicity, such as might kindle hope and inspire courage in their despondent countrymen.

Thomson, in his eminently readable work, *Books which*

Influenced our Lord and his Apostles, following the views of Hilgenfeld and Lucius, claims that this apocalyptic literature came out of the circle of the Essenes; that Jesus, being a semi-attached member of the order, was from his childhood familiar with this literature; and that its influence upon him and his apostles was very considerable. He has probably overestimated that influence. Certainly his charming picture of the youthful Jesus poring over these books is too purely a bit of imagination to be taken very seriously. And the claim of Essenic origin is mistaken. The most characteristic features of Essenism, such as communism, celibacy, the invocation of the sun, and abstinence from animal sacrifices, are conspicuous by their absence in this literature. All that can be prudently said as to the origin of this literature is that it is a natural outcome of Judaism, and especially of the Judaism of the Pharisees, not indeed scholastic, but popular, and so to be distinguished from the literature of the rabbis which is embodied in the Talmud.

It may not be superfluous to enumerate and briefly describe the apocalyptic writings referred to. The Sibylline Oracles are among the most curious works of all literature. Playing upon the current pagan notion of vaticinations by the sibyls, or prophetesses of Apollo, certain unknown Jewish writers and, later, Christian writers put respectively Jewish and Christian expositions of religion, morals, and history into the mouths of the ancient sibyls, in order to gain for their doctrines the quicker and wider currency among the heathen. This process went on for centuries, from about 140 B. C. to about 400 A. D. In the sixth century many of these fugitive pieces were collected into fourteen books of hexameter verse, of which most are still extant. These books, written in so many portions and by so many hands, have little unity, are full of interpolations, and are of uncertain date. They were accepted as authentic in the early Church, and were long held in high esteem, as witness the words of Thomas of Celano in the thirteenth century, in which the sibyl is put on a par with David:

> Dies iræ, dies illa,
> Solvet sæclum in favilla,
> Teste David cum Sibylla.

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These sibyllines are of interest to us mainly as affording valuable evidence of Jewish and early Christian views of the history of the world, of the Messiah and his kingdom, and of that Messianic consummation to which both Jewish and Christian hope have looked so eagerly.

The Book of Enoch is the most important of the apocalyptic works. It consists of many heterogeneous parts of diverse authorship and widely separated dates, running probably from about 170 B. C. into the first Christian century. The unity of this compilation consists in the literary fiction which assigns all these utterances to the patriarch Enoch. Into his mouth the various writers put their own philosophy of history, their own hatred of the enemies of Israel, their own bright Messianic hope. Enoch has visions, interpreted to him by angel guides, of things in heaven and things in earth—the fall of the angels through their union with the daughters of men, their punishment, the course of human history, the awful appearing of the Almighty with his hosts to judge mankind, the destiny of the righteous and of the wicked, and, mingling with these more religious representations, wearisome descriptions and explanations of various phenomena of nature. Most of the book is tiresome reading. The writers are not possessed of the least literary genius, nor are they profound or acute thinkers. Nevertheless, the work is exceedingly valuable as a mine from which we may dig the details of the current Jewish theology, especially the eschatology of the century preceding Christ. Here we find the ideas expressed in the midst of which Jesus Christ and his apostles were educated, ideas which meet us in the New Testament representations of the popular theology, ideas which can hardly have failed to largely influence the very apostles of our Lord. There is more literary and spiritual power in the Psalter of Solomon than in the Book of Enoch. In this collection of eighteen Psalms of the Pharisees, as they are also called, we have a full and forcible exhibition of the views and hopes of the Pharisaic Judaism of the middle of the first century B. C. The theology is that of righteousness; the righteousness is generally that of outward deeds and ceremonies; calamity is the punishment of unrighteousness; prosperity is the reward of righteousness; and, inasmuch as such

recompense is not yet realized, the Messianic hope is the more ardently espoused, the hope of such a final judgment as shall give every man his due. History is read in the light of this principle of righteous recompense. Israel is conquered by the Romans in punishment of national sins; wicked Pompey in his turn lies dead on the shore of Egypt, under the just judgment of God. The deadly feud of Pharisee and Sadducee flames forth, especially in Psalm iv, where the pious Pharisees, those that "fear the Lord in their innocency," are contrasted with that worldly party of the Sadducees which had more politics than piety, the "men-pleasers" upon whom the writer calls down the curses of God with great zest and unction. There is much lyrical beauty and much religious earnestness, notably an heroic faith in the ultimate triumph of God's cause in the earth, in these sacred odes of Pharisaism. The Book of Jubilees, or the Little Genesis, as it is also called, is an haggadic commentary on the Book of Genesis, whose object is to explain difficulties in Scripture, to make vivid and popular the facts of the earliest Hebrew history, to glorify the patriarchs as the heroes of that history, and so to confirm and establish its readers in their Jewish faith. The title is due to the fact that the work divides the history into jubilees, that is, periods of forty-nine years, not fifty as we might expect from the law in Leviticus. The work belongs to the first Christian century, but may serve as a sample of the more popular side of the Pharisaic elaboration of Holy Scripture in the time of Christ. We can hardly wonder that, for a time at least, the people turned from such dry-as-dust amplification of the narratives of Genesis to the realistic parables of Jesus, warm with true human life and tender with divine affection. The Ascension of Isaiah rehearses the tragic closing scenes in the life of the great prophet. The Assumption of Moses is a Jewish work, probably springing from the circle of the Zealots, in the first century of our era. The work has only recently been, in part, recovered. The extant portion contains the charge of Moses to Joshua, Joshua's reply, Moses's rejoinder. The narrative of the death and burial of Moses is lost. The Apocalypse of Baruch—not to be confounded with the Book of Baruch in the Apocrypha —is a Jewish work of early Christian times, in which the

writer seeks to comfort the Jews of the dispersion, after the fall of Jerusalem, by putting into the mouth of Baruch, Jeremiah's scribe, a prophecy which unfolds much of the history of Israel up to the actual time of writing, and then pointing onward to the glorious Messianic kingdom in which there shall be compensation for all the distresses of the present.

These apocalyptic works represent Palestinian theology. Philo is the supreme representative of the theology of the dispersion, and specifically of that Alexandrian theology which strove to be at once faithful to the religion of the Old Testament and yet receptive to all the truth, beauty, and goodness which it found in Greek philosophy, literature, and life. Philo is immeasurably the greatest of the men who sought to commend Jewish religion to the Greeks and Greek culture to the Jews. The influence of his speculations may be discerned in certain forms of expression in the New Testament, namely, in John's gospel and in the Epistle to the Hebrews. But to assert such influence elsewhere in the New Testament, even upon the thought of our Lord himself, is in our judgment unjustifiable. There is a current mistaken tendency to see a large Hellenic influence in the New Testament. The formulation of Church dogma was, indeed, largely affected by Greek culture. But the New Testament betrays very slight trace of such influence. Nevertheless, in this extra-canonical Jewish literature, and especially in the Palestinian apocalypses which constitute so important a part of it, we may not unreasonably hope to find some of the formative influences at work which prepared the soil for the good seed of the kingdom of God and helped to make Christianity what it is. A devout Christian scholar, whose judgments are usually as sound as his learning is wide and accurate—Dr. Sanday, of Oxford—says that any future advance in New Testament exegesis is to be looked for chiefly through a continuous and careful study of the Jewish writings between 100 B. C. and 100 A. D.

Our principal purpose in this article is to present a brief estimate of the kind and the extent of the influence of this literature upon the New Testament, and to indicate certain directions in which a knowledge of it may be serviceable to New Testament exegesis. Most of the works to which we have

referred were certainly in existence and in circulation at the time when Jesus and his apostles lived and taught; they can hardly have failed, therefore, to have at least indirectly influenced him and them; they must have helped to create the religious atmosphere which both Jesus and his hearers breathed. This literature was not the source of the teaching of our Lord and his apostles, but it was to some extent the condition of it.

That such an influence must be recognized is not only thus antecedently probable, but is clearly proved by the direct use of the apocalyptic literature which we find in the New Testament in at least a few cases. In Heb. xi, 37 we read of heroes of the faith "sawn asunder." In the Ascension of Isaiah we find a detailed account of the cruel death of the great prophet, according to which Manasseh and the false prophets stood around the holy man, mocking him, while he was barbarously mangled with a wooden saw. The passage continues: "And neither, while they were sawing him, did he cry nor weep, but he continued in converse with the Holy Spirit till he was sawn asunder." In Jude 9 we have an allusion to the Assumption of Moses. In Jude 14, 15 we have a quotation from Enoch i, 9. The following are the words in Enoch: "And lo! he comes with ten thousands of [his] holy ones to execute judgment upon them; and he will destroy the ungodly, and will convict all flesh of all that sinners and ungodly have wrought and ungodly committed against him." When we find Jude, the brother of the Lord, thus using the apocalyptic literature, we cannot deny the possibility that Jesus himself may have been acquainted with it. There is, however, no *scintilla* of evidence that this literature was to him, what the Old Testament was, the word of God. And, as a matter of fact, there is but little trace of the direct influence of this literature upon him, except in the adaptation and use of the Messianic title "Son of man." This title meets us, as the title of the expected Messiah, in the Book of Enoch, due there, probably, to the similar expression in Daniel vii; and Jesus applied it to himself, probably because, although a Messianic title, it was less current and less politically dangerous than the title Christ—Messiah. The spiritually susceptible would recognize in his

constant use of the title the Messianic claim; the unspiritual would not be stirred to the frenzy of political revolt.

While we do not find many passages of the New Testament where a direct influence of the extra-canonical literature is clearly traceable, we do find much in this literature which illustrates the New Testament, throwing vivid side light upon the current customs and conceptions of the Jews, their sects, parties, and theology, much which remarkably anticipates New Testament lines of thought and even forms of expression. It is often difficult to decide whether we should regard such anticipations of New Testament teaching as directly influencing the mind of the New Testament writer, or as to be explained on the principle of developmental coincidence through the common influence of the Old Testament and the Spirit of God. Such parallels are, at the very least, intensely interesting, as indicating the way in which the minds of men were gradually prepared for the teaching of Jesus and the apostles. The field is wide. We may gather and present but a few specimen flowers. The Christian doctrine of the fatherhood of God is beautifully anticipated in the apocryphal book of the Wisdom of Solomon. In ii, 16, we read, "The latter end of the righteous he calleth happy; and he vaunteth that God is his father;" in xiv, 3, "And thy providence, O Father, guideth it along," referring to a ship at sea. So in Ecclesiasticus xxiii, 1: "O Lord, Father and Master of my life, abandon me not to their counsel." In these passages we have an advance beyond the Old Testament and a preparation for the New, inasmuch as the individual pious man here directly addresses God as Father. But "Father" is not yet the characteristic name of God. Its use is yet sporadic; in Christianity only does it become universal and abiding.

We find familiar ideas of the sin and fall of man in Wisdom and 2 Esdras. In Wisdom ii, 23, 24, it is said, "God created man for incorruption, and made him an image of his own proper being; but by envy of the devil death entered into the world." How Pauline that sounds! In 2 Esdras iv, 30, we read, "For a grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much wickedness hath it brought forth unto this time."

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In reference to the doctrine of angels there are many points of contact between this literature and the New Testament. The later Judaism leaned to a view of God's transcendence above the world which naturally led to a somewhat extravagant development of a doctrine of angels as God's agents in the physical and moral government of the world. The literature in question has a hierarchy of angels such as the Old Testament was beginning to know only in its very latest portions. Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Suriel, Raphael, Sarakael, Raguel, Phanuel are named; and in some of the latest of the apocalyptic books—that is, Enoch xx and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs—the offices of these several members of the heavenly hierarchy are specified. The New Testament is much more modest in its angelology. It does not name many members of the heavenly host, and it brings God himself more directly into relation with his world. Yet there are some interesting illustrative parallels. The words of Raphael, in Tobit xii, 15, "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and go in before the glory of the Holy One," throw light upon the representation in Rev. viii, 3, 4, of the angel with the golden censer, who adds much incense to the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar before the throne of God, so that the smoke of the incense with the prayers of the saints goes up before God.

The most important feature in the whole range of this extra-canonical literature is the large development of that Messianic hope which it gained from the Old Testament, and which the New Testament represents as gloriously realized in its inmost spiritual essence in Jesus of Nazareth and the kingdom which he founded. It is true that in parts of this literature—the most of the Apocrypha, the Assumption of Moses, the Book of Jubilees, and the Writings of Philo—the Messianic idea is lacking. But, while this fact proves that the expectation of a personal Messiah was not universal, it by no means justifies Bruno Bauer in his denial of the existence of such an expectation among the people in the years preceding the advent of Jesus. The detailed investigation of the apocalyptic literature makes such denial, or even such doubt, untenable, and amply vindicates the New Testament representation of the popular feeling.

The hope which animated the ancient prophets was not suffered to die out. In many passages of this literature it is seen gilding the horizon of the national destinies with the glowing promise of brighter days when the anointed One shall come in his majesty.

In this literature, as in the New Testament, the history of mankind is seen running its course up to a final crisis, when the Messiah shall come "to terminate the evil, to diadem the right." Two ages are distinguished, the present and the future—the present of misery and oppression, the future of victory and joy, divided by the great day of judgment. In 2 Esdras vii, 42–45, we read:

> This present world is not the end; the full glory abideth not therein: therefore have they who were able prayed for the weak. But the day of judgment shall be the end of this time, and the beginning of the immortality for to come, wherein corruption is passed away, intemperance is at an end, infidelity is cut off, but righteousness is grown, and truth is sprung up. Then shall no man be able to have mercy on him that is cast in judgment, nor to thrust down him that hath gotten the victory.

The duration of the earlier, pre-Messianic period, "this present world," is uncertain, and variously estimated. A fair specimen of many passages is 2 Esdras xiv, 10–17, in which we see the men of those days endeavoring, as men of our own day are still endeavoring, to read the signs of the times and to determine when the end shall be:

> For the world hath lost its youth, and the times begin to wax old. For the world is divided into twelve parts, and ten parts of it are gone already, even the half of the tenth part. . . . For look, how much the world shall be weaker through age, so much the more shall evils increase upon them that dwell therein.

As to the person of the Messiah there are many intensely interesting passages, showing how, bit by bit, the picture was completed of a conquering hero, sometimes merely human, sometimes superhuman though not divine, who should free Israel from Gentile oppression and inaugurate the perfect theocracy—passages containing many phases of thought which anticipate the New Testament conception, but also many which are inconsistent with it. The Messianic references in 2 Esdras are too evidently of Christian origin to be considered here. In 1 Maccabees xiv, 41, we see the people in their joyous recog-

dition of the sovereignty of Simon the Maccabee, yet mindful of the greater One to come: "The Jews and the priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader and high priest forever, until there should arise a faithful prophet." In the earlier portion of the Sibyllines, looking out from the dire distress of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the writer not only predicts the ultimate triumph of the kingdom of righteousness, but connects it with the coming of a mighty King from God:

Then from the sunrise God will send a king,
Who will make all earth cease from evil war,
Killing some, and others binding with strong oaths.
Nor yet will he by his own counsels do
All these things, but by excellent decrees
Of God persuaded. But again the people
Of the great God with wealth will be weighed down,
With gold and silver and purple ornament,
And of good things will earth and sea be full.—Book iii, 776–784.

The Book of Enoch has very rich Messianic contents. The expected One is "the Anointed," "the Elect," "the Son of man;" his preexistence is asserted; his mission to the world, to execute judgment on the unrighteous and to bring joy to the righteous, is described. The chief passage is chapter xlvi:

> And there I saw One who had a Head of days, and his head was white like wool; and with him was another, whose countenance had the appearance of a man, and his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels. And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things concerning that Son of man, who he was, and whence he was, and why he went with the Head of days. And he answered and said unto me, "This is the Son of man who hath righteousness, with whom dwelleth righteousness, and who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden, because the Lord of spirits hath chosen him, and his lot before the Lord of spirits hath surpassed everything in uprightness forever. And this Son of man whom thou hast seen will arouse kings and the mighty ones from their couches, and the strong from their thrones, and will loosen the reins of the strong and grind to powder the teeth of the sinners. And he will put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms, because they do not extol and praise him, nor thankfully acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them.

A very similar representation of the Messiah is to be found in Psalm xvii of the Psalter of Solomon.

It is evident that such pictures never originated the New Testament idea of the meek and lowly Messiah, who went about doing good, who founded a purely spiritual kingdom by purely spiritual means, who died for the sins of mankind; it is evident that people who had once become imbued with such Messianic expectations must have been bitterly disappointed in Jesus of Nazareth.

The passages which we have quoted, or to which we have referred, are not the only Messianic passages in this literature, but they are the most striking. In none of them do we reach the high-water mark of the New Testament Messianic conception. Nowhere in this literature is the expected one divine, although invested with high attributes and sublime prerogatives. He is never sovereign, only God's vicegerent. In the Psalter of Solomon he is merely human, perfect in holiness, taught of God. In the Book of Enoch (cv, 2) he is God's son, but probably merely in the sense of divine choice and love. In this Book of Enoch he is, indeed, superhuman; though not divine, yet preexistent and highly exalted:

> And at that hour that Son of man was named in the presence of the Lord of spirits, and his name before the Head of days. And before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of the heaven were made, his name was named before the Lord of spirits. . . . And for this reason has he been chosen and hidden before him, before the creation of the world and for evermore (xlviii, 2, 3, 6). The Son of man was hidden before him, and the most High preserved him in the presence of his might and revealed him to the elect (lxii, 7).

After all, however, this preexistence is evidently only that of a creature, however exalted, and with however glorious authority invested. In the *Logos* form of Christology the influence of Philo may be recognized. The question is large and fascinating, but we must content ourself with the bald statement of our opinion that John's conception of the person of Christ is that of Paul and the rest of the New Testament, legitimately derived from Christ's own character, claims, career; that John is peculiar only in the use of the term *Logos*, to indicate the preexistence of Christ in his divine, eternal condition; and that John employs that expressive term because he and his readers in Asia Minor were more o

less familiar with the use of it in the Alexandrian speculations concerning the relation of God and the world. He took Philo's form, but into it he poured his own specific and entirely Christian contents.

In this literature we see remarkable approximation to those ideas of immortality and resurrection, final judgment, and the future recompense of paradise and gehenna which are so familiar to us from the New Testament. Due regard to the patience of the reader, however, limits us to a brief reference to the nature of the Messianic kingdom as depicted in the apocalyptic books. The picture varies, but on the whole is one rather of sensuous than of spiritual blessedness. Righteousness, it is true, will abound in that kingdom, but there is a strong emphasis upon the more material forms of felicity. For instance, in the Book of Enoch, x, 16–22, the Lord charges Gabriel as follows:

> Destroy all oppression from the face of the earth, and let every evil work come to an end; and the plant of righteousness and uprightness will appear, labor will prove a blessing, righteousness and uprightness will be established in joy for evermore. And then will all the righteous escape and will live till they beget a thousand children, and all the days of their youth and their old age will they complete in peace. And in those days will the whole earth be tilled in righteousness, and will all be planted with trees, and be full of blessing. And all desirable trees will be planted on it, and vines will be planted on it; the vine which is planted thereon will yield wine in abundance, and of all the seed which is sown thereon will each measure bear ten thousand, and each measure of olives will yield ten presses of oil. And cleanse thou the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness, and from all sin, and from all ungodliness, and from all uncleanness which is wrought upon the earth; destroy them from off the earth. And all the children of men shall become righteous, and all nations shall offer me adoration and praise, and all will worship me. And the earth will be cleansed from all corruption, and from all sin, and from all punishment and torment, and I will never again send them upon it, from generation to generation, forever.

The length of this earthly Messianic kingdom is variously estimated. Usually it is regarded as lasting forever; in other places, until the end of this world, then to be followed by a heavenly consummation. In the Apocalypse of Baruch the period is one of four hundred years. In the Talmud the

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question is debated whether the period is of four hundred or a thousand years. Very much of our current millenarian theology, with its glorified but earthly Jerusalem, and its personal reign of Christ upon the earth, will be found already in this apocalyptic literature. From the reading of the Book of Enoch, especially, one learns clearly how difficult it must have been for the disciples of Jesus to emancipate themselves from the trammels of their education and rise to his more spiritual conception of the kingdom of God.

We have now freely quoted passages and alluded to lines of thought in the extra-canonical Jewish literature, in which we frankly recognize approximation to, or preparation for, New Testament teaching. The facts of the evidence seem to us to warrant these general conclusions:

1. That this literature did much to create the theological atmosphere, partly favorable, but largely hostile, in which Christ and his apostles lived and taught.

2. That Christ and the apostles took over some elements of this theology, assimilating them to their own more spiritual view of God and his kingdom.

3. That, even where Christianity is entirely original in its doctrine, it has made considerable use of the old forms of expression.

4. That, therefore, the study of this literature is indispensable to the scientific study of the New Testament.

5. That there is no adequate ground for the extreme position of certain recent scholars who are inclined to derive much even of the substance of Jesus's teaching from the current theology of Judaism as we find it preserved in this literature. A considerable influence upon the form we must admit. But, so far as the principal contents of Christian doctrine are concerned, Christ and his apostles were most consciously antagonizing the main tendencies of the theology of their time, and the theologians of the time united to suppress Christianity by slaying Christ. In that Judaic theology the legalistic temper is almost absolutely dominant; the conception is that so much righteousness—and that usually understood in an external sense—demands so much reward of bliss; and the Messianic kingdom is of the earth earthy. Numerous

other passages might be adduced to indicate the wide gulf which yawns between that theology and the teaching of our Lord and his apostles. It is enough to say that the broad, genial, human spirit of his teaching; the utter spirituality and universality of his kingdom, a kingdom to be consummated not in the earthly but in the heavenly sphere; the conception of the fatherhood of God made supreme and controlling; the great truths of the deity of the Messiah, his vicarious sufferings and death, his glorious resurrection, ascension, and second coming, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, the experience of justification by faith and of the new life by the Spirit—all that is most characteristic, central, vital in the Christianity of Christ and his apostles is lacking in this literature; and there is nothing in the theology which these works contain to account for such doctrines, to account for Jesus Christ, to account for Christianity.

F. H. Wallace

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Art. III.—THE APOSTLES IN ART.

Character study is not an easy branch of either literature or art. The libraries are full of biographies which should never have been written, and the galleries are crowded with statues which would better never have been attempted. Let him who purposes to portray the qualities and characteristics of a great and good man first measure carefully his qualifications for the task, and consider well the lasting injury that may result if the work be imperfectly done. It will be a serious accusation against either the biographer or artist if, by ill-considered choice of subject, or by immature and hasty expression of his conclusions, he minifies the influence which a great man left upon an age or dispensation. He has not only thus detracted from their fair fame, but robbed the living of a just appreciation of heroic souls who would otherwise stand as sources of inspiration and encouragement. The only justification of a book or a statue is that, by its vivid portrayal of the character it describes, or the event which it narrates, our appreciation has been heightened, our affections purified, and our emulation insured.

Especially is this true as a standard of judgment for painters and sculptors who have represented Christ and the twelve apostles. The moral responsibility is immeasurably heightened in such an attempt. The ideals of thousands may be formed, or corrected and elevated, by a single statue or picture. Not only questions of taste and historic insight are to be considered in a group of the twelve or a painting of Christ, but the whole conception of Christianity which civilization has formed and the very fortunes of religion are at stake in the beholders. The daily round of service for a believer may hinge on the attraction or repulsion of a figure carved in stone or cast in bronze to represent one or all of the twelve disciples, and the moral consciousness of what and why and by whom Christianity came may be clouded or disclosed by a painting of Christ. Ordinary rules are not applicable in a sculpture of the twelve disciples. The places they occupied, the spiritual office they filled, their relationship to all art, history, theology,

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and philosophy since then present them in a light far more important than that of the world's greatest noblemen.

Art is justly expected to embellish and idealize. If it fails so to do the only motive for the reproduction of a sacred subject is lost. If, on the other hand, the treatment of the subject through the medium of brush or chisel ennobles our ideals, and if it gives insight into the character and work of the subject, some inaccuracy of detail and a lack of correspondence to historical data may be overlooked. Precision is not a test in art. We are justified in the disgust with which we turn from many of the early representations of Peter. Though the traditional face is usually recognized, he is degraded by coarseness and not idealized. It is therefore ill rendered. The commonest criticism of Raphael's "Paul Preaching at Athens" is that it is historically inaccurate. This, say the critics, is not Paul. He is described in the Scriptures as small in stature, weak-eyed, and having no graces of personal appearance. He should be pictured as worn with travel, stooping under the weight of the churches, anxious for his converts, harassed by grief at schisms, by his own backslidings, and by the hatred and indifference of civil rulers. "This statue, made from Raphael's painting, is magnificent," they say, "but it is not Paul." In spite of these criticisms it still remains the best Paul. He stands there like a god. With his dark redundant hair, which almost hides his brow, a massive head, and a bushy beard, he looks more like Jupiter Ammon. It would be crude art indeed that could represent Paul confronting the sages of philosophy on Mars' Hill without imparting some of the godlike into him. The imagination rests completely satisfied with Raphael's work. Every feature is eloquent, every fold of the drapery speaks, and in that heroic figure we discern one who can confront intellectual heathenism in the very shadows of the Academy or Lyceum with the doctrine of Jesus and the resurrection.

The twelve disciples were first represented in paintings and sculptures by sheep. They were grouped together as passive and uniform figures, with Christ in the center on a raised platform. But the attempts to discriminate their character and individuality led, after the sixth century, to certain con-

ventional forms which mark each of them as distinctly as any twelve letters of the alphabet. We learn, after running through one half the galleries and churches of Europe, to distinguish the artistic character and attributes of the twelve disciples. We recognize Peter by the keys which he always bears. This is in harmony with the historic passage in Matthew where the keys of the kingdom of heaven are presumably committed to his keeping. St. James is known by the pilgrim staff which he carries, and St. James the Less by the fuller's bar, the instrument of his death. Philip and Andrew may be recognized by the shape of their crosses, and Simon by the saw with which he is supposed to have been sawn asunder. Bartholomew always holds the knife with which he was flayed, and Thomas displayed a square—the emblem of the exact sciences. The long staff of Thaddeus ends always in a suggestive ax, by which he perished; Matthew is distinguished by a stylus in his right hand and a tablet on his knee; and St. John stands with eyes toward heaven, waiting for the revelation which he is prepared to transcribe. At his feet is the eagle whose eye can pierce straight into the eye of the sun, symbolizing the high things of the Godhead upon which he wrote.

We can scarcely look round a picture gallery, or turn over a portfolio of prints or engravings, such as pour in upon us by every mail from Paris or Berlin, without perceiving how these conventional forms are associated with the twelve disciples. The ideas back of them are all traditional and legendary, but when the feeling is once comprehended which produced them, and the traditions studied upon which they are founded, they become intelligible and familiar, and even illuminate the character and personality of the possessor. This traditional art with its conventional forms sprang out of traditional literature. It is a mistake to suppose that these crosses, axes, and saws had their sole origin in the fancies of sculptors and painters. Back of the artists were dreaming monks, and beyond them the methods of persecution in vogue for almost three hundred years. The lives of the apostles were inaccessible, save to the learned. During the early centuries the fagot and cross and ax were everywhere busy; and,

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As the martyrs witnessed a good confession by their death, reverence gradually grew up for them. This rapidly increased to veneration and adoration, even to worship. The conclusion was natural that the twelve disciples who founded the faith, and who filled the gap between the cross of Christ and the crosses of the saints, were themselves martyrs. Exaggerated fancy would fill in the details, and the most rigid theology would be unable to keep fancy within rational bounds. On reflection it becomes plain that, though the artist derived his conception from the priest, the priest in turn had it from the excited popular feeling which characterized the first Christian centuries.

The conventional forms are thus accounted for, and must be observed. The originality of the artist must display itself above and beyond them. Whenever the apostles appear in a series we expect, of course, some degree of discriminating propriety, with regard to character, in the face and figure of each. We read our Bibles so little that we do not know that, meager as are the materials for a life of the twelve disciples contained in them, they reflect almost perfectly their personal characteristics. In the Gospel histories the apostles are consistently and beautifully distinguished in temper and bearing. Whether exhibited at length, as in the cases of Peter and John, or merely touched upon, like Thaddeus and Simon, each member of the apostolic company forms a distinct and dramatic personage, and the mediæval legends, wild as they are, accentuate the Gospel individuality and fill up the outlines which are there given. But to represent the apostles in art as they are drawn in the gospels requires the most exhaustive study of the only sources from which their character can be obtained, an intuitional knowledge of human nature, the utmost power of observation, and the quality of delicate expression—conditions which can only be fulfilled by a mind and hand of the very highest order.

Almost every incident recorded of the twelve disciples has found a place in art. Pictures of the childhood of Jesus often contain representations of the disciples in their childhood, associated with Christ. James the Less, the son of Mary Cleophas; Simon and Jude, whom some account brethren of Christ;

James and John, sons of Salome, have all been grouped with him. Certainly it is a charming idea to picture those as children playing with him who were afterward to be the chosen ministers of his word. Naturally the calling of the disciples has been a common subject. One of the best representations of this event is by Baroccio. Somewhat to our surprise, though on reflection it will seem proper enough, he has made Andrew, and not Peter, the principal person in the scene. Andrew kneels on the shore with open arms extended toward Christ, while Peter is seen in the distance getting out of a boat. But a better, perhaps the best, picture of this subject is done as a fresco in the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican, by Ghirlandajo. The landscape as painted by him has in it a calm, beautiful lake. In the foreground Andrew and Peter kneel before Christ, while behind him are eight persons. Behind Andrew and Peter there are fifteen others. On the left, in the distance, both of the disciples mentioned are seen leaving their nets at the call of Christ, while on the right James and John also prepare to leave their boat at the command of Jesus. The picture is really made up of three distinct incidents wrought together, and is not in fact a call of the disciples at all, as only two or, at the best, four of them are represented. The artists say that too many personages are included in the groups; but so fine are the characters, heads, and draperies that we cannot wish one of them absent. The rebuke of the disciples to the mothers who brought the children to Jesus, the healing of the demoniac after the disciples had failed to relieve him, the disciples asleep in the Garden of Gethsemane, and the unbelief of Thomas are all familiar subjects. Most of the art representations figure Thomas actually touching the side of our Lord. Besides these, nearly all of the parables and most of the miracles have become the subjects of both painters and sculptors. The last supper is altogether too important an event to have escaped frequent treatment by artists. This supper gives special opportunity for an artist to portray the different characters. No subject is superior to it for discriminating the family relationships which the twelve sustained, for combining them into favorite groups, and for showing the effect on the different characters and temperaments of such

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an announcement as that Christ was soon to be betrayed by one of them and crucified. The parting of the apostles is a beautiful subject, and fully equal to the last supper as an opportunity for delicate character portrayal. The wonder is that there are so few examples of it. The tradition is that, after Pentecost, they all assembled in a cave on the Mount of Olives. They continued in prayer until the night was far spent, and then arose and repeated the particular sentence of the Apostles' Creed which is ascribed to each of them. Then they cast lots for the countries to which they should go on their evangelizing errands, and with an affectionate farewell they departed in the gray of dawn to the nations to which lot had assigned them, to meet no more on earth. Save the crucifixion, we doubt if art can furnish a sublimer subject than the one which tradition and legend supplies in this parting of the apostles. The best treatment of it is a woodcut by Titian.

Sculptors rather than painters have better idealized the twelve disciples. Sculpture is a silent art. It rests on high abstraction, and is far removed from the turmoil and activity of life. Besides, there is something magnetic in marble, and the position that may be assigned to a figure done in stone or cast in bronze helps to make it real and impressive. Nearly every sculptor who has represented the twelve disciples has made himself famous by it. There are no more appropriate decorations for the aisle of a church than the twelve apostles, and more and more, we predict, they will occupy in Protestant decoration the places which the stations of the cross fill in Roman Catholic churches. Sets of the apostles are frequent in devotional figures and prints, and are so common that we need not particularize more than four or five of them. All of them will be found adequately described in a volume called *Sacred and Legendary Art*, by Mrs. Jameson, from which we enumerate the following:

1. A set by Raphael which were engraved by Marc Antonio. They are "graceful figures, and each with his appropriate attribute" and emblem. "Though admirably distinguished in form and bearing, very little attention has been paid to ancient types." St. James the Less has been omitted to make room for St. Paul.

2. The set by Lucas van Leyden is smaller than the one by Raphael. They are magnificent in feeling, and perfect examples of the characteristic German figures.

3. H. S. Beham made a curious set which is ultra-German. "They stand two and two together, like a procession of old beggars; the workmanship exquisite." But for the excess to which Beham's nationality has carried him they would be second only to Raphael's. Beham made another set, and included in it the evangelists. They stand singly and are dressed like old burgomasters. Even these have ardent admirers and defenders.

4. The "Five Disciples," by Albrecht Dürer, were evidently the beginning of what was intended to be a complete set of the twelve. He gave them simple devotional treatment, and we cannot but regret his failure to complete the other seven. Those finished are Paul, who was to displace Judas, Bartholomew, Thomas, Philip, and Simon.

We may mention, also, another German set which is familiar to travelers, and well known by reduplications brought both to England and America. It is the group on the tomb of St. Sebald in the church at Nuremberg. They were cast in bronze by Peter Vischer, stand about two feet high, and are remarkably fine. The expression of the heads, the simplicity of the attitudes, and the graceful draperies render them one of the best examples of sculptural treatment. Had they been wrought life-size with the same success, they would rank first. Even now they are worthy of a prominent place, and are in fine contrast to the mediocre representations which abound all over Europe.

Three artists, by reason of the location of their work, by reason of the individuality imported into each single statue composing the group, and by artistic qualities of pose and heroic size, must stand preeminent as sculptors of the twelve. Jacobelli, Bernini, and Thorwaldsen must bear the palm, so far as statues of the twelve go. All of them were exceedingly fortunate in finding a suitable place for their great masterpieces. Architecture, mural decorations, and light, as well as historical associations, all combine in St. Mark's, Venice, in St. John Lateran, Rome, and in the Free Church,

Copenhagen, to give to the apostles, as finished by these masters and their students, a dignity, simplicity, and heroic quality not to be found in any others.

It was Jacobelli who made the group of statues which range along the top of the screen in front of the choir at St. Mark's, Venice. They are sure to be remembered by all who have seen them. They haunt the dreams of artists and color the imagination of people to whom statuary has meant little or nothing. As one stands before the choir in St. Mark's and gazes up at them he will have an awakening suspicion that there is more in a statue than meets the eye, and that those twelve figures have a significance deeper than the estimate of a shop dealer and beyond the hurried description of a guide. Jacobelli reckoned well on certain associations and sympathies in the minds of the observer, and those who have read their Bibles and have not wholly repudiated Christian feelings will come again and again to gaze upon them and to fix them indelibly in the memory. The Virgin and St. Mark occupy the center, and six on either side those great, solemn apostles stand, as though guarding the sacred place. Their dignity and nobility move answering thoughts of dignity and nobleness; and multiplying incidents in the life of the apostles, in the history of Christianity, and in the republic of Venice flit before the mind like shadows across the woodland. The graceful campanile up which Napoleon rode his horse, the horses of St. Mark's, the doge's palace, the great plaza, and the bridges along the Grand Canal are vulgar after an hour's gaze at Jacobelli's "Twelve Apostles."

Similar feelings are excited by the twelve apostles of the school of Bernini placed in St. John Lateran at Rome. It is difficult to fully express their merit and to considerately indicate their demerit. They are inferior to the St. Mark's group, or to the Free Church group, just as Romanism is inferior to Catholic Christianity. They occupy places on the site where Constantine built the first great basilica in honor of John the Baptist. They start thoughts of the age of martyrs; of the rise of the Church out of heathenism; of the long succession of popes; and of the great mediæval blackness, called the Dark Ages, with its owls of ignorance and its bats of supersti-

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tion. Everything except the figures is suggestive of the Roman hierarchy. This is the first great episcopal church, and here have swarmed crowds of ambitious bishops, archbishops, and cardinals. From these tessellated floors prelates have gone out to become popes; and legates, after saying mass here, have gone as ambassadors to the great councils of the Church, on memorable crusades, and with bans of excommunication to great political sovereigns.

But these statues of the twelve are superior, perhaps, to either of the other groups mentioned, in that one begins to realize as he looks at them what it cost to be an apostle. "Can ye . . . be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" carries its own interpretation before that great, hollow-eyed, intent, and ecstatic twelve. Those men stood nobly to their promise, and drank from the same cup of suffering. Here, as usual, Judas is displaced by Paul. Surely the "son of loss" made a woeful bargain, and has gone "to his own." Who would not give thirty pieces of silver to stand in that group, in those resounding aisles, faithful and true to Jesus Christ? Poor Judas! A solemn obscurity hangs over that member of the apostolic company. Save his one gigantic crime, his life lies mostly concealed in shadow. Indignation is tempered with pity before Bernini's group. "No sublime tidings of salvation ever fell from his lips, no converts received baptism at his hands, no church is called by his name, no country claims the honor of his grave. Only ignominy preserves his name." Not only has religion banished him, but art, taking up religion's quarrel with Judas, has relegated him to silence and oblivion. Bernini's is a great group of martyrs; and all of them save John, Thaddeus, and Paul look the martyrs which they were. They bear in their bodies the marks of the Lord Jesus. Here, at least, something would be wanting if fuller's bar, ax, cross, knife, and saw—instruments of their martyrdom—were absent. There is an ostentatious display of the muscles, and the physical contortions of their martyrdom are repulsive and horrible. John and Thaddeus are voluptuous, and their youth has an exaggerated softness little in keeping with the stern mien of the others of the group. All are represented in moments of transport.

astonishment, or ecstasy. They are placed on great pedestals, towering above the tallest man, and stand out effectively against huge pillars. James, John, and Thaddeus must have been cousins, as all have the same face contour and the intuitive power indicated in a magnified degree. Simon was probably one of the midnight shepherds who saw the babe in the manger. The supremacy of Peter is indicated in every line of his figure, and the shrewdness of a publican is not wholly obliterated from the evangelist Matthew's face. Whoever has seen this group will call them up when far away. If he be a student or preacher the chances are that photographs of the statues will adorn his library, and under the study lamp in tranquil silence they will shine like saints. Bernini's saints surely deserve a place in the calendar.

It is worth a pilgrimage to Copenhagen to see the group of the great Dane artist, Thorwaldsen, in the Free Church. They form an important point in the history of sacred art. Like Bernini's twelve, Thorwaldsen's colossal marble statues are ranged along the great central aisle of the church. Paul again takes the place of Judas. Nothing can exceed their grandeur. The room is admirably lighted, and they stand out bold and well defined in all their symmetry. Each of them exhibits the individuality displayed in the gospels, and detailed attention is paid to the traditional style of habit and dress. All are noble in their simplicity. St. James has his palmer's hat slung behind him. John's face is manly but fine, with a womanly gentleness. Thorwaldsen himself, we are told, only worked on two of them—Peter and Paul—and those have an especial dignity and quietude. It is sacrilege to speak against them in Copenhagen, were one even disposed to do so. Professor John Wilson said, fifty years ago, concerning them, "The other day, as we listened to the singing of a hymn by the crowded congregation, Christ seemed present with that twelve." We walk between these magnificent figures with a feeling of sublimity and awe. They make a long avenue of genius leading to the principal object of attraction in the church—the statue of Christ—as they form a long avenue of majestic figures in human history, pointing to the life doctrines and salvation of the mightier man of Galilee.

Jacobelli's group seems like the vergers of a shrine; Bernini's are the martyrs of a new religion; but Thorwaldsen has made his twelve the heroes of a triumphant faith. Success, conquest, and victory are pictured in every lineament and line. They never fished in the Lake of Gennesaret. They are not Galilean peasants, but Greek teachers, dressed like Roman senators. Crowds of students would follow teachers like those, and admiration would invent for them stories like those once told of Plato and Socrates. The white swan is in their bosoms, and the bees might suck the honey of wisdom from their lips. It would be sufficient for us if a man, like any one of those statues, should dogmatize on anything. We would hasten away with the argument of the Greek student, "*Ipse dixit.*" Unlike the celebrated Greek teachers, however, these men are of the patrician class. They might be disciples of Socrates, but they are at the same time tribunes, consuls, and *imperators.* The subjects are Hebrew, the heads are Greek, the bearing is all Roman. The exceeding merit of Thorwaldsen's statues is that they gather up the prevailing spirit of Christian culture, the militant power of Christendom, and compress and incarnate in men the didactic, robust, all-conquering, many-sided, high-souled genius of Christianity. Though these men never walked by Galilee, it could be believed of them that they would march from Jerusalem to Antioch, to Ephesus, to Athens, to Corinth and Rome, and in the very center of the Forum crown one of their number king of the wide realm of the world. Here are pictured the men who, within three hundred years, seized the throne of the Roman empire, elevated Constantine to the imperial dignity, and through him and his successors will reign until all dominion is under their Lord's feet. Jacobelli, Bernini, Thorwaldsen—but the greatest of these is Thorwaldsen.

Edwin A. Schell

Art. IV.—AN APOLOGY FOR THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO.

We are afflicted in our day with a brood of ready and flippant, but inaccurate, writers and talkers, black and white, who are possessed of but one idea, which is made to do service at all times, in all places, and under all circumstances in which the Negro is the subject. Like old Cato, whose speech in the forum, in the senate, in the public mart, in the social gathering, invariably closed with the thundering refrain, "*Carthago delenda est*," so these wiseacres declare upon every occasion that the Negro must have only industrial education. To charge them with ignorance makes them fit subjects for the pity of clear-thoughted men; but to charge them with bias and want of intellectual integrity, or with immaturity and insufficiency of thought, reduces them to jugglers, incapacitates them as safe guides for the development of a race or an institution, and throws their testimony out of court.

We have come to a time when the method and content of the education of the American Negro has been revived with renewed interest. Instead of bemoaning the revival, or belittling the discussion, there is reason for rejoicing. An unwise settlement is no settlement, and a thing unsettled will surely return to be settled. The air is filled with the cry for industrial education for the Negro. The argument for this kind of education is so ingeniously stated, representing that type of education as the *ne plus ultra* for the Negro's future, that many friends have lost faith in the large outcome of the present method of education as it applies to the Negro; while other lifelong benefactors, through whose agency and philanthropy the Southern colleges were planted and developed, have wondered whether they made a mistake or not. In fact, certain streams of benefaction for the education of the Negro have dried up, while certain others have lost their strong current. On the other hand, the craze for industrial education became so powerful, and the funds for the support of the colored college became so small, that many presidents of these colleges were swept from their lifelong convictions of the

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need of a liberal education for the race, and were forced to adopt the industrial feature, in order to receive financial support from certain agencies, and to be well approved by Southern whites. The writer regards it as a serious blunder that nearly every one of the Negro colleges in the South has bowed the knee to this wooden image, whose toes of iron and clay are so clumsily welded together. A college is a college; it is not an industrial college, or a college for industries, though it is an industrious place. An abnormal development of society has crowded out the old apprenticeship idea, and in many respects society is the gainer. We are therefore driven to the establishment of scientific trade schools and industrial training schools. But the college is a different product; its genesis, purpose, and work assign to it a unique place in the educational system of the country. There was once a time when New England was called the land of notions, but the South in its modern industrial college idea has carried off the palm.

The pathway of Negro education is strewn with the dead bones of many theories. All of these theories were the progeny of prejudice and ignorance. This book of the recent past reads like the myths of the Norse or Greek. The visionary theories were gravely set forth with much race in science, philosophy, history, and the Bible to prove the utter impossibility of forcing an idea into the uncorrugated brain of the Negro. All the disciplines of learning, together with conjecture and the Bible, were exhausted to show that the Negro was a lower order of humanity, designed and foreordained by his Maker as a servant of servants, a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. The tint of his skin, the kink of his hair, the shape of his nose, and the size of his foot all furnished conclusive arguments of his inferiority and settled his doom among men and races. One of the chief defenses of the system of slavery in this country was based upon his utter mental incapacity. Slavery, therefore, was a humane system. Never in the history of the world has there been such a chain of so-called logical argument welded together for the justification of a system. Legislative hall and court room, rostrum and stump, schoolhouse and farm, pulpit and pew all were used to enact, decide, declaim, teach, and even to defend the mental inferi-

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ority and incapacity of the pagan Negro between the plowhandles on the farm. But, *mirabile dictu*, the sons of those pagan plowhandle Negroes have come upon the stage in less than one generation and have laughed to scorn the logic of the past. "Truth is stranger than fiction." But the children of the dragon's teeth are now opposed to the higher education of the Negro. They have been driven from their so-called impregnable fortress, have left their heavy guns and ammunition, and have retired to the last ditch. The problem to be settled to-day is not whether this man can learn to read, but, What should he learn? This question carries with it the unspoken one, What should he not learn? It has ceased to be a question whether the Negro can learn mathematics, Latin, Greek, science, philosophy, history, and literature. That is settled forever. But the bald question is, Ought he be taught these for his own good? Out of a spirit of great solicitude for the elevation of the man, some claim that Latin and Greek will spoil him. Or, as a distinguished ecclesiastical editor in the South puts it, "*hic*, *haec*, *hoc*" will be the ruin of the African. He will get out of his place. The ingeniousness of the questioner is second only to the ingenuousness of the questions. A cold examination of the questions will discover an ancient animus. That to the contrary, however, let us find the truth, for it is the truth that shall set men free.

Let us ask the question so often asked, Does the Negro need the college education? Americans believe in the practical. In inventive wit, in practical statecraft and all that relates to and belongs to a practical civilization America has yet to be surpassed by other nations. In fact, we have thrown religion into the scales, and have asked the question, Does it pay? This intense, practical age is in danger of becoming a superficial age. By its emphasis upon ready-made thought that has an immediate value, because of the large profit it promises, it destroys the root of original investigation in the principles that give permanency and character to civilization. The unthinking and senseless definition of a "college" is that it is a place where nothing practical is taught. This definition is usually given by the man whose boast is that he never rubbed

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his head against a college wall or, in other words, by a man whose ignorance is dense and who is thankful for it.

The place of the American college in the American life is secure, and it can never be thought of without the unconscious conviction arising that, without the American college, America would not be what she is to-day in the commercial, civil, industrial, religious, and educational world. President Thwing, in his *Forum* article of June, 1893, laboriously went through Appleton's *Cyclopedia of Biography* to ascertain the proportion of college men who have won distinction in American history, up to the date of the publication of that work. The full number of men and women mentioned in the books is 15,142, distributed as follows and showing the per cent of the college graduates in the books:

	Clergy.	Soldier.	Lawyer.	Statesman.	Business.	Navy.	Author.	Physician.	Artist.	Educator.	Scientist.	Journalist.	Public Man.	Inventor.	Actor.	Explorer, Pioneer.	Philanthropist.	Number of persons in Cyclopedia.
Total................	2,744	1,752	1,678	1,310	1,105	575	1,124	912	630	1,016	522	313	765	166	107	249	180	15,142
Percentage college graduates..........	.58	.03	.50	.33	.17	.029	.37	.46	.104	.61	.63	.30	.189	.11	.037	.037	.16	.35

The significance of these figures appears in the fact, according to President Thwing, that only one man out of every ten thousand of those who do not attend college rises to distinction, while, of the college men, one out of every forty-five rises to the great distinction of being mentioned in a cyclopedia. "Old President Quincy, of Harvard, said that a man got a good deal out of a college if he just rubbed his shoulders against the college buildings. But he certainly does not get much in this way, in comparison with what he gets by rubbing his head against the cases in the library. For, to the true men of alert intellect, pure heart, and strong will the college represents a new birth and a new life." In a subsequent article, in the March issue of the *Forum*, President Thwing continues his college article series under the caption, "The Best Thing College Does for a Man." From a wide territory, including many of the best educated men and women in all callings of life, we take the pith of their excellent letters:

> "It aroused my mind;" "It was the making of me;" "It brought me invaluable development of character;" "I derived mental and moral discipline;" "It gave me practice in thinking and acting independently;" "It gave me ability to work with intensity, whether of body or mind;" "It enriched my life, it deepened and broadened my view of truth; it ennobled my aim; it strengthened my choice of right; it clarified my vision of, and love of, the beautiful. The college pours oil into the lamp of character, and makes its light more radiant and more lasting. These qualities are the best thing which a college can do for its students."

Without any invidious distinction, it was said of the college men of Europe by a common-sense philosopher, in answer to a senseless sneer that the college men were failures, "Yes, one third of the college men amount to nothing and fail; one third become drunkards and go down to lives of shame; but the other third rule Europe."

The bread-and-butter argument has played no insignificant part in destroying the college character of many Southern colleges. It claims that the college cannot train active, practical business men. No one would charge Chauncey M. Depew with being an unpractical man or a theorist. In an address at the tenth convention of the University of Chicago, in April, 1895, he said:

> I acknowledge the position and usefulness of the business college, the manual training school, the technological institute, the scientific school, and the schools of mines, medicine, law, and theology. They are of infinite importance to the youth who has not the money, the time, or the opportunity to secure a liberal education. But the theorists, or rather the practical men who are the architects of their own fortunes, and who are proclaiming on every occasion that a liberal education is a waste of time for a business man, and that the boy who starts early and is trained only for one pursuit is destined for a larger success, are doing infinite harm to the ambitious youth of this country. The college, in the four years of discipline, training, teaching, and development makes the boy the man. His Latin and his Greek, his rhetoric and his logic, his science and his philosophy, his mathematics and his history, have little or nothing to do with law or medicine or theology, and still less to do with manufacturing or mining or storekeeping or stocks or grain or provisions. But they have given to the youth, when he has graduated, the command of that superb intelligence with which God has endowed him, by which, for the purpose of a living or a fortune, he grasps his profession or his business and speedily overtakes the boy who, abandoning college opportunities, gave his narrow life to the narrowing pursuits of

> the one thing by which he expected to earn a living. A college-bred man has an equal opportunity for bread and butter, but, beyond that, he becomes a citizen of commanding influence and a leader in every community where he settles.

Thus it will be seen that the American college is at the basis of that splendid development, an intelligent, cultivated, patriotic, God-fearing citizenship, that is the glory of America and the buttress of her institutions. Drop out the college from American life, and you have the play of "Hamlet" with Hamlet left out. Let us now answer the question propounded and give reasons for our faith.

First, The Negro needs the higher education on the basis of humanity. Whatever is good for man is good for man. This is a truism that no half-wit would risk itself in denying. There are two questions in this connection that have been clearly and definitely settled for all time, namely, the humanity of all men and the equal right of all men to the opportunities and blessings of life. The humanity of all men contains its corollary, the brotherhood of all men. It is now a waste of time to attempt to prove this doctrine. Science was obliged to accept it to save itself from irreconcilable contradictions. It has passed into a fundamental belief, alongside of the idea of the existence of God. Upon that basis, therefore, the Negro should have the opportunity for higher education. He has the same instincts, yearnings, ambitions, and aspirations that other men have. We ask, Should not these divine spiritual cravings be satisfied? They should not be satisfied because he is a black man—"black" has no more claim to respect than "white"—but because he is a man. The Negro says with Terence, "*Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto.*" The Pharisaic solicitude, again, concerns itself as to the outcome of higher education by asking the question, Will you not spoil the Negro by giving him Latin and Greek and mathematics? Concerning this spoiling business we have this to say: If a young Negro is carrying the hod and making a fair livelihood, or if he is plowing corn and has a burning spirit within for something higher, a desire to study mathematics or science or Latin or Greek, he ought to have that desire gratified, and be spoiled as a hod

carrier and made into a cultured gentleman, a man of large ideas and broad vision, a leader of high character. The chief complaint we have to make is that too few are so spoiled. Professor Kelly Miller, of Howard University, says:

> It is sometimes objected that the higher education unfits the Negro for the work which he has to do, by lifting him above the masses. True, there are some colored people, as there are some whites, whose cranial expansion is out of all proportion to the knowledge which is supposed to cause it. If nature designs one for a fool no amount of education can alter that design.

But the fault is not in higher education; it is in the man, or teacher, or the education sometimes called "higher," but which is in truth "lower," or sometimes in all three combined. Bishop Haygood, at the dedication of the library of Gammon Theological Seminary, in an address which for breadth of vision and comprehension of the facts of the education of the Negro has not recently been surpassed, said:

> If theological schools are good for white peoples, with a thousand advantages, they are good for colored people, with a thousand disadvantages. There are dangers incidental to education, but safety is not found in abridging education, but in enlarging and bettering it. The only cure for the incidental evils of education is more education.

Pope warns us against the dangers of superficial education, while Bacon says that "slight tastes of philosophy may perchance move one to atheism, but fuller draughts lead back to religion."

In the next place, an equal right to the blessings of life carries with it the truth that every man should have the privilege of developing according to his capacity. This may be called a distinctively American victory. When the masses of Europe were bound, hand and foot, mind and soul, with the chains forged by czarism, monarchy, oligarchy, American democracy rang out the shibboleth, "Equality of opportunity." The most philosophic and common-sense putting of the advent and rule of the people against the domination of the few is in the immortal words of our greatest American commoner, "A government by the people, of the people, and for the people." The privileged class is fast retreating before the steady advance of the Demos. America cannot exist and perpetuate her institutions with one class free to be liberally educated and to

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pursue the instincts, ambitions, and aspirations of their nature within the limits of law, and another class hedged in, pressed back, discouraged from seeking the highest attainable culture, and shut up to elementary and industrial training. The Negro is a human personality, and, as such, every attribute within him should be cultured, and every aspiration given free scope. This will not destroy his identity. He will become a cultured man and a man of power.

Second, He needs the higher education because of what it will do for him. Higher education is the only education that properly educates mind and develops character for service. Who needs this culture more than the Negro? Forty years ago he was the ignorant plantation hand, blurting out his wants in broken English and living in a state of almost animalism, with few exceptions here and there to show the horror of the broken state. That condition was suited to the state of slavery, in which the quasi-man was driven and directed with bit and whip. But a state of civil liberty, or with even theoretical civil and political equality, requires a different kind of culture. This new man will remain a nonentity unless he be brought into the thought-life of the nation. He needs the toning and elevation of character that comes from long years of study in the secondary and higher institutions, through personal contact with a true teacher; and, other things being equal, the more perfect will be the development of character. Thought makes character. The better the thinker the better the workman. It is thought that rules the world, not money, and certainly not muscle or skill. The power to do a thing well comes from the power to think a thing well. It is not more workmen that are needed, but more intelligent workmen. The strength to lift a hundred pounds represents a splendid physical development, but it is of the earth earthy; but the power to order a hundred pounds to lift is of the brain brainy. The Negro has had strength, muscular strength, but he has been lacking in power, brain power; and brain power comes from books, for books contain the crystallized thought and power of the ages. He could drive a mule, or dig a ditch, or plow a furrow, or hew down a tree. But mule drivers and ditch diggers and wood cutters are not the

men that make civilization. Thinkers make it. The power of close, analytical, logical, and consecutive thought comes from years of patient investigation of books. This, with the proper ethical study and examples and spirit, makes character. The Negro had no proper development of character until after January 1, 1863. Neither slavery nor the teachers of slavery would develop properly the character of the enslaved. The teacher that teaches his pupils the idea of inferiority is an imperfect, hence inferior, teacher. But for the *ante bellum* teachers to teach the enslaved Negro the equality of mind, in its essential, divine, and human endowments, would have destroyed slavery between one day's suns. For equality of mind and soul would lead as conclusively to equality of rights as that two and two lead to four. It is scarcely believable that anything contrary to this was taught. And, stranger still, we shake hands daily with the wiseacres who believed and taught to the contrary. The enslaved was taught that "black" is inferior to "white;" that kinky hair is the sign of kinky brain; and that God designed from all eternity that the Negro should be a servant of servants. The mark upon Cain and the drunken debauch of Noah were used to confirm the so-called truth in the dark mind of the pagan, and this was done without regard or knowledge of the historical difficulty and exegetical absurdity contained therein. Now, that sort of training, if it should be dignified with the term "training," has never produced a man. Manhood, not serfhood, is the goal of education. And a college education will do for the Negro just what it has done for other men. President Edward C. Mitchell, of Leland University, New Orleans, a man of rare experience as an educator and writer, said in an address before the American Baptist Home Mission Society, in May, 1896:

> What then, I ask, shall we teach the Negro? The answer seems to be as plain as the logic of common sense. Let us teach him what our colleges and universities were founded to teach. Let us teach him the only thing left us to teach. Let us teach the only thing the Negro cannot do as well for himself. Let us teach the thing which the experience of the ages and the matured judgment of all true educators has decided to be essential for the full development of manhood. Let us teach the Negro what he is, and what he is as God made

> him in his physical and mental structure. Let us teach him what the world is that God has made for him with all its elements and powers and forces. . . . In short, let us give him such glimpses of the whole range of science as shall tax his powers to the utmost, while it takes the conceit out of him and brings him nearer to the supreme discovery of Socrates that he "knows nothing."

If we are to have man, we must have mind, for mind-idea is man-idea. With Hamilton mind is the greatest thing in the world.

Third, The Negro needs the higher education to prepare him for leadership. It goes without saying that the leaders of a race ought to be well educated. Until very recently the race has been without proper leaders. Men so styled came to the front suddenly because they possessed certain powers of representation. It is true, also, that many of these self-styled leaders were deficient in that rudimentary training, and in the essentials of a well-balanced character, to give them anything like permanent leadership. The whole time since freedom has been occupied in preparing leaders for this people in the pulpit, at the bar, in the sick room, in the school room, and in business and industrial callings. And, although we have been severely occupied for a generation, the fact is patent to those who have carefully studied the situation that the need for educated leaders is painfully felt. The work has just begun. Commissioner Harris, speaking of the lack of higher education among Negroes, has this to say:

> This is particularly unfortunate for this portion of the community, since it, more than any other, requires a body of cultured persons within itself to oppose the adventurous persons who, by reason of their pleasing theories or ingenious arguments, are apt to be the advisers, and in a stable government are always bridled by the calm wisdom of a small, but all-powerful, class of thoughtful people.

This people depends almost entirely upon its ministry, who shape the destiny, as well as direct the lives, of the people in all practical affairs. Their voice is the voice of the oracle of God, and from their word there is no appeal. The Negro is a deeply religious being. The Church holds first place in his life. He prays, sings, worships, and feasts there. It is a place for mental, social, civil, and religious instruction and inspiration, and even for political direction. H

unsophisticated heart, like the ancient Hebrew, prays to be hid in God's "pavilion." The minister in that pulpit is the president of a university, the university of the masses. He teaches language and science, philosophy and history, ethics and mathematics, hygiene and law, civics and economics, and finally the weightier matters of the law that touch upon "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come." What should be the equipment of this man? Should it be anything short of the best, the most thorough, the most comprehensive liberal training in mathematics, science, philosophy, language, literature, history, and finally in the discipline of a classical theological course? Moreover, he is to handle a book that is the *thesaurus* of the wisdom of the ages, written by men who wrote and spoke Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Egyptian, Greek, Latin; by men who were statesmen, orators, lawgivers, naturalists, philosophers, exegetes, poets, historians, preachers, teachers, musicians, generals, practical men; written in Africa, Asia, Europe, upon almost every subject that touches upon and breaks through the periphery of eternity. That preacher is to handle this book; it is his only book. What training ought he to have? Who dare say that he should not receive the best in the land? The declaration of the American Baptist Home Mission Society answers the question:

> We would give them the very best education that the present advancement of educational science and their own capacity and our own means render possible. We are not responsible for doing what is beyond our power; but, up to the limits of our power, we believe that the highest attainable is the will of God.

No course can take the place of the college course for the proper development of the character of the minister, that he may wisely, prudently, and conscientiously pursue his calling in shaping characters and in lifting a race; no course is so valuable as the seven or eight years of patient, consecutive, and laborious work in the college, and then in the broader fields of university special training in the theological seminary. He needs it, and ought to have it, to fit him to do practical work. Such an argument will apply to the study of law, medicine, pedagogy, and political economy.

The American system of industrial training, particularly as

it applies to the South in the schools for colored people, failed in making the first-class leaders this race so much needs. It cannot produce the men that can take and mold a raw, green, restless, uneducated race of freedmen, with notions of servility in its blood and of inferiority because of color and untoward circumstances, and because of a history of servitude and sorrow, into a race of freemen with sober and dignified ideas of life; and it cannot give the trend to their luxurious African nature, that, in deed and in truth, we may be able to say, "Princes have come out of Egypt, and Ethiopia has stretched out her hands unto God." It takes men of brain and heart for this work; men who know God and history; men whose sympathies are universal. But universal sympathies are developed by universal studies. Industrial training serves an excellent purpose in giving to the masses an immediate bread-and-butter knowledge, a workable knowledge of tools and language. Many have gone out from these schools and have become workmen that needed not to be made ashamed, for they applied themselves with the rudimentary knowledge to secure an increase of knowledge. On the other hand, a much larger proportion sink below mediocrity as journeymen in their respective trades, and are not heard of or seen in the battle of life. Now, by parity of reasoning, the failure of the majority should be made the basis of an argument against the industrial school. But such a proceeding would brand one as purblind. While on the subject of a practical education in the common branches of the English language, the deficiency is still greater. A pertinent question is, What is practical? Only one answer can be given to this question, and that is, truth. It is sometimes claimed that a practical knowledge, or a mastery of the English language, may be obtained in an industrial training school. We ask, Can one secure a mastery of, or a practical knowledge of, the English language in a three or five year course in an industrial school? The road to the mastery of the English language runs through Athens and Rome. Before leaving Athens he must turn to the left to visit Jerusalem, and make a short trip through Asia Minor; thence to Rome; from Rome through Berlin; thence to Paris; and from Paris he must make a short trip to Madrid and back

again to Paris; thence across the English Channel to Wales; and from Wales to Scotland, through Edinburgh, and, finally, down to Oxford and Cambridge. The question would then be, Canst thou speak English? English is the most composite, versatile, and comprehensive language in the world. It has laid all the great languages under contribution. It is like the English people; it sweeps around the globe, seeking what it may devour that is best in other tongues. And no man can have a mastery of the English language who does not know Greek. Many men can speak the language, but they speak an unknown tongue.

The sneering remark of Mr. R. C. Ogden, of Hampton Institute, quoted by Dr. Wayland with approval, was, "There are colored men walking up and down our streets who have studied Latin and Greek, but who cannot put together an English sentence, and who cannot earn their own living." This statement has an edge in the hilt as well as in the point. It may be applied with equal propriety to white men. The iniquity of this situation is not in having "studied Latin and Greek," but in not having studied them enough; for the man who studies Latin and Greek enough can put an English sentence together, will understand it, and has power to earn a living. A further trouble with this particular incident is found in two facts, namely, that the colored man had not been taught the mouth words of English in slavery by his Southern master. He murdered the king's English because he had had no teacher. In the second place, it is possible that the teacher he had when he came to school did not understand enough of Latin to teach English; hence, the Latin must be defective, and the English the same. This same argument can be made against any discipline of learning imperfectly taught. One chief trouble with our system of instruction is its haste, and haste makes waste. Americans believe in a quickly gotten learning which they call practical. The general characteristic of this kind of teaching is its uncertainty, inaccuracy, and consequent worthlessness. Inaccurate knowledge is not knowledge. Some teachers are very uncertain in their groundwork. Says Dr. Wayland, concerning the inefficiency of Southern schools:

> At best the knowledge of the classics which can be given will be but a smattering. A smattering of many subjects—of hygiene, mathematics, history, chemistry—a very moderate knowledge of the rudiments of these subjects may be of great service; but nothing is more futile and useless than a smattering of the rudiments of Latin and Greek, which for the want of practical usefulness will soon be totally forgotten.

Read this backward, and you get the full force of his conclusion. A smattering knowledge of chemistry can never make a decent cook; a smattering knowledge of hygiene makes an unsafe nurse; and a smattering knowledge of mathematics and history makes a smattering teacher. And the Negro in many cases has only had time to get a smattering knowledge of a few things since freedom. Before freedom he was totally blind; now he can only see men as trees walking; but, with the continued application of the salve of a genuine and accurate liberal education, he will receive perfect sight in time. To criticise him now, because he sees so imperfectly, discovers little knowledge of the fact and less of sympathy for the subject. The little learning that some have received has intoxicated them; but the wiser ones are drinking deeper and pursuing steadily the high ideals of thought in scholarship and manhood revealed through intelligence.

In September, 1896, the attention of the philanthropic North was called by these words to the principle involved in this recent cry to change the colleges into industrial training schools:

> It should be borne in mind in this entire discussion that, so far as the North is concerned, and, particularly so far as the Christian people in the North are concerned, the critical point in the entire matter is, whether the Negro schools now carried on in the South by Northern Churches shall lower their grade and become mere trade schools and content themselves with giving an industrial education which looks almost entirely to the material welfare of the Negro, or whether they shall continue to be, what they have been in the past, institutions of learning which have encouraged the Negroes to aspire after the highest and the best forms of culture, which have recognized the Negro's manhood and appealed to his highest ambition, and have sought to fit him for leadership and for competition with the white man on his own chosen field and with his own weapons.

The Negro, however, realizes that the secondary and higher education are of paramount necessity for leadership in all the

callings of life, and he intends to help maintain the college character of his Southern colleges.

Fourth, The Negro needs the college education as the best equipment for life. It is not to be denied that the common school education, the grammar school education, the normal school education and training, and the industrial school training each and all play their part in life. It is to be added, further, that these various grades of educational development, as they are made perfect in the disciplines they contain, are sufficient to all practical purposes for life's duties in the respective calling of the applicants, and that, in so far, they serve their purpose well. We would go a step further, and admit that it is barely possible that each in his station will find that the general system of education has outlined a sufficiency of discipline to give character, permanence, and success in the respective departments of life; that is to say, the normal course of educational training, as marked out in the general system of education, is a perfect normal course, and if strictly followed will make teachers who will perpetuate the normal educational system. The teacher so trained will be a normal teacher, and do his or her work perfectly. And so on. But these are but parts of one large and perfect discipline, through the college course and up to the university. The high character and permanency of the normal course is derived from the broad, liberal college course. It received dignity because there stands back of it its great big brother. In fact, the normal course is an abridged college course, and can only have respectability as it should keep company in spirit and homage with the college course. And hence, with us, the men and women who have taken our high normal course may be said to have the higher education. The college course is like the blazing sun in the heavens, that gives light and power to all the courses that sweep around it. These courses can be seen only as they come within the range of its life-giving rays. They belong to the college system, and are arranged with reference to the college idea, and live as the college idea lives. Says another on this point:

> It is a well-known philosophical principle that that which is first in order of time is last in order of thought, and *vice versâ*. The higher

education is the last thing that the individual pupil reaches; it is what he looks toward as the end. But from the point of view of the teachers, from the point of view of the educational system, the higher education is the very source and center and beginning of it all; and if this is wanting the whole must collapse. Take away the higher education, and you cannot maintain the level of the lower; it degenerates, it becomes corrupt, and you get nothing but pretentiousness and superficiality as the residuum. In order to maintain the lower education which must be given to the South, you must have a few well-equipped institutions of higher learning.

It is also not to be denied that a college education is the most practical education in the world, and that it will not hinder but render the performance of the common duties of life easier, with greater alacrity, satisfaction, and perfection. A cultured lady of New England writes: "My whole life is wider in its sympathies and interests because of my college training. And the mental discipline I regard as a not unimportant factor in my domestic life. That I am a better cook because I am a college-bred girl, is a proud boast with me." A cultivated mind is the ultimate object of a college course, and such a mind is the best equipment for any calling in life or any duty upon man. Commissioner Harris has well said: "Education, intellectual and moral, is the only means yet discovered that is always sure to help a people to help themselves. It produces that divine discontent which goads on the individual and will not let him rest."

The college education of the Negro is about in the same state of acceptance and perfection as the college education of the white woman. Here is a strange anomaly in history. All the questions that affect the Negro's capacity, rights, privileges, and duties are the very questions that affect the white woman. It is safe to say, moreover, that the complete emancipation of the white woman will not take place until the black man is set free in all that belongs to manhood. History cuts some strange pranks, but God is behind history. Every now and then a croaker from the stagnant pond of mediævalism groans out, "You are spoiling the women by teaching them Latin and Greek; you are breaking down the womanhood of the race by subjecting our girls to the ordeals of a college course." Nevertheless, the American girl moves on gently, winning

laurel after laurel, opening door after door, until now these very same croakers are pleading with Negroes to save them from defeat at the hands of the officious American girls. But we will not.

There is a class of religious teachers who are greatly concerned lest the Negro be educated out of his place. They have chosen his place for him and said that God orders that he keep his place forever. The Rev. Dr. Steele is the mouthpiece for this class. His editorial, "On the Wing," of October 31, 1895, charges that the experiment of the North has failed, and that "*hic haec, hoc* will be the ruin of the African. He needs sensible, sympathetic, kindly instruction from those of us who know his place and will see that he don't get out of it." His arrogant claim of exclusive knowledge of a race's place is paralleled only by its pretentiousness. Error dies hard, but it dies; for it has been struck under the fifth rib by the arrow of truth, and it "writhes in pain and dies among its worshipers." This same "on-the-wing" editor in an attempt to explain thus says what he means by "having the Negro keep his place," and adds a charitable view of Negro education: *

> I was misunderstood in the idea that we would make the Negro keep a servile place. By making him keep his place I mean we believe in teaching him the practical industries of life. Providence has fixed his place in the social system of the country as a servant, and the education he needs is an education that will enable him to fill his place. Music, *belles-lettres*, higher mathematics, the profession—the Negro doesn't need this. It unfits him for the place he must fill down here.

It is to be regretted that the article was regarded as having come from a "friend of the race." He says that "Providence has fixed his place." This is the old argument of forty years ago. Providence fixed his place in slavery, said the teachers of that period, but Providence changed it once, and Providence may change it again. That any man of affairs or practical knowledge should claim that the Negro does not need music, when he is nearly all music, the only original music maker in America, puts a strain upon intelligent men to hear him.

It was the lamented Bishop Atticus G. Haygood, of the same

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* *Zion's Herald*, December 11, 1895.

Church, who put the questions upon this editorial, "On the Wing," in his calm, comprehensive, judicial, and philosophical article, the last that came from his pen before his translation. He said: *

> When it is affirmed that the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church among the Southern Negroes is a failure, let charity spread her wings; it is not malice but ignorance that speaks. Unfortunately, however, ignorance has a capacity not easy to reckon. It has led to great wars; also to long, bitter, and unprofitable newspaper discussions. . . . Few of our leading men have even now any true or accurate knowledge, from personal inspection of any of these institutions. It is simply true that most Southern men know next to nothing about this work. Not one woman among thousands knows anything at all about this work. . . . Few Southern men have enough knowledge of school or Church work among Negroes to write or speak about these things. But such ill-timed remarks as are sometimes made in speech or print do not truly represent the South—much less Southern Methodism. . . . The graduates of these schools, with rarest exceptions, like the educated men of white schools, are not the men who commit nameless crimes.

One of the battles America is set to fight is that of the masses against the classes. Our legislation and our education are for the masses. It is a false view to hold that places are for individuals. The correct view is, individuals for places. The Negro believes in serving; he has served for generations when service was counted a disgrace by men of the South. He has searched for the roots of trees with his faithful ax, and to-day, with his incisive and penetrating mind, he also discovers the roots of Greek verbs; and he will continue in the doing of this double service until the South shall understand that it is as honorable to split wood as to split verbs.

It is said he must serve, and he picks up the challenge and answers back, "Yes." He is willing to serve with spade and plow, with saw and hammer; to work with the trowel and hoe, at the driving wheel and throttle; with the sledge hammer and trip hammer; in the school room and in the sick room; in the pulpit and at the bar. He is also willing and means to work with the sword and with the pen; with the microscope and telescope; at the bench and in the laboratory; with electricity and with steam; he is ready to work in clay, in wood.

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* *Northern Christian Advocate*, January 1, 1896.

in iron, in brass, in glass, in stone; and he claims the right to work in earth or sky, anywhere, everywhere, wherever human foot has trod the soil or human thought evolved an idea; and then he insists upon his right to rise into the higher world of thought for superiority of contribution to the progress of civilization, to vindicate his right and title to citizenship in the republic of thought. This is his humble ambition, nothing more, nothing less.

It is now too late to attempt to return to a simple English education, or to a so-called practical industrial education for the Negro. He has had a taste of the good things of a liberal education, and shouts back to these would-be friends,

The shackle ne'er shall bind again
This mind which now is free.

The gods do not take back their gifts to men. The North is free and open with her great colleges and universities. Moreover, there are Negroes among them who understand the discipline of mathematics from addition to integral calculus, who can accurately set a dentil and mathematically calculate an eclipse; others who can read modern Greek, and who know classic Greek from Xenophon's *Anabasis* or Plato's *Republic* to Aristotle's *Logic;* others who have waded through the Latin of Cicero; others who have studied the sciences and can dissect the brain of a bird as well as that of a man; others who have the historical instinct and historical ability to draw lessons from the past for the present. In fact, there is scarcely a department of learning now taught in the colleges of the land that cannot be supplied with a colored instructor able to fill it with credit and honor. And, what is still more significant, nearly every one of these men is now engaged in the battle of life, doing genuine practical work.

Concerning the subject of the Negro's place, we may be privileged to repeat our conviction upon this point: *

> Before asking now, What is the Negro's place in American civilization? a larger question comes into notice that affects all men, namely, What is the place of any branch or family of the human race in the sum total of humanity? The man who attempts to answer this question will risk his wit. The Negro's place will be what he makes for himself, just as the

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* From an address at the formal opening of the Negro Building, at the Atlanta Exposition, October 21, 1895.

place of every people is what that people makes for itself; and he will be no exception to the rule. The method whereby he shall make that place is under consideration. One class contends that he must make it by staying in the three "R's," and they are specially at pains in ridiculing the higher education of the Negro, even for leaders in Church or State. Yea, he must learn the three "R's," he must master the king's English. And then he must plume his pinions of thought for a flight with Copernicus, Kepler, and Herschel; he must sharpen his logic for a walk with Plato, Emanuel Kant, and Herbert Spencer; he must clarify his visions for investigations with Virchow, Huxley, and Gray; he must be able to deal in the abstruse questions of law as do Gladstone, Judge Story, and Judge Speer; he must fortify himself to divide rightly the word as do Canon Farrar, Bishop Foster, Bishop Haygood, Dr. John Hall, and Dr. H. L. Wayland. In short, the education of the Negro must be on par with the education of the white man. It must begin in the kindergarten, as that of the white child, and end in the university, as that of the white man. Anything short of this thorough preparation for all of the stages of life for the Negro would be unfair to a large part of humanity. We ask that nothing be done that would spoil his nature or emasculate his personality; but let everything be done that would fit him to fill every station in life that man may fill, from the blacksmith and hod carrier to the statesman and philosopher. And, if such preparation require a knowledge of the old blue-back spelling book or of Aristotle's *Logic;* a knowledge of the plow or the trip hammer or of the spade or of the driving wheel; or of simple addition or integral calculus; or the First Reader or Kant's *Critique*, simple justice and common sense require that he be acquainted with whatever shall fit him to fill his station in life.

Now, if this process of education, which aims at developing his powers, making him a better man, a thoughtful man, a respectable citizen, a man of character and judgment, will spoil him, then let him spoil, and the sooner he spoils the better. If truth, pure, unmixed, is an enemy to a man, a system, a State, or society, then let that truth be proclaimed and that man or State go down. Education is not to make places for men, but men for places. The Negro is not discouraged; God has struck the shackles from our feet and the manacles from our wrists, and, please Him, with our right arm we'll do the rest and find our place.

J. W. E. Bowen

Art. V.—IMPRESSIONIST PREACHING.*

In speaking to you to-day I shall confine myself to matters of which I have some personal knowledge and experience. If I attempted to deal with certain critical and philosophical questions you might soon discover that I was the merest amateur; but it may be worth your while to listen to me on a subject with which I have had long personal acquaintance. Preaching is a subject of which we can never weary; it has for us an abiding charm. For my own part I love a book on homiletics as much as ever I did in my life. I read with eager expectation the last published lectures on the art of preaching, trusting to know how to do it before I die. It is to be hoped that you have the same curiosity and passion.

Preaching, you may rely upon it, is not going out of fashion. Some imagine that the priest is coming in and that the preacher is going out. A newspaper has just announced that fifteen hundred clergymen are to-day receiving confessions, when only a few years ago perhaps only a score of them favored the confessional. Despite these appearances, however, the world is not going that way. The twentieth century will demand something more serious than ritualism; a keen, active, intellectual age will find other work for the minister of Christ than the work of the priest. And we must remember that preaching is of cardinal importance to Churches without State patronage and endowment. The governors of Manchester New College, Oxford, have just accepted a gift of £5,000 from Mr. Henry Tate, of London, to be devoted to "special and emphatic instruction" in the theory and practice of preaching. The donor says he has "long entertained an earnest conviction of the exceeding importance of this portion of the training of students for the ministry, in Unitarian and other Free Churches." Mr. Tate has justly appreciated the situation. The power of telling out to the multitude the great saving truths is of exceeding importance to our Churches—nay, it is vital to them. It is the thing by which, in the highest sense,

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* In this, as in Dr. Watkinson's previous paper in our issue of January-February, 1897, the direct address form in which it was originally delivered is allowed to remain.—Ed.

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we live, as it was the essential thing in the primitive Church. Mr. Tate is wise in calling attention to the primal importance of the pulpit, and his wealth has been well bestowed in making homiletical education more possible and efficient. Dissent in England has before it a tremendous struggle, but it will never die whilst it sticks to the great evangelical doctrines, and whilst it continues to produce a race of preachers who can state those doctrines with lucidity and power.

I am now to speak to you about open-air preaching, and it seems to me that the core of the whole thing is here. You, of course, apprehend what I mean by this outdoor preaching. Not so long ago art was almost entirely academical and formal. The artist did not feel it necessary to leave his studio; he painted chiefly out of his consciousness, following slavishly certain conventional and traditional lines and types. The old artists painted their landscapes with hardly any reference to nature, and instead of putting the sky behind tree, or hill, or city, they painted everything on a background of gold—the violet heaven not being exactly good enough. But modern art has reverted to reality; it has gone into the open air; it condescends to put in the blue sky; it reflects the lights, the forms, the colors, the abiding grandeurs, and fleeting lusters of nature. The principle of outdoor sketching, now so popular, is to "hit off," as accurately as possible, the various points of interest that come under observation; to give the life, the hue, the tone, the stir, the verisimilitude of that glorious world whose fashion is ever passing away, and all art similarly sympathizes with nature. Mr. Blackburn, in his book on *Artistic Travel*, has a passage or two so relevant to my subject that I must quote therefrom. Writing from Algiers he says:

> It would be interesting to see one or two of our popular artists, who paint camels and desert scenes without ever having been in the East, just sit down here quietly for one day and paint a camel's head. . . . Do we seem to exaggerate the value of such studies? We cannot exaggerate if we take into full account the vigorous quality which we impart into our work. We cannot sit here day by day without learning several truths more forcibly than by any teaching of our schools, taking in, as it were, the mysteries of light and shade and the various phases of atmospheric effect, taking them all to heart, so that they influence work for years to come. And do we not, amongst other things, learn to distin-

> guish between the true and conventional rendering of the form, color, and character of palm trees, aloes, and cacti? . . . Is it mere heresy in art that seems to say that we have learned and achieved more, in studying the glowing limbs of an Arab child as it plays amongst these wild palmettos, because in painting the child we had not perforce to learn any "master's" trick of color, nor to follow conventional lines?

Here the critic maintains, then, that the true artist must go forth to nature. He must not be the slave of academical law and traditional method; he must not be satisfied with a few clever tricks of execution; he must see things as they are; he must paint them on the spot, render them swiftly, freely, realistically.

Now, in all this the preacher has a great deal to learn. He, too, must be natural, experimental, immediate, dealing with men and things as he finds them, speaking from the life to the life. And here it seems to me the preacher fails more frequently and conspicuously than he does anywhere else. As students I suppose you rarely hear sermons, and that may account for your cheerfulness; but lately I have heard a good many, and, whilst most of them have been really excellent in several particulars, they have again and again lacked adequate human interest. They have been too far away from the ordinary man and the ordinary life. A while ago a parish meeting was summoned to consider the question of lighting the village with gas, and the promoter of the meeting began the proceedings with a lecture on astronomy. There can be no question but that the two subjects were related, yet it was a far cry from astronomy to village lights, and the peasants were excusable if they dropped away into sleep whilst the speaker labored to show the bearing of the stellar heavens upon the immediate homely question. Yet it seems to me that we preachers are apt to fall into this very mistake and to lose ourselves and our hearers in abstract and vague considerations. It is against this that I wish to protest, and to show that the preacher must not be antique, formal, and abstruse, but saturated with the spirit of the day in which he lives, bringing the eternal truths and laws to bear on the passing moment and talking to men and women in language they understand.

Open-air preaching means that the preacher shall treat the

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great evangelical truths in the light of present-day knowledge and conditions. We all know something of the remarkable advances made during late years in medical science. What, then, would be said of a medical practitioner who has steadily ignored the great discoveries of the last half century? A medical man who refused to recognize the microscope and the hidden mysteries of physiology which it has brought to light, who knew nothing of bacteria, bacteriology, and germ pathology, nothing of the advance in knowledge along the pathway opened up by electrical science, nothing of the anæsthetics and antiseptics and instruments of precision which play such a wonderful part in modern medicine and surgery, nothing about the X-rays—such a professional might empirically acquire insight and skill and be useful in certain cases, but, failing to keep pace with the science of the day, he would naturally lose caste with the public and find popularity chiefly with the undertakers. And much of what would thus be true of the physician will be true also of the belated preacher. It may be said that theology is not a progressive science, that ethical science is not progressive; but there is an unfolding in theological and ethical truth just as real as are the developments in medical science. Who can look at theology and ethics, as they were apprehended thirty or forty years ago, and then consider the way in which they are apprehended now, without feeling that the change of statement is both real and immense? The world about us is ever new, and theological truth keeps on revealing itself in new aspects, meeting new situations, answering new questions, prescribing for new wants and maladies. The great musician adds no new pipe to the organ, the great painter no new color to the palette, the great poet no new letter to the alphabet; but they mingle the old notes, colors, and letters to striking and charming effects. And so whilst ethical and religious doctrine may know no essential addition, yet they are ever revealing themselves in original aspects of the deepest interest and importance. Theological doctrine demonstrates its divine fullness in perpetually defining itself afresh, and thus making itself intelligible to society with all its new facts, experiences, and conditions. The preacher must be modern in this sense, as the physician is.

The preacher must keep his eye on the great teachings of science. We ought not to overlook the significance of the vast popularity of such a book as Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World.* We need give no opinion here on the arguments of that book; but its immense popularity shows how anxious people are to mark the correspondence of the great truths of revelation with the ascertained facts and laws of creation. The preacher must go into the open air; he must learn whatever he can from the scientist; he must as carefully as possible inform himself concerning the new facts and teachings of nature; and, in doing this, he will not only enrich his discourses with new analogies and illustrations, but his ministry will be all the more authoritative and influential with that vast and ever-increasing public which buys Drummond's books and books of a similar order.

The preacher must watch the developments and strivings of the social world. Looking into the catalogue of one of our great publishers, I found there a list including scores of volumes with titles like these: *Civilization—its Cause and Cure; Religion of Socialism; Ethics of Socialism; The Drink Question; Promotion of General Happiness; Penology; Our Destiny; Luxury; Crime and its Causes; The Purse and the Conscience; Modern Humanists; Outlooks from the New Standpoint; The Condition of Labor; Poverty—its Genesis and Exodus; The Influence of Seasons on Conduct; The Ethic of Usury and Interest; The New Reformation; Rights of Women; Social Peace*, and so on. In this "Social Science Series," which is being largely read, most questions concerning human society and conduct are discussed from new standpoints. All I ask is, Can we permit ourselves to ignore a range of literature like this which belongs so peculiarly to the day in which we live? The fathers are essential, the Puritans also, and our formal expositors and theologians are simply indispensable; but no teacher who would minister successfully to the multitude can afford to be ignorant of the views and feelings, the discontents and hopes, the enthusiasms and skepticisms which find expression in this school of literature.

Not that we ought to use the pulpit for philosophical dis-

cussion, for addresses on science, for deliverances on political and sociological questions. No error on our part could be greater. As soon as the Christian preacher sets up for a scientist, a socialist, or a politician he gives himself away. People cease to care deeply and loyally for such a man. When our hearers want light on those subjects they go to specialists who know a great deal more about such questions than preachers generally know or are likely to know. The preacher is mainly strong whilst he deals with the conscience in the sight of God, and he must not lightly surrender this vantage ground. We preach Christ as the Saviour of men, their Saviour from sin and death. Our grand design is to build up noble character; to satisfy the soul with the truths and hopes of a spiritual faith; to renew the world through the salvation and sanctification of the individual. But there are two ways of doing this. We may follow an abstract or antiquarian method, or we may develop our spiritual doctrines with continual side glances toward contemporaneous thought and action; and it is for this latter method that I plead. We must be theologians, impassioned theologians; we shall prove sorry creatures if we are not. But to be successful preachers also we must be saturated with the spirit of our day and know how to take advantage of its special conditions and reasonings and language, as St. Paul did of his. "Eloquence is timeliness." And immediateness, seasonableness, are specially called for in this generation. I knew a preacher who preached the same sermon, word for word, on the occasion of the death of the Princess Charlotte and upon that of the prince consort. I presume the personal pronouns were changed, but with the exception of this flash of originality the discourse was identical. This sort of thing will not do now. We must manage to live in touch with rapidly changing scenes and systems. An ordinary man who speaks to the hour is a popular man. As George Meredith says, "A pygmy's a giant if he can manage to arrive in season."

Open-air preaching means the preaching that is in the least degree academical. In the pulpit we often fall into the error of preaching as if we were addressing scholars and theologians. It is very easy for us to make this mistake. We are at

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our books from day to day; we are familiar with the terms of philosophy, the locutions of science, the technicalities of criticism; and the temptation is great to become formal and scholastic. But it is none the less an error. As a rule formal theology in the pulpit is a mistake; and yet how many sermons are merely theological statements and discussions? A brother in one of my circuits exhorted the people to "trust in Christ with a simple, fiducial faith." The blessed results of such an appeal I did not learn. Now, a physician ought to know everything about physiology. The secrets of the dissecting room ought constantly to guide him in his observations and prescriptions; but there is no necessity that he should take a skeleton with him on his visits to his patients. I am afraid that we often drop into this osteology in the pulpit, and it is a very great mistake. Not merely has the sermon a skeleton, it is a skeleton; and the congregation is weary of the cunning tricks that the skilled theologian can play upon it. It is a still greater error for the preacher to be formally logical, or scientific, or philosophical. A preacher with affectations of scholarship warned one of our congregations that "a spirit of German transcendental ratiocination was creeping into the Church," and as a menagerie of wild beasts happened at the time to be in the town the congregation took alarm and a panic ensued. The highest art is that which conceals art; and the highest art of the pulpit is that which knows most, and says the least, about what it knows. Just think, when we enter the pulpit we are face to face with men and women whose life is intensely concrete and practical. They live in the world of trade and toil, in the domestic circle with all its solicitudes; they carry many burdens and fight many battles; they have comparatively little leisure for thought and reading; they know hardly anything about theories of nature and life; they know everything about difficulty, temptation, suffering, failure, and fatigue. Listeners like these require a simple, sincere, sympathetic style of address; if we are to speak to them with advantage the theologian, the philosopher, the scientist must be lost in the man. When West painted "The Death of General Wolfe," and ventured to clothe his heroes in the dress they actually wore, it is said that Sir Joshua Reynolds sat before

the work for a long time in silence, at last exclaiming, "West has conquered; the picture will create a revolution in art." We, as preachers, must not be professional, classical, pedantic, but must deal with the people as they actually are; we must realize the scenes in which they live; we must remember the simple wants they so acutely feel. It is a miserable mistake to suppose that, if we are to be impressive, we must choose grand subjects and treat them in a stately way. Rembrandt produced the finest portrait group in the world when he painted a representation, not of kings and beauties, but of five merchants seated round a table, with a servant waiting upon them; and by dealing with people just as they are, and addressing them in familiar language on common themes, we can exercise our utmost ability, express the fullest and most delicate scholarship, and effect the most glorious results for time and eternity.

Again, open-air preaching is full of life, color, and movement. I mean this as against elegant, elaborate, and polished preaching. The impressionist artist is just now everywhere popular, and the preacher will be all the better for a quick eye and a certain liberty and daring of expression. One thing in this age we preachers cannot overlook, and that is the extraordinary popularity of fiction. Modern fiction deals with all kinds of subjects; it is economical, philosophical, historical, theological. And how wonderfully it sells! The press teems with hundreds of thousands of volumes. In the houses of the rich and middle classes you are sure to find abundant fiction, and all the inmates can talk about the latest novel. The story sells the magazines. The daily and weekly journal depends upon its romance for its circulation. And the free library proves that the masses devour these works of imagination. Much of this literature is poor stuff indeed; it is surprising that people will buy and read such trash, but it has a fascination for the multitude, and charms them into reading when nothing else would. As I say, the immense popularity of the novel is one of the most striking features of our age. And why is it so popular? Many reasons, no doubt, could be given to account for its popularity, but the main reason is that it presents truths and falsehoods with color and move-

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ment. Dramatic form, personality, scenery, dialogue, are its elements of power.

The immense popularity of the novel ought to teach us the value of a concrete and pictorial style. We have to-day in this country preachers who in an illustrious degree are exemplifications of the thing I am talking about. One of our most severely expository and theological preachers is Dr. Maclaren, and yet his dramatic form and imaginative coloring make him one of the most popular of preachers; and, if Maclaren is the Raphael of our pulpit, Dr. Parker is its Rubens—facile, manifold, audacious, full of character and color, life his chief study, and the expression of life his great aim. It is impossible to overestimate the value of these great teachers to this nation; and yet, if they were to drop their metaphors, their aphorisms, their sparkle, their patches of purple, their pathos and humor, they would cease to sway the public. Of course, these are masters of their craft, and we cannot hope to rival them; but we see the direction in which we should go, and, as far as God has given us ability, we shall do well to appeal to the people with imagery, parable, and words full of human feeling, as Spurgeon and Beecher did, as Maclaren and Parker do. Our Master, who set us an example in so many things, gave also the true pattern of preaching. He reveals no conventionality of feeling or expression; he does not labor to utter wonderful things nor to elaborate exquisite ones. He always speaks with real freshness, picturesqueness, straightforwardness, and ease. He embodied the deepest thought and feeling in pictures so marvelously homely and clear that the children understood his teaching, and the common people heard him gladly.

The final feature of the preaching I recommend is that the preacher speaks to the life from the life. I have already said that the open-air preacher must have a competent knowledge of science and of the current questions of theology and science. But there is another matter still more imperative; he must know and love men. Versed in many things, the acceptable preacher is richly versed in humanity. "I have learned more," said Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, most learned man that he was, "in sick rooms, and from poor and simple folks, than from all the books which I have read." We

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have remarked as the basis of this address how the true artist goes back to nature. The Moorish designer may be seen hard at work with a box of butterflies' wings for his school of design. Meissonier, the great French painter, made it a rule to do nothing except from nature; he would have models even for the most trifling and humble accessories. If the tapestry which seemed to suit for a background, or the armchair in which the principal figure was to sit, were wanting in Meissonier's properties he bought them. If the required object were not to be found he had it made. He would even order, to copy them better on his canvases, chimney pieces and staircases. When he painted his great picture of Napoleon's "Retreat from Moscow" he painted it out of doors in a bitter, wintry cold, until his feet and hands were nearly frozen. Now, a preacher ought to prepare his sermon by a close and minute study of the people, as these artists created their work by the study of reality. As Meissonier said, speaking of his Napoleon picture, he "could not paint the figures in his warm studio; in the studio the values, the relations of the tones of the figures to the landscape, would be wanting." So with the preacher. He cannot shut himself up in his study, neglectful of the flesh-and-blood people, and prepare living, influential sermons; he cannot move the multitude and yet be strange to their actual, everyday life. By withdrawing from the everyday world he loses values, tones, relations, which constitute the very magic of the best popular preaching. Methodist preachers have a great opportunity in the class meeting to acquaint themselves with the doubts and temptations, the sorrows and strivings, the hopes and fears of all kinds and grades of people. Pastoral visitation opens to us all the widest field for observation. Here the open-eyed preacher learns what the enthusiastic artist finds in the forms and colors, the lights and shades, of nature. If we make the best of these openings we shall not become speculative, literary, *doctrinaire;* but, familiar with the people, our ministry will interest them in an extraordinary degree. Great popular preachers make the scholar, the philosopher, the theologian stand in the background; and they become irresistible to the multitude, because they address themselves with power to the practical reason.

And it goes without saying that, if we are to speak to the life, we must have a life of our own from which to speak. We must understand and feel the truths we preach, and be far more anxious to realize truth than to talk cleverly about it. To talk cleverly about the various truths which concern us is a great snare; we, as public men, get to think in public, as it were, and as artists we are ever pondering how we can most vividly express this thing or that. "You cannot stop to look at a sunset, because you must write a sonnet on it," cries an American satirist; and the preacher turns so swiftly and eagerly to the telling of things that he does not give them time to sink into his own soul. There is a passage in George Meredith bearing on this matter, a passage I earnestly commend to you: "You see how easy it is to deceive one who is an artist in phrases. Avoid them, Miss Dale; they dazzle the penetration of the composer. That is why people of ability like Mrs. Mountstuart see so little; they are so bent on describing brilliantly." There is a world of truth here for the preacher. Many of us "see so little," because we are so "bent on describing brilliantly." Our first business is to see, to muse, to ponder in our heart, to possess a clear sense of things, to get a firm and sympathetic grasp of them, to know for ourselves, to reverence for ourselves, to fear for ourselves, to rejoice for ourselves; and when we have seen clearly and felt deeply, rejoiced or grieved sincerely, then it will be soon enough to describe brilliantly. Let us, however, yield to the passion for describing brilliantly, for becoming artists in words and phrases, and we shall see little, we shall feel faintly, and our speech will lack the idiom of truth and conviction. Very deeply did the prophets themselves feel in all the evils and sorrows and hopes expressed in their prophesyings; very deeply did the apostles feel the tremendous significance of the whole counsel of God, with which they were charged; and it is ever true that the convincing, converting preacher speaks not as a paper theologian, not as an artist in words, not as an elocutionist or actor, but as one who has proved in his own heart the reality of what he preaches.

W. L. Watkinson

Art. VI.—IS ANOTHER MUTINY IMPENDING IN INDIA?

The news from India is disquieting. There have been serious riots in the neighborhood of Calcutta. These disturbances are apparently wholly unconnected with any famine suffering, and are confined, so far, to Mohammedans, though the Hindus are described as passively sympathetic. The Indian government has thought it necessary to make a great military demonstration, to overawe the rioting population. The memories of the last Indian mutiny are still so vivid, and the painful thrill of intense interest that bloody tragedy excited throughout the civilized world is still so well remembered by many, that it is with deep solicitude we raise the inquiry whether another mutiny is impending in India. The question, in its bearing upon the possibility of success in a gigantic experiment to inoculate a vast Asiatic population with European ideas, is well worth patient investigation, and, whether the event shall disprove all preconceived theories or not, intelligent theorizing on so seductive a subject must, in itself, be educative.

That the English have handled India with rare skill and success anyone familiar with what is, on the whole, the splendid history of a great experiment knows. No power in Europe, save Russia, has had anything like such success in Asiatic government. And Russia is, herself, essentially Asiatic, while the Englishman is obstinately, if not offensively, of the Occident. There is a peculiar comity among Asiatics, a subtle fraternity which goes far to unite them, however discordant among themselves, against the blunt-spoken, heavy-handed European. Besides this, the Englishman's rule is always and everywhere attended by an active missionary crusade of Christianity of a Western type, more or less stiffened with un-Asiatic garments. and, both in form and method of presentation, smacking strongly of foreign flavor. In spite of these difficulties, to speak from the standpoint of agreeable government, the English have done marvelously. The empire whose foundations were laid but little more than a brief cen-

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tury ago, among a deeply conservative Asiatic people—laid by the not too scrupulous hands of Clive and Hastings—has for the past forty years been increasingly a benediction to the polyglot peoples who live immediately under the British flag, or under the rule of any one of the numerous native kings and princes who, in quasi-independence, administer their own kingdoms under the eye of British "residents." During these forty years the tangled laws of India have been codified, a vast system of vernacular and English education has been projected, great highways have been constructed, thousands of miles of railroads and telegraphs have been built, irrigating tanks and canals have been extended, perfect security of life and property has been provided, and the periodically recurring famines have been fought with a vigor and degree of success never before witnessed on Indian soil.

With all this the English are not loved. The chasm between the European and the Asiatic remains unbridged. The reasons for this vary. With the Hindu one set of reasons prevails; with the Mohammedan, another. Nor is it easy to see how, under all the circumstances, it could be otherwise. Try as he will, be as honest and well-meaning and capable as he may, the Englishman may succeed better than any other European, but, for the reason at bottom that he is the exponent of an advanced Christian civilization, he cannot succeed in winning the love of his Indian subjects for many years to come. He may be just and very serviceable; he may even win something like admiration; but secure of the confidence, the sympathies, the affections of his Asiatic peoples he cannot be until he and they get nearer together in thought and ideal. The reasons for this statement may be found by considering the two great principles which the Indian government enunciated as basal, when it took over the administration of affairs from the East India Company, after the mutiny, in 1858. These were, in effect, (1) That the various peoples of India were to be ruled in accordance with their ancient laws and customs; and (2) The people were to be educated to the standard of their rulers, with the promise of perfect governmental equality—as eligibility for office—when that standard was reached; and in this education strict regard was to be had

to every man's creed and tribal, or caste, institutions. Now, to work out these principles, to leave Hindus of various castes and Mohammedans with clashing claims and most extraordinarily tangled customs "undisturbed in the exercise of their ancient laws and institutions," and yet to "educate them to the standard of their rulers," is a contradictory task which no finesse or statecraft will enable any European power to carry out without difficulty and constant friction. The "ancient institutions" are essentially those of an Asiatic and heathen civilization; the new education is toward a progressive, individualistic liberalism, tempered by the surrender of some rights for the good of the community. Note, for instance, how all the heroic effort of the Bombay government to stamp the plague from that unhappy city is more than offset in the minds of its Hindu inhabitants by the forcible searching of their homes by the military to find plague patients. Left to themselves they would prefer to allow their infected relatives to communicate the plague to the remainder of the family and the community rather than allow the stricken ones to be segregated and put within reach of the best medical help. In many of the great cities, when the government had at great expense provided a water supply, it was with the greatest difficulty and by the rigid enforcement of penalties that the people were persuaded to forego the privilege of getting their drinking water from other than filthy wells and green-scummed, but sacred, temple reservoirs. And yet many of these men are widely read in English. The Hindu can take much veneer of English education and yet remain deeply Asiatic, with feelings inflamed against English ideas. The very earnestness, therefore, of the rulers to do their plain duty, as it seems to them, often brings them into collision with the unreasoning but deeply seated prejudices of the centuries. And, if this be true of the intelligent Hindus of the great cities, how much more is it true of the tens of millions in agricultural India, where, as yet, but the faintest glimmer of education has reached. The presence of an active Christian missionary body, too, constantly gives this unintelligent mass the suspicion that the government is set upon undermining, if not forcibly destroying, the "ancient laws and institutions."

It is true that increasing numbers see in the missionaries true and sympathetic friends, many times helping them and withstanding for them the petty oppressions of governmental subordinates, and sometimes leading in wide reforms against the power of high officials. Still, it would perhaps be not too much to say that the great bulk of unintelligent Hinduism is keenly suspicious and wary against religious designs behind governmental action. It is exceedingly difficult under such circumstances to press either sanitary or social reforms, and many times, when the impatient English public chides the Indian government for its slowness and exceeding caution, that government is in sore perplexity to know what to do. Every forward step, therefore, in practical education, as Europeans understand it, is serviceable to the community but, nevertheless, provokes resentment among the very people it is designed to help.

Again, with the educated Hindu there is another cause for smoldering dislike. The government has promised him "governmental equality" as soon as he is fit for it. This, for the present, he interprets to mean that he shall be given all the offices he may be able to win in competitive examination. Unfortunately the only thing any such examinations can test is intellectual acuteness, and here the high-caste Hindu can give most of his manlier fellow-countrymen, or even his English competitors, points and then beat them. If there is anywhere a mind more capable of being crammed for competitive examinations of the academic kind than a young Bengali babu's, it has not yet been discovered. He can prepare for anything, and in faultless penmanship and in most orderly fashion spread before the wondering gaze of his examiners perfect answers to all their questions. No mathematics are too difficult for him, no logic too abstruse. Why, then, he asks, should he not forthwith be given all the chief places in the government? He already swarms in all the subordinate offices, and is found in many of the higher. Why not in all? It is difficult to explain to him, and well-nigh hopeless for him to understand, that to be intrusted with authority over multitudes of people, to fill an important place in a government that seeks to lift its people to truer ideals, he must be a man

of *morale* as well as intelligence. And here is where usually the Asiatic is sadly deficient. Of course he cannot see this. If he could it would argue an upwardness already begun. Not seeing this, he feels the government does not keep faith with him, and the English-speaking Hindu, though volubly expressing good will in English circles, is too often a malcontent who thinks he has reason for any but kindly feeling toward his English rulers.

The Mohammedans of India are more markedly at odds with their rulers in feeling and sentiment than the Hindus, as might be expected. Of the entire population one in five is Moslem. That is, there are about sixty millions of them. The Queen of England has more Moslem subjects than the Sultan of Turkey. More than one third of the entire Moslem world lives in India, and a more prolific propagandism is carried on here, perhaps, than in any land but Central Africa. Any disaffection among these, therefore, means the possibility of most untoward events. A hundred and fifty years ago these men ruled India. All the offices in all the departments were in their hands, and the Mohammedan aristocracy, holding vast estates as fiefs of the various Moslem courts, waited upon by rapacious hordes of their fellow-religionists, battened upon the produce of the land. In an evil day for them an English trading company began to take a hand in the disputes that arose between the various kings and kinglings. Pitting one against the other, and extorting trade concessions from both, the astute white men presently held the balance of power, and then acquired territory after territory. After the Indian mutiny in 1857 the imperial government, superseding the East India Company, curtly proclaimed the rule of England directly or as suzerain over the native princes, who were allowed to retain the insignia, but only partially the power, of sovereignty. The chief offices of the government were henceforth in English hands. The lands and estates held under gift from the former rulers were practically taken over by their successors and relet to whomsoever would meet the new fiscal conditions. The Mohammedans of India were reduced from being its proud masters to poor, but still proud, obscurity. The path to government offices becomes increasingly obstructed by university and competitive

examinations, and in these the keen intellectual Hindu is more than a match for the proud-spirited, but not too active-minded, Moslem. And, indeed, the scions of the old Mohammedan families are heavily handicapped in the race for governmental positions; for here the chief examinations are in English, and the Mohammedan lad must, for religious reasons, spend his early years in Arabic, the language of the Koran, and for social reasons in the study of Persian, without which he would scarcely be accounted a gentleman. He is therefore hopelessly out of the race. Among the humbler Mohammedans, too, feeling against the English is apt to run high. No Moslem can be permanently well affected to any ruler of alien faith. At heart his religion is militant, and the pale-faced Christian at the best can only be even-handed among all his Asiatic peoples, while his Moslem subject will be content with nothing less than extraordinary favors. Indeed, to be a subject, on any terms, is galling to the fierce spirit the Koran breeds. In recent years, too, there has appeared a Mohammedan party which sees the advantage to be gained in European politics by making a pretense of acknowledging the caliphate of the Turkish sultan, and seeks accordingly to agitate the followers of the Koran with the affairs of eastern Europe. This party owes its existence partly to the timidity and philo-Turkism of the English conservatives. The apathy of England in Armenia is thus being repaid by creating new dangers in India. Above all, however, in a dull resentful way the poorer Moslems feel that they have been turned off by the ten thousand from the positions they held as hangers-on in the establishments of the now dispossessed Mohammedan aristocracy. Nor are there openings for them anywhere. But fifty per cent of them are agriculturists, as against ninety per cent of the Hindus; a few thousands of them find service in the Sepoy army and the police and as petty peons, but even here they are jostled by Hindus. The remainder are in precarious circumstances. Dig they cannot, and to beg is unremunerative. The Indian Mohammedan, then, can scarcely be expected to regard his English ruler with any excess of amiability.

What, under such circumstances, is to prevent at any time another great mutiny in India? The English army? Scarcely.

That army is admirably well appointed, and the facilities for travel are such that it can easily be massed at any point in a short time. But what is an army of eighty thousand troops all told in a population of three hundred millions? And, as for means of communication, hundreds of miles of telegraph and railroad could be torn up in a single night by concerted action. The army is well calculated to stamp out, with prompt and severe action, any local uprisings which might otherwise grow into wide-extended and serious rebellion. Six active policemen can effectively club down an incipient riot that six hundred could scarcely cope with when once under way. But, for all this, the safety of English rule in India does not rest ultimately upon English soldiery.

Yet, there are opposite facts to be considered. The fighting races of India are the least disaffected. The more nearly the Hindu is himself soldierly and virile, the more readily he is attracted to the straightforward, blunt-spoken Englishman. Not only are the Sikh, the Rajput, and the Gurkha, many of the Mahratta clans, the southern Pariahs, and others not disaffected, but they are prepared to stand with the Englishman. In counting the loyal forces a very high place must also be given to the native Christian Church. In the loyalty of the fighting castes of India is England's tower of strength. Again, the India that has not learned to wholly trust or like the Englishman has not failed to learn to respect him. He is brusque, he is masterful, and not too amiable; but he is just, and keeps his word. Dislike him as he may, the common class Hindu says, in his heart of hearts, "If this man were gone I would not receive treatment so nearly fair from my own countrymen." Nor is there among the various Hindu castes any bond of union strong enough to cement them together for anything like the arduous enterprise of shaking off by force the hardy stranger. England's chief security, however, is the mutual dislike of the two great bodies, the Hindus and Mohammedans. Fellow-Asiatics though they are, and for many reasons, therefore, having feelings in common against any European, there is a very wide line of cleavage between these. A hundred years have not taken from the Hindu the memory of the oppressions that were put upon him by his

Moslem masters, nor the amount of squeeze to which he was subjected by the hordes of rapacious petty officials who thronged around every Mohammedan chieftain. Were he in any danger of forgetting, the ill-concealed scorn of the prophet's followers, whenever they come into collision, would prove an effective reminder. On the other hand, the Moslem, as he sees himself easily passed in the race for position and governmental emoluments by the sleek, effeminate Hindu, feels his gorge rise, breathes curses loud and deep, and wishes again for the time when he might beat the dog back to the rear, where he belongs. No permanent alliance can ever exist between the two, and none knows that better than they do. To rebel against English rule and so introduce Mohammedan rule—for it is the only native rule that would be possible—is not a programme to which the Hindu will ever consent. To make successful issue against the English and then give the Hindu equal rights is a programme to which the Mohammedan will not agree. If it be said that, in the last mutiny, Hindus freely joined with Mohammedans, let it be remembered that they were first brought together in the same regiment by English authority, and that the blessings of English rule, its justice, its earnest effort to benefit the mass of the people, especially the open door it makes for the Hindu to reach position, are all the achievements of the past forty years.

India administered by the East India Company for revenue only before the mutiny, and India administered by the English government, and increasingly under the eye of the British people, are two very different Indias, and the people perceive the difference. Infiltration of education and a clearer understanding of the spirit and aims of Christian civilization will ultimately lead the people to still more value the English rule. But already there is a dawning belief that perfect safety of life and property, a fixed tax rate, the opening of great markets, added facilities for travel and trade, and no manifest interference with the old religions, are matters of no small advantage. There begins to be a moderate degree of thankfulness. Under popular misapprehensions concerning particular measures there may be petty uprisings here or there, and a certain common sympathy of the ruled against their

rulers may for a time seem to unite all the various religionists, but a great united uprising for the overthrow of English rule will probably never again occur. Every day that such an uprising does not appear is an added guarantee that it will not come, for India daily grows in true appreciation of the worth of England's governance.

The Indian Church grows daily in strength and promise of permanence. More and more it becomes indigenous. Once accepted as belonging to the land, its influence will rapidly multiply and its volume increase. While the externals of a Christian civilization are taught by the government, the inner life of such a civilization—the mind and spirit of Jesus, relived in the heart of his Church—gives widening base to upbear the external structure. The English occupation of India is not to be interpreted as a matter of greed and oppression. The natives themselves begin to know otherwise. It is rather a great movement of Providence to bring most rapidly to highest social and religious development a great people who had been oppressed by the superstitions of the centuries. The cross-currents of opinion in so vast, so conservative, so internally divided a mass are necessarily confusing and hard to understand; but amid them all one thing seems certain, that the Indian empire gradually learns that England is doing better for it than in its poverty, its ignorance, and divisiveness it could do for itself. It would be well for every lover of his race to appreciate the fact that India's best future is in the hope that the great experiment of inoculating her with the views of a Christian civilization may be triumphantly successful.

F. W. Warne

Art. VII.—TYPICAL ERAS OF SKEPTICISM.

It is a well-known fact that reflective thought moves in cycles. Its progress is not uninterrupted but, between constructive eras, periods of dissolution intervene which for the time threaten the entire edifice of thought with destruction. This is true, whatever be the meaning assigned to reflective thought. It may be taken in the sense of philosophy; and philosophy, in turn, may be technically defined, for instance, as a "rational system of fundamental principles." Or, it may be understood in a broader way to cover those general views of the world and life to which philosophy in its technical significance is so intimately related; to cover science and art and history and politics and religion, the knowledge that a man or an age believes to have been gained, the aspirations which guide conduct, the institutions and their underlying beliefs which, in part, come down to each age from the past, in part, owe their genesis to its own inherent life. In either case the truth of the cyclical character of thought-progress is apparent; or, rather, it is true in both at once, since philosophy and thought in the larger sense are as incapable of separation as thought in any sense from the lives of those who think. Undoubtedly it would be more agreeable if the fact were otherwise. If thought could progress by steady stages, each in turn forming the platform for a fresh advance, as in itself it represented the outcome of the stage preceding, much of anxiety in practical affairs would be avoided, as well as much of confusion in the sphere of man's theoretical activity. But, since we must be content with progress by flux and reflux, these eras of transition become subjects which at once invite inquiry and reward it.

Elsewhere* the present writer has endeavored to show that such transitional periods in human thinking are characterized by a certain family likeness; that, within somewhat wide limits, they form what the naturalist might call a species; and that they exhibit uniformities of development which, again to adopt the analogy of natural science, may be termed their

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* "Transitional Eras in Thought," *The New World*, September, 1895.

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laws. But there is another side to the subject, which has its abiding interest and its present value. This is the characteristic differences by which the skeptical or transitional ages have been marked, and which give to them severally an individual, incommunicable stamp. In spite of the generic likeness existing among them we must not expect to find absolute uniformity in negation, any more than it is to be looked for in positive thought. A Protagoras is not an Occam; nor could he be, unless the Greece of the fifth century before Christ were exchanged for the Paris of the fourteenth century after the birth of our Lord. Bacon and John Stuart Mill differ so widely as to indicate a subtle variation, even in the inductive spirit of the ages for which they wrote. For, as with the leaders and their conclusions, so also with the ages which they lead. Personal and national characteristics combine with the broader and more fundamental conditions of thought. The development of national culture, the extent of scientific attainment, the stage of political organization, the progress of social growth, the character and the purity of ethical conceptions, the nature and the intensity of religious convictions--these elements of thought join with temperament and environment and history to make sophism different from the post-Aristotelian skepticism, to distinguish the age of the *Renaissance* and the Reformation from the eighteenth century, to render our own critical era at once the heir of the negations of other days and the responsible executant of its own peculiar task.

The sophistic movement in Greece was one of those phases of ancient thinking which, by their typical character, lend to the philosophy of antiquity its perennial charm. Since the time of Hegel and of Grote the question has been urgent whether the period should be considered one of definite skepticism; whether the sophists have not been a much misunderstood and much maligned class of men; whether, to put the doubt most sharply, there was any real group of thinkers corresponding to the term. This historic doubt, furthermore, has operated to produce a juster estimate of the movement, although it is now understood that the contention of its later defenders went farther astray in the one direction than the traditional detraction of

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the critics in the other. Recent historians of philosophy recognize both the destructive character of the sophists' work, and the causes or conditions which formed their partial justification. It is clear that, with the latter half of the fifth century before Christ, a time had come for Greece when abstract thought and the development of the nation conspired to yield a platform for negative conclusions. The conflicts of the philosophic schools and the agreement of many celebrated theories in the one negative result that popular thought is delusive—facts like these had combined with the progress of culture, with constitutional change and civil war, with critical alterations in religious belief and national habits, to generate a set of conditions of which doubt and skepticism are the natural outcome.

Nevertheless, the Greek sophistic is marked by features which cannot be ascribed to the influences of these forces alone. Most prominently the movement exhibits a thoroughness in its skeptical temper and in its destructive results that gives it an altogether distinctive stamp. It is not merely some one department of knowledge that is now brought into question, but rather the whole circle of thought; for, from sense-perception to metaphysics, there is nothing which does not stand condemned when tried by the critical tests. In fact, certain distinctions between the several spheres of human thinking on which much stress has been laid in later times, when estimating the limits and the validity of knowledge, were not considered by the leaders of sophism. The rather did they involve all knowledge in one general web of distrust, and turn their efforts to the preparation of the pupils committed to their care for success in practical life.

If inquiry be made into the causes of this prevalence of negation in the sophistic thinking, and the similar spirit manifested by the post-Aristotelian skeptics be recalled, the suggestion is near that it was due to some general characteristic common to the Greek mind throughout the various stages of its development. Or the explanation may be sought in features special to reflection at the period when sophism had its origin. Thus, it may be said that the philosophical inheritance of the sophists was a crude one, as was their philosophical training;

and, further, that they showed a lack of intellectual and moral earnestness which unfavorably differentiates them from the doubters of certain other ages, as it also throws a reflex light on the genesis of their doubt itself. But, in the opinion of the writer, the content of Hellenic culture and the stage of acquisition which the Greeks had reached may more justly be thought of as intimately connected with the character of their unbelief. Not, of course, that this culture is to be rated low, for it must be remembered not only that Grecian civilization remains a type of classical achievement, but also that the sophistic age followed, rather than preceded, the golden period of Greek statesmanship and literature and art. It is, therefore, to the nature and the content of Greek thinking that recourse must be had for the solution of the problem. History and poetry and drama and the arts, political theory and the beginnings of philosophical speculation, something of mathematics and natural science—these Greece possessed, but no great body of reflective truth, either philosophical or scientific, which had been wrought out by the strenuous labor of generations of thinkers and accepted as proven through considerable periods of time. In this the Greece of the era under consideration was unlike both the mediæval Europe which preceded the *Renaissance* and the modern Europe into which the *Renaissance* and reformation issued. In the one age there was a great dogmatic system, deemed the evident outcome of cogent philosophic reasoning as well as the substance of revealed truth; the later era boasts a vast body of phenomenal acquisitions, welded together under the principle of natural law, and approving itself alike by its verifiable accuracy and its practical usefulness. In Greece the treasures of the national thought were of another kind. As the old ethical and religious maxims gave way before the beginnings of rational inquiry philosophy came to embrace all the subjects of the thinking of the day. The Greeks' crude interpretations of nature, their formulas of conduct, their imaginings concerning the gods became constituent parts of the new wisdom, with everything else of intellectual result loosely associated in the one thought-fabric. So, when wisdom proved itself a snare, the entire outcome of thought seemed to fall in

the ruin. Little of established truth remained to form the starting point for new construction, or even to serve as a reminder that truth in any sense is attainable by man. Finally, the age was one when such a reminder was peculiarly needed. For thought was then so young and had experienced so many vicissitudes in its brief history that the habit of belief had not become sufficiently fixed to remain a form for fresh acquisitions, when the content of the old had disappeared. So the time of crisis ended in revolution, until Socrates appeared to recreate thought by basing it on a foundation hitherto untried.

The era of transition from mediæval to modern times was characterized by its great magnitude. In time the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are often assumed to include the entire period. But when a broader view is taken its beginning can hardly be dated later than the end of the Crusades, or its close before the middle of the seventeenth century. In space, the events of the era spread over west Europe from Italy to England and Scandinavia; while one chiefest impulse of the time, the religious reform, though checked in the Latin countries of the south, moved across the sea, and the colonies became seats of Protestant belief as well as the home of a free people. No less remarkable, again, than the extent of the movement in time and space was the scope of its effects in the several departments of human thought and the various manifestations of man's corporate life. Philosophy and science, literature and art, religion and theology, jurisprudence and politics—nay, man's entire manner of thinking about the world and his whole manner of life therein—experienced changes of so momentous a character that the movement became an emancipation from the traditions and the trammels of the past. In a word, in these centuries mediævalism dies and the modern spirit is born—the modern spirit with its free inquiry and its trust in reason; with its delight in this world, if not a certain neglect of other worldliness; with its restless energy in opening up the earth to the life and use of man, as well as in searching out its hidden secrets. Once more, these various phenomena of transition were no greater than might have been expected from the magnitude of the forces at work to produce them. The

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imposing systems of the scholastic philosophy had long been undergoing decay. The mediæval Church by its dogmatic insistence, by its temporal pretensions, by its moral decline, had long been preparing the rejection of its supreme authority. National feeling and national literatures had come in to aid the princes and the holy father in opposing the dominance of the empire. Education had succeeded to the darkness of the earlier mediæval centuries; reviving commerce had brought in new ideas, as well as unwonted comforts; art had blossomed forth in forms of wondrous beauty; the great inventions had furthered the progress of the new learning, as well as broken the force of mediæval custom; the great discoveries had enlarged the mental horizon, besides revealing the existence of unknown lands beyond the sea. As great as was the difference between the forms of thought and life which we term mediæval on the one hand, and modern on the other, so great were the forces of change in the centuries which separated the two eras.

In view of these conditions it is a striking fact about the movement that it included so much of positive thought. Men abandoned mediævalism, but they did not therefore adopt a negative view of the world. The revolution, despite its magnitude, did not issue in chaos; great as were the changes in belief, secular and religious, entire rejection of belief in the main was not the outcome. Rather, with a confidence which distinguishes the era alike from some earlier and from some later periods of transition, it was felt that the things which had been discarded were to be replaced by constructions with an analogous purpose, though of a different sort. It is not intended, of course, to ignore, or even to minimize, the facts which would resist arrangement under this rubric. No such era of transition can pass without anxiety and doubt and skeptical conclusions. Religious decline and moral disaster are also among the results which these periods seem inevitably to imply. And the centuries of transition from the mediæval to the modern world form no exception to the rule. If attention be turned to the decay of metaphysical conviction which accompanied the decline of the scholastic philosophy; or to the paganism, polite and corrupt in one, which rose with the new learning on

Italian soil; or to the gropings and the conflicts through which the Reformation fought its way to victory; or to the concrete examples of skeptical opinion, as the French skepticism of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, no one will be disposed to deny that the period under discussion, in this respect, as in others, comes under the general law.

But two things in the thought of the era always occasion surprise, and both point in the direction of the conclusion just announced. First, it is remarkable how many elements of mediævalism survive in the beginnings of modern reflection, and how long they retain their place therein. The difficulty of drawing a line between the Middle Ages and modern times has become almost proverbial; and the historian of opinion, even more than the historian of events, is forced to face it, as he finds his limit moving farther and farther on, until sometimes it seems as though our ancestors were half-mediæval down to the immediate forerunners of contemporary movements. It is not merely that, in the confusion of the period, especially of its earlier portions, a return was made to the ancient systems as a basis for positive thought, but that some of the later thinkers, including several considered specifically modern, side by side with their rejection of traditional principles retain remnants of that which they condemn. Lord Bacon, for instance, centers his inductive inquiry about the search for "forms," thus echoing the metaphysics of Aristotle, the great founder of deductive theory; and he believes, forsooth, that the new science had better begin with the "forms of simple natures," as "the forms of sense, of voluntary motion, of gravity and levity, of density, of tenuity, of heat, of cold," and the like, instead of turning with later scientists directly to the complex, though concrete phenomena around us. And Descartes, who starts from universal doubt, finds the antidote for doubt as well in the traditional reliance on the divine veracity as in his own more modern principle of self-consciousness, arguing the existence of the veracious God, the while, by proofs which betray a distinctly mediæval ancestry.

This feature in the thinking of the time, however, is less marked and less important than a second which remains to be

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noticed—the rapidity and decision with which the leaders of the age go on from their negative to their positive work. Destruction is not completed before construction is begun. Or, more accurately, it is destruction which involves construction, at least if the era and its various phases be regarded in a large and comprehensive way. When the dogmatic faith of the old order is abandoned in favor of reason it is because reason now demands her rights as an authoritative guide, not merely because the two yield results of a conflicting kind. The handmaid of theology does not revolt in order that she may cease from her labors or relinquish her claims, but, to borrow the common phrase, in order that she "may set up a house of her own." The new science believes itself a better way of looking at the world substituted for one outgrown, even when it is not definitely associated with speculative doctrines. Consider the long line of natural investigators from Roger Bacon to Kepler and Galileo, or even to Boyle and Newton, and note how widely spread among them is the conviction that, in doing away with a fantastic system of speculation, they are replacing it by a positive study—sometimes they call it a philosophy—of the real world. Bruno and his Italian compeers astonish us by their strange mixture of modern naturalistic tendencies and æsthetic longings and recollections of ancient philosophemes. Kepler's discovery of the laws of planetary motion is described by a recent historian as "the outcome of his endeavors to find an exact foundation for his theory of the world;" * while, in a phrase which startles us by its anticipation of a famous watchword of the later time—though of course the resemblance is not to be pressed—Lord Bacon summons men back from the abstractions of the schools to the study of things themselves. But, perhaps, the most impressive example of this spirit is to be found in the mutations of theological opinion. Wherever we strike into the stream of religious change how plain it is that the movement is in fact a reformation of religious faith and practice, rather than an abandonment of them! Luther, the Augustinian monk, becomes the lion-hearted leader of reform. Mysticism is a subordinate trait in his character, if not, as some would have it, the main-

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* Falckenberg. *History of Modern Philosophy*, p. 57.

spring of his religious experience. The movement, also, which this man heads is all aglow with fervor, pulsating with a deep spiritual life. Yet how impossible it is for either leader or Church to proceed without dogma! In the man the heroic temper takes on a dogmatic coloring until his insistence on a literal interpretation of the sacramental formula brings division on the cause and even personal alienation from his natural allies. The Church must have its doctrinal symbols; so gentle Melanchthon begins the task—a task continued by many successors, in many branches of the Protestant body, until the middle of the next succeeding century brings the great cycle of creed-formation to its close. Or, add to the creeds, in which the belief of the new Church found its symbolic expression, the more detailed work of the systematic theologians, and the question arises whether the superiority of the reformed faith does not reside in its basis and its content rather than in the formal rigidity which it assumed.

In general, then, this positive tendency becomes a distinctive mark of the period that intervenes between mediævalism and the modern world. The constructive spirit, indeed, was universal neither in time nor place, nor in the individuals and schools by whose activity the thought-movement was conducted. But the nature of the change itself, the conscious aims of the men of the time, the rapidity with which new forms of truth made their appearance, and the positive character of the new thinking when it had been begun—these indicate that in this epoch the balance of affirmation and negation was more decidedly in favor of the former than in almost any other similar age.

The negative tendencies in thought which marked the eighteenth century in Europe may be approached in two different ways. These movements may be discussed in the large, as they take their rise in Britain, as they extend their influence over France, as they find their echo on German soil; and thus the entire century be considered as a century of illumination divided into its English, French, and German developments. But, while it can scarcely be doubted that this way of looking at the subject is more just, as well as more comprehensive, than to concentrate attention on a part

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of the whole, the alternative method will better serve the purpose of this discussion. Instead, therefore, of endeavoring to compass the entire movement in one general survey, we may follow the example of many historians and study the enlightenment as it culminates in France. Here the movement will be found modified through the influence of circumstances springing from the condition of the French nation at the time and through the introduction of elements dependent on the nature of the Gallic mind. But, as it is often these very characteristics that best repay inquiry, there need be no regret for either their existence or their prominence.

The causes of the French illumination are well known. The exciting impulses come from across the Channel.* Acquaintance with English governmental forms molds the political wisdom of Montesquieu. Voltaire is active in spreading the fame of Locke and Newton, as well as in securing acceptance for their fundamental ideas. Diderot translates the ethics of Shaftesbury. By many hands a potent religious ferment is introduced in the doctrines of the deistic school. And, once entered, these excitants find circumstances ripe for action; for the condition of the nation was such that it gave a fresh impetus to the forces of negation. The miseries of the financial situation; the gulf between the people and the court circle; the luxury in high places; the misgovernment and corruption in Church and State alike; the unbelief on the part of chief dignitaries in the ecclesiastical body, coupled with the repression of free inquiry—these facts do not need repetition; they may simply be mentioned as the legitimate conditions of the first of the distinctive features by which the thought of the age was marked.

This first characteristic of the movement may be described as the aggressive spirit of its leaders. It is not merely that their work was destructive, a general attack on the established order; for this was but one of the factors in the aggressiveness in question. Nor was it simply a determined assault on corruption, wherever it had grown into the organism of society. Such assaults have not been wanting in other eras of transition; for example, in the sixteenth century, when the

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* Falckenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-245.

reformers endeavored to lop off the foul excrescences that were stifling the life of the Church, and Luther dealt bitter as well as vigorous blows after his allegiance to the papal organization had been shaken. But the hesitancy of Luther's approach to the point at which such acts of opposition became possible for him is a sign of the difference in temper between the men of his day and the protagonists of the eighteenth-century conflict. In how few of the latter is there evident any hesitation in throwing off the trammels of Church connection, or in revolting against established institutions! How nearly universal with them is a certain vindictive mood, which neither feels regret for that which has been discarded nor shrinks from mocking, from lampooning, from vilifying things by other men held sacred! It is not a crusade that these writers are engaged in, but an expedition against a pirate crew. Their enemy is not merely in error, he is an outlaw. In politics, it is revolt against tyranny; in letters, resistance of oppression; in religion the cry arises for the "destruction of the infamous." It is easy to recognize in the illuminati the spirit of men who have been jailed or exiled for their opinions, albeit their anger is sometimes accentuated by the peculiar nature of the sufferers; of men who have seen their writings put under the ban of the censorship; of men who have sympathized with poor wretches broken on the wheel for crimes falsely charged against them in the sacred name of religion. If it were not for the unworthy character of some of its exponents, it might almost be termed the spirit of France as she rouses herself for vengeance on a degenerate ruling class and a Church which stands athwart the course of modern progress while, corrupt at heart, it is incapable of accomplishing its practical tasks.

In part connected with their aggressiveness, in part due to other causes, was the satisfaction of the illuminati with their own theories. In revolting from accepted philosophical principles and political systems, as in rejecting the traditional faith, they felt implicit confidence in the results of the new thinking. Reason, in their view, was destined at once to usher in a better age of the world. Error was to disappear, and with error tyranny, the departure of the twin evils to be

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followed by a universal deliverance from disorder in society and misery in the individual life. The nineteenth century, looking backward across the Revolution and the Terror, finds difficulty in realizing such naïve confidence, but in the minds of the men of the time it was indisputably real. Even when they reach conclusions destructive at once to accepted forms of thought and to the postulates of ethical and social life, they believe that they are simply removing obstacles to the highest development of the human spirit. Toward the close of the movement, when materialism, sometimes in most naked forms, has proved the outcome, they exult in the delusion that now at length the vagaries of the past have given place to the beneficent results of untrammeled reason. With as much delight as Voltaire had scourged the Church the later members of the school maintain the negative of every form of spiritual philosophy, of every elevated doctrine of ethics, of every least manifestation of positive religious belief. Baron Holbach, for instance, in his *System of Nature*, makes the discovery that it is religion which is responsible for all the discord, all the war, all the ignorance, all the misery, in short, of whatsoever kind, that has descended upon the human race. Then he descants complacently on naturalistic materialism as the source of all wisdom and virtue; until the reader is prone to believe that, since the time when Epicurus sought to sweeten human existence by relegating the gods to a life of inglorious ease apart from intervention in mundane affairs, there has hardly been a more gross misunderstanding of the facts of nature as well as of the needs of the soul.

In part this complacency, as already remarked, was conditioned by the bitterness of the spirit of revolt. In large measure, also, it was dependent upon other causes, of which the present opportunity permits the mention of but a few. Prominent among these was the influence of natural science, now become an organized system and exerting a normative force. Long ere this, it is true, science had shown its power to govern modern thinking. In the exchange of the mediæval for the modern spirit it had been potent, both in the sphere of method and by way of result. Bacon and the methodologists had set before the world the ideal of an accurate

and progressive acquaintance with empirical reality. Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, and the rest had made discoveries of such scope and import as to revolutionize men's view of the natural universe. And yet, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, or even in the first half of the seventeenth, the mechanical scheme of the world was far less advanced on its way toward completion than it was in the period of the Illumination, and far less compacted into a constructive force. In the later era, especially after Voltaire had introduced Newtonian principles into France, it played a foremost part in the development of opinion. Negatively, it undermined traditional views in every department of thought; on the positive side it stood ready with far-reaching implications of its own. The atomic theory of matter, the mechanical explanation of motion, the belief in the universal prevalence of law, the quantitative view of the world, the mathematical interpretation of the principles of its existence and its action [*]—these took their places, not merely as parts of a new science, but as constituent elements in a new philosophy. Now, add to them Locke's sensationalistic theory of knowledge; develop all with that mingling of consecutiveness, lucidity, and narrowness by which French thinking has been marked so often, and the result is a theory of the world and life very impressive to an age just breaking free from the constraint of long-accepted dogma and in want of a substitute for that which it rejects.

Moreover, in the France of the eighteenth century the materialistic tendency was furthered by its connection with great practical needs. A century and a quarter earlier Bacon had delighted in a vision of the good to accrue to man from the mastery over nature which comes alone from understanding her and from obedience to her ways. Now the encyclopedists labored to make the vision real, by placing the results of scientific inquiry at the disposal of agriculture and industry and commerce, in a word, at the disposal of the citizens of their native land. Diderot, as Mr. Morley tells us, [†] would spare no time or effort, if only he could make the great work more fit to aid in the economic recovery of the nation. Remembering his own humble origin, perhaps, and moved by compas-

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[*] Falckenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 57.

[†] *Diderot and the Encyclopædists*, chap. v.

sion for the suffering poor, this editor-in-chief would spend days in mastering the processes of some trade, or in securing a picture of some machine, that, later, in the printed book he might explain the useful art to the people, struggling under their financial burdens. And, whether or not the story be accepted that the enterprise made impression even on the king and the royal circle, when they discovered in the work the explanation of objects familiar to them in their daily life, it is certain that its adaptation to practical wants was a potent factor in its financial success. The case is similar also in regard to the entire movement which the *Encyclopedia* represented. For here the historian of opinion is face to face with a force that in the last one hundred and fifty years has exercised a prominent influence in the development of reflective thought—the needs and the demands of the proletarians, on the one hand, and the sympathy for them manifested by enlightened minds, upon the other. The industrial and economic condition of France, at the time, was such as to require the clearest exposition of scientific principles attainable, and their most definite application to concrete problems. This state of affairs reinforced the predilection of the illuminati for the results of scientific investigation. Hence, too, the leaders of the movement were more ready to accept the naturalistic theory of things for themselves, and found the lesser minds, to whom it was communicated through their labors, the more willing to give it a sympathetic welcome. So the benefits of the new science and the venom of the new philosophy went together into every part of France, nay, together they spread throughout Europe. The capital error lay in the assumption that such material could nourish minds and hearts, as well as serve the ends of physical existence. Yet even this error is half-comprehensible, if it be remembered how crucial the need then was for relief for the body, as well as for the soul, and how plainly the physical aid conflicted with much that had been believed essential to the spiritual life.

With these eras of transition and doubt the present age has often been justly compared. For, although the nineteenth century has brought some of the boldest construction ever known, the forces of denial have dominated the greater part

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of its thinking, especially in the period from about the mid-century onward to the present day. The crisis in this era has, further, been acute, because of the multitude of conflicting tendencies which have entered in to confuse thought. For we are still moderns. The cycle which began with the *Renaissance* and the Reformation is not yet ended. In spite of the revolution which took place at the end of the eighteenth century men are still at work on questions come down from the time of Bacon and Descartes. The mechanical view of the universe presents its problems for the defenders of a spiritual philosophy and a positive religious faith. The questions concerning knowledge have not received their definitive solution, nor can they be passed over as the unimportant questionings of an outgrown stage of culture. Pantheism and atomism, monism and dualism continue to engage modern thought, under somewhat of the old inspiration, if not under the old leaders. As the century closes the Christian world resounds with the reformers' question concerning the seat of authority in religion. Moreover, the thinker of to-day is not only involved in the stream of modern thought as a whole, but he is embarrassed by the fact that the breaking up of the last century was not brought to its term. Hume lives on in the empiricism of the first half of this century, in Britain, and the agnosticism of the generation just closing in many quarters of the world. In Germany, it is true, the negation of the eighteenth century was overwhelmed by the constructive systems with which the early decades of the nineteenth were filled. But these, in turn, fell so decisively before the onslaught of the empirical and historical sciences as to throw men back on the difficulties, sometimes back on the solutions, which Kant and Hegel and Schleiermacher believed they had forever put away. While this phase ended and recovery begun, it was discovered that there was left neither satisfactory system nor acceptable guiding principle for thought. It is evident, also, as the matter in part has been stated before in these columns,* that the age has its own particular problems, sometimes in the form of characteristic variations of older questions, sometimes of specifically new developments. There is the marvelous

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* "The Return to Faith," by the writer, *Methodist Review*, January-February, 1896.

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advance of physical science, with such discoveries as that of the conservation and correlation of energy, and such theories as the principle of evolution conceived as a world-law; there is the growth of the historical spirit and the application of the historical method to the question of origins, in particular to the origin of religion; there is the development of critical inquiry, especially in relation to the documentary records of Christianity; there is the progress of democracy, not only in its revolutionary, but also in its socialistic and anarchistic, phases—and all press on the thinker of to-day with questions as imperiously demanding answers as the answers are difficult to give. Our task is harder than that of our fellows in other times, for we are burdened with a double load. We are trying to do two days' work in one; we are struggling with difficulties inherited from the past and with new perplexities of our own.

One effect of this confusion is a certain mingling of parties, or even of conflicting elements, within the limits of a single system. Most nearly pure, perhaps, is that phase of thought which is termed positivism or agnosticism. Arguing it impossible to make any rational decision concerning transcendent questions, and by profession, at least, holding the results of science true in the phenomenal sense alone and subject to constant revision, this form of thought claims to confine its conclusions to the region of strictly verifiable truth. Nevertheless, a moment's reflection will convince the student of the history of opinion how far removed these views are from those earlier types of thinking with which it is natural to compare them. Take the positions of the late Mr. Huxley, for example, and compare them with the doctrines of Protagoras or Gorgias, not to say the theories of Pyrrho and his followers, and it will appear that the difference between the skepticism of the Greeks and the agnosticism of to-day is measured by the extent of that imposing edifice of predictable fact and verifiable law which nowadays is called, preeminently, science. For, at its lowest terms, the negation of the time includes so much of affirmation as is contained in the belief in a science of phenomena. But the possibility of making scientifically tenable assertions of any sort was denied by the ancient skep-

ties. Fact which, by definition, should be fact for more than the time, the place, and the individual in the given circumstances, was rejected out of hand; much more would the assumption of a body of phenomenal uniformities of existence or of action have gained their utter condemnation. The contrast, further, becomes more striking if we turn from the dubitative forms of agnosticism to the dogmatic views with which they stand in close association. For, the restriction of the conclusions of inductive investigation to their phenomenal interpretation is apparently as difficult as the restriction of agnostic views concerning the transcendent world to a mere not proven. On the one hand, consciously or unconsciously, science tends toward the erection of its principles into a metaphysics of the sensible world; on the other, it is often felt that this proposition is best introduced by an agnostic preamble concerning supersensible reality. Thus, contemporary opinion issues in one of the most surprising combinations in the history of human thinking—a dogmatic science of the finite joined in ill-assorted union with a denial of the possibility of knowing aught of absolute truth.

And yet these inconsistencies in the spirit of the age are among its most significant characteristics. Rightly understood, they throw light on the forces which control the thinking of the present and yield prophetic hints for the progress of the future. For they reveal beneath the currents of nineteenth-century doubt the presence of positive forces making for new construction. The probability of this inference is increased by the existence of analogous phenomena in the moral and spiritual temper of contemporary skepticism. The distinguished author of *The Gospel for an Age of Doubt* * has called attention anew to the dissatisfaction of the time with its own unbelief and to its ingrained moral earnestness as signs of promise for a new generation. And the prophecy appears well grounded, since moral earnestness and spiritual longing are not characteristic of negative movements when the tide is at the flood, but appear with the leaders who arise to stem the current and turn men's thinking into healthier channels. A Socrates, a Thomas à Kempis, a Pascal, a Rous-

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* *The Gospel for an Age of Doubt*, by Henry van Dyke, D.D., pp. 22–40.

seau, a Kant—thinkers of this order for the most part come upon the scene to lead an age grown weary of its doubting back to the more stable foundations of ethical and religious life. But the writer would fain go further, and find in the ethical spirit of recent skepticism not merely the reaction against doubt's practical effects, but an element in the thinking of the time which lifts it to a nobler level than the majority of the transitional eras which have preceded it. At least among thinkers of the English-speaking races there is in this age a moral seriousness, sometimes a religious spirit, which favorably distinguishes them from the doubters of other days. John Stuart Mill, and Spencer, and Huxley, and Leslie Stephen, and John Fiske—not now to speak of the poets and the novelists of doubt—how superior they rise to Hume with his cynic sneer, or even the complacency of the deists. Nor is the conclusion destroyed by the fact that the moral systems and the religious doctrines of our free-thinkers rest on foundations hitherto considered insufficient to support the spiritual edifice. On the contrary, the discordance between premise and conclusion, as previous ages have construed the argument, is the best proof of the truth at large. It shows the case in regard to the matters of the spirit akin to the situation in the affairs of the mind. Here, also, the age enjoys an inheritance which delivers it from the utter negation of earlier eras. Here, as before, there is a constructive tendency, deeper than all doubt, impelling men to seek a new basis for the life of the spirit, so soon as they suspect the old is broken down. Here, finally, in faith and morals, as in knowledge, the outlook is more hopeful because of the signs that this positive impulse is extending its beneficent work beyond the meager, sometimes even grotesque, results in which at first it issued. Thus, the present generation may count itself happy that its lot is cast in a time when the fiercest stress of nineteenth-century skepticism is already overpast. Still happier they, to come after us, who shall share in the joyous dawning of the new constructive age!

A. C. Armstrong. Jr.

ART. VIII.—A GERMAN SAPPHIRE.

In a forgotten library corner, among many musty tomes, we found a book, not long ago, entitled *Humoristische Abende*. Over twenty-five years ago it had been read with much interest. Beginning to wonder if English-speaking people had ever heard of the author, an examination of cyclopedia and dictionary revealed no clew. The *Britannica* was silent; Webster and Worcester knew him not. No one outside of his own country seemed to have heard of him; and not a line or reference was to be found concerning him anywhere.*

In name he was Moritz Gottlieb Saphir. Like Franz Liszt, the most distinguished pianist of his age, he was a Hun in nativity. Yet, while all have heard of Liszt, few, if any, have heard of Saphir, though he was the greatest wit of his times. He was born in Lovaz Bereny, a little Hungarian village, February 8, 1795, of Jewish parents. The origin of Jewish family names is little known. His father's name was at first Israel. An order was given by the authorities that every Jew must adopt some family name, besides the many and consequently confusing cognomens of Moses, Aaron, Levi, Jacob, Israel. When Saphir's father asked the judge what name he should take the judge pointed to an heirloom he wore on his finger, a ring set with a large sapphire, and said, "Call yourself Saphir." This he did, and so Israel and his son became Saphirs. The childhood of Moritz was uneventful, except as he comically describes an early love at ten, and an early application of the double rule found in the *Hoosier Schoolmaster*, "lickin' and larnin'."

He was intended, like many others of his race, for a commercial career, his father being a small farmer. In early youth he knew no German. Sent to Prague, principally to learn the Talmud, he published two poems in Count Festeti's *Pannonia*. This was his first public effort, and decided his future path in life. He soon learned to depend on himself. After a brief residence in Vienna he was banished in the year 1824. To Berlin his steps were next directed. Here his publication of

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* A brief sketch of him appears in *Appleton's Cyclopedia*, and his name occurs also in the biographical list of the *Standard Dictionary*.—ED.

two comic papers, the *Schnell Post* and the *Courier*, in 1826–29, caused him much unpleasantness, because of his constant puns and sallies on prominent people, politicians, plutocrats, aristocrats, and others. He went next to Munich. There similar enterprises were conducted by him. In 1830 his path led to Paris. Here in 1832 he became a convert to the Protestant faith. In 1834, returning to Vienna, the publication of his principal paper, the *Humorist*, was begun, and was continued by him as editor and publisher until his death. From 1850 he published annually a humoristic popular almanac. He died September 6, 1858, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. His writings were voluminous, a partial list being appended.*

In Saphir wit had its best illustration. English wit is, like the English people, heavy, solid, at times stolid. French wit is light and sparkling. American wit, like all else with us, is still in a formative period. We have done something in producing poets, philosophers, artists—as much as we could. In humor a very little has had to satisfy the desire for it. We need wit, humor, sarcasm as we need salt or pepper. What we want is refinement of jest and insinuation. From the days of Artemus Ward to those of James Whitcomb Riley it is much the same. We are improving. Most of our humorists have a due sense of moral responsibility, Mark Twain being one of those in doubt. Our humor has mostly for its subject persons and things, rather than truths and thoughts. Even the immortal Lincoln, though not a professional wit, shares his fondness of stories with Bill Nye and Sam Jones. Our wit is based mainly on the imitation of dialect and other grotesque idiosyncrasies. The four points of the compass furnish almost all the woof and warp of our funny fabrics. Of two hundred and fifty-two recitations recently published, ninety-seven were humorous, all in dialect form. Brogue and provincialisms are the staples. What we need is to play more on thought, less on matter. But Saphir furnishes us better ideals. He found very much of that which we criticise in the English. "The

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* 1832: Four volumes of collected writings. 1832: Three volumes of latest writings (Stuttgart). 1834: *Foolish Letters.* 1838-41: *Ladies' Library.* 1846–73: *Flying Album: Recitations*, 2 vols. 1852: *Conversational Lexicon, Wit and Humor.* 1853: *Humoristic Evenings*, 2 vols., (Leipzig); also *Wild Roses*, poems. 1855: *Letters from Paris.* 1855–56: *Blue Leaves of Wit, Humor, Satire.* 1855–56: *Art of Wordplay and Wordwit.* After his death, in 1864–65 a selection of his complete works was published in ten volumes.

German wit," he says, "moves like a heavy transfer wagon slowly along; the French, like a phaeton." He was able to transfer his wares so quickly that slowness disappeared.

A poet, the sentiments Saphir expressed will abide. The specimen given will convey some idea of the delicacy of his thought. It lacks, like most of his poems, a superscription. It tells its own story :

I love the rose, when first she breaks
  Her bonds of green asunder;
And no one says, and no one asks,
  Does she love thee, I wonder?

I love the star, I gaze on her,
  I long to draw her near me;
And no one says, and no one asks,
  Dost think the star will hear thee?

I love the spring, when forth she comes
  With lilac flowers and verdure;
And no one says, and no one asks,
  Will spring return thy ardor?

I love, I love the sweet wild rose,
  A thousand songs I sing her;
And yet I ask not e'en myself,
  Does she love thee, O singer?

These stanzas appear in his volume of poems entitled *Wild Roses.* Here also is the inversion of a popular poetic proverb. Under his portrait—he was very homely, and also small-pox pitted—intended as a present for a lady friend, he wrote, "Virtue for a day, beauty alway."

His philosophic sayings, in poetry or prose, are tender, strong, true. "A great talent," he says, "is like a paper kite. The higher it rises the more street gamins gather to bring it down." An old bachelor, his appreciation for true womanhood is discerning, remarkable, ideal. He says:

> Every writer should first read what he intends to publish to a spiritual, sympathetic woman. A woman's heart is the only judgment throne of manly deeds, her intuition the only criterion of poetic productions. Her reddening is the fireproof, her smiles the goldproof, her tears the waterproof, of truth. The sensations of men's hearts are only translations from the female heart, which have lost much by the process. Women's hearts contain the history of love, men's hearts its fable. In a woman's heart

fidelity is an edition of the same love. In men's hearts it is a strained continuance. Women's hearts press, even out of the fallen leaves of love, tears of remembrance and the oil of friendship; men throw them into a vase to perfume a room.

Regarding the soul he says: "Time is a great chain bridge between this and the other shore. The body pays toll here, the soul yonder. While on this bridge we are thrown hither and thither. Because of this motion foolish people think the two shores move." Of woman he speaks in still another place as follows:

> We call woman the weaker vessel. If coarseness, physical strength, larger bones are power, yes. But if patience, endurance, strength of character—and these she carries as glittering gold upon her soul's wings—who is the weaker vessel? Men in luck pour a bottleful of champagne down their throats; when in ill-luck they put a bullet through their brains. A woman has a tear in fortune, a prayer in misfortune. Which is the weaker vessel? A man loses his honor and expects to recover it through a pistol shot, like a sleight-of-hand performer; when a woman loses hers both sexes condemn her. Which is the weaker vessel? Men love from instinct, and are jealous from vanity. Women love from sympathy, and are jealous because they love. Which is the weaker vessel?

It is difficult, as is evident, to translate Saphir's words without the loss of flavor. Many of his sayings depend on the twist of the Teutonic tongue. Others, however, are translatable. The following, we trust, will be found renderings, not rendings. At his *soirées*, over the cloak room, the guests read, "Here doff overcoats and shoes, hats and umbrellas, prejudices and rank." Another saying is, "Three sleep peacefully—a child, a dead man, and a watchman;" and another, "We treat men like books, tag their titles to their backs." A young poet sent him an ode addressed to immortality. He returned it with this indorsement, "This package will never reach its address." Once he argued with some friends on the meaning of a Greek passage, and insisted that it was only necessary to change the interrogation point. A little hunchback present, but not of the company, broke in with, "Do you know what that is?" "O, yes," came the answer, "a little crooked thing that asks."

His popularity, while general, at times depended on the composite character of the company. Two ladies were once discussing his merits. One said, "He is, admit it, monstrously

witty." The other rejoined, "You mean he is a witty monster." To illustrate this to a homely young lady he said: "It is true you are ugly. But then you are smarter by far. Go look in the glass, and see how smart you are." While stopping at a certain place the manager of a theater, noted for his want of sense, said to Saphir, "Strange that my legs go to sleep every day." "Not at all," said Saphir; "are they not always in your company?" In a theater two were discussing the latest work of a certain writer. Said one "'Work?' Call, it a piece." Saphir, being appealed to, said, 'You are both right; call it piecework."

As a player on words he has never had his equal in any tongue. A specimen or two: "Medicine certainly brings much light into the world, for by it humanity has been lightened much." While living in Berlin he sat, one beautiful Sunday afternoon, in front of Krantzler's noted resort. Multitudes of well-dressed people were passing on their way to the thiergarten or zoo, among them many handsome Jewesses. A stranger, both to the city and the humorist, sitting near by said, "I suppose this is the *élite* of Berlin?" "No," came the response, "only the Isra-elite."

His work is enduring. As long as the German is a living tongue his name will live, and longer. The influence of German literature—loved by such men as Carlyle, who owes to his appreciation of it very much of his literary acumen—is destined to grow. And it has produced at least one great wit. Whatever may be the particular claims of Milton, Shakespeare, Byron, and Burns as poets, or of Bacon, Locke, and Mill as philosophers, Saphir was poet, philosopher, and wit in one.

Adolf Hoffman

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

Nothing seems to us more practically important to be remembered than the proper, natural, and necessary function of the will in matters of faith and in the religious life. In order to a successful and prevailing ministry the minister must bear it in mind, and individual Christian living can be vigorous and victorious only by calling upon the will to put forth its power in its proper place. We simply draw attention to this justifiable and indispensable function, and note how well its importance has been recently illustrated and enforced in Professor James's volume entitled *The Will to Believe*, in Jevons's *Introduction to the History of Religion*, and in Professor Bowne's *Theory of Thought and Knowledge*, the last two of which are noticed elsewhere in this number of the *Review*.

THE CIVIL SERVICE REACTION.

The most pronounced hostility in public life is not between any political parties, but between the reformers of political methods and the active politicians who call themselves practical men and their antagonist theorists. Neither class can see any good in the other, and their pictures of each other are caricatures. The theorists are mainly right in their ideas, and partly right in their condemnations. Their chief error is that of describing all politicians as if they were just alike, and all as bad as the worst are. The practical men make a more serious mistake when they characterize the theorists as fools and hypocrites, and add that these foolishly ambitious people never bring anything to pass. For, during the last quarter century, these impracticable and foolish persons have carried through several measures of high importance and have defeated several conspicuously popular candidates.

Among legislative victories of the theorists may be mentioned civil service laws, the Australian ballot, and primary election legislation. The three groups of enactment represent a large

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body of law in the nation and in the States, as yet incomplete but far advanced enough to put opponents of such measures on the defensive. To this growing body of reform legislation a good deal must be added, such as new laws against corrupt practices. The theorist has in most instances displayed in his political career among us an extraordinary capacity for practical work and for successful campaigning.

It does not follow, however, that all theorists are right both in what they approve and in what they condemn; and a fair average of them are conceited and hypocritical—as other men are. The mere bandying of epithets across the line between politicians and reformers has no kind of utility. The reproaches from either side are merited—by some persons on either side. What the reformers seem to miss is a vast middle section in politics, a well-organized and officered body extending through both parties. The fate of any measures of importance will be decided in this middle section, which is practically wiser than the reformers and not less clean in purpose. The only real check which reform ever encountered was collision with this middle section. Civil service reform presents the most notable of such checks. There can be no doubt that a reaction is in full force this year. There are special causes for a reaction; a change of administration, with a crowd of aspirants for office, is the most obvious of these special causes. "Extensions" by a retiring president, and the giving of permanent tenure to many persons theretofore removable for political reasons has furnished another special odium against this reform.

Deeper than special causes is the real cause of reaction—the change has not been conspicuously beneficent. The beneficence exists, not unmixed with sordidness, but it is far less manifest than could be desired. That a few thousand clerks are changed or are not changed has no very large measuring in any case, and the negative aspect is least striking. Only a few persons among our millions have their eyes on the theater of operations. The citizen at large does not know that any great blessing is falling on the nation through a reformed civil service.

Begging the pardon of the ardent reformer, we must suggest that the reform is in the green stage as yet. Two very important lines are hardly yet drawn at all, and the success of the reform depends on these lines: (1) The line of responsible service. In the Chicago city government the question of responsibility

has been raised and hotly debated. If A is responsible for certain public work, how far can the public go in selecting clerks for him? Is there any responsibility in a head with no power over the hands? How much power over the hands must the head possess in order that the head may be fully responsible? There are few public offices where these questions are not asked. The securities for responsible administration must be ample and in full view. (2) The purpose of examinations is not always apparent. We borrowed the system from Europe, where the purpose of an examination is to select persons who are *admitted* to *offices to be taught*—to learn how to do public business. The examination is required simply to prove fitness to learn the trade. In our practice the examination is supposed to prove fitness to discharge the duties of an office. Now, unless the candidate has had experience in the work he is to do, no examination can establish his fitness. As a preparatory trial in a *novitiate* an examination is entirely appropriate; as a system of selecting servants in a country which has no novitiate order the examinations are justly criticised, if not justly condemned.

The great body of people heartily in favor of a tenure of office uninfluenced by political change occupies a critical attitude toward the methods of reform, and will continue in that attitude for a generation. Certain results of the movement will be practically secure. The spoilsman's field of operations will be limited, and trespass by him will be punished at the polls. The efficient public clerk will be more and more secure. The reform will not go backward; but it will be on trial until the lines of responsibility are clearly drawn and the purpose and nature of the examinations are clearly understood. The current reaction is not hostile to the theory of a sound civil service so much as it is a demand for clear light on the actual methods and for all possible improvements of system. It is a part of our fundamental political logic that responsibility must be defined and made as perfect as possible, that a government by clerks is not a possible American government, that fitness must be ascertained by some appropriate test. On all these matters the intelligent friends of a reformed civil service will court investigation and welcome improvements adapted to American circumstances. The matter has passed beyond the control of spoilsmen and "bosses." The actual critics are for the most part sincere friends of the reform.

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A STUDY OF BEGINNING AND GROWTH IN RELIGION.

A RATHER new phase of university research is the study of the phenomena and processes of religious experience, undertaken by a Christian scholar, who intends making such investigations his work for life or for so long as they shall prove fruitful. The inquiries already made have received assistance from President G. Stanley Hall, of Clark University; Professor Lillie A. Williams, of the New Jersey State Normal School; Dr. John Bigham, of De Pauw University; Mrs. E. D. Starbuck, and others. "The inquiry is undertaken in the belief that religious experience is the deepest, most sacred, and most important of life, and that collating a large number of facts will help much in understanding the laws of the spiritual life." In order to obtain personal testimony direct from a large number of individuals as to their experience in conversion, or any sudden awakening, a list of questions was sent out promiscuously as follows:

1. What religious customs did you observe in childhood, and with what likes and dislikes? In what ways were you brought to a condition to need an awakening—faulty teachings, bad associations, appetites, passions, etc.? What were the chief temptations of your youth? How were they felt, and how did you strive to resist? What errors and struggles have you had with, (a) lying and other dishonesty, (b) wrong appetites for foods and drinks, (c) *vita sexualis;* what relation have you noticed between this and moral and religious experiences? (d) laziness, selfishness, jealousy, etc.?

2. What force and motive led you to seek a higher and better life—fears, regrets, remorse, conviction for sin, example of others, influence of friends and surroundings, changes in beliefs or ideals, deliberate choice, external pressure, wish for approval of others, sense of duty, feeling of love, spontaneous awakening, divine impulse, etc.? Which of those or other causes were most marked, and which were present at all?

3. Circumstances and experiences preceding conversion—any sense of depression, smothering, fainting, loss of sleep and appetite, pensiveness, occupation disturbed, feeling of helplessness, prayer, calling for aid, estrangement from God, etc.? How long did it continue? Was there a tendency to resist conviction? How was it shown?

4. How did relief come? Was it attended by unnatural sights, sounds, or feelings? In what did the change consist—breaking pride, public confession, seeking the approval of others, feeling God's forgiveness, sudden awakening to some great truth, etc. How sudden was the awakening? Did the change come through or in spite of your own thought, deliberation, and choice? What part of it was supernatural or miraculous?

5. Feelings and experiences after the crisis—sense of bodily lightness, weeping, laughing, joy, sorrow, disappointment, signs of divine pleasure or displeasure, etc.

How differently did you feel toward persons, nature, ideas, God, etc.? Did you have unfulfilled expectations or disappointments?

6. Comparison of life before and after—changes in health, habits, motives, conduct, and in your general intellectual and emotional attitude. Did you undertake any private religious acts, as Bible reading, meditation, acts of self-sacrifice, prayer, etc.?

7. Were there any relapses from first experience? Were they permanent or temporary? Any persistent doubts? What difficulties from habits, pride, ridicule or opposition of others, etc., had you, and what methods did you adopt? Do you still have struggles in your nature? Does that indicate that the change was not complete? How have you and how will you overcome them? What needed helps, if any, were wanting at any time?

8. Did you always find it easy to follow the new life and to fit into its customs and requirements? If not, how did you succeed—by habit, pressure and encouragement of friends, a new determination, a sudden fresh awakening, etc.?

9. State a few bottom truths embodying your own deepest feelings? What would you now be and do if you realized all your own ideals of the higher life?

10. What texts, hymns, music, sermons, deaths, places, and objects were connected with your deepest impressions? If your awakening came in a revival meeting give the circumstances and methods used. What do you think of revivals?

11. If you have passed through a series of beliefs and attitudes, mark out the stages of growth and what you feel now to be the trend of your life.

To these questions enough persons responded to furnish one hundred and thirty-seven cases sufficiently complete and typical to furnish a basis for comparison and tabulation in order to discover what they had in common and in what respects they differed.*

Obviously a large number of cases is needed for any safe generalization. It took three years of continuous effort to accumulate, by means of the question list, materials for the present study. The character of the conclusions suggested to the investigators by the mass of testimony received may be partly judged from the following extract, which is here laid before the pastors of Methodism for consideration and criticism:

> The differences between the male and female and revival and nonrevival cases lead to some definite inferences. In the first place, the custom of some religious bodies of working toward a distinct break in the life and a sudden awakening to a higher life is in line with something entirely normal in human nature, and which often comes spontaneously in the natural growth of the individual. Especially in the case of persons who have gone far astray, or who lack self-reliance and need

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* Further aid is solicited from all persons who may be willing to sacrifice time and effort by writing out and sending to E. D. Starbuck, Clark University, Worcester, Mass., the conductor of these investigations, a brief, concise, and accurate statement of their experiences in conversion, under the questions in the above list.

the stimulus of outside influences to escape an imperfect way. For such instances the methods conventionally used seem altogether wholesome. It is a matter for the most serious consideration, however, how the helpfulness of the revival service can be kept and its disadvantages avoided. It is significant that of the whole number of cases studied only two or three of those who had been through revival experiences spoke in unqualified terms of approval of the usual methods employed. There were a few of the number who condemned them severely. There was a general deprecation of the emotional pressure usually exerted, and this coming from the converts themselves should be of value. We have seen that the average age of revival conversions is considerably less than the nonrevival, which shows they have been hurried. There is every evidence that many of them have been hastened unduly. Many were left out of the study because they had clearly been forced into compliance with what they were not ready intelligently to accept. They were pulled green and withered. It was especially true in the case of sensitive girls who were carried away by the excitement and afterward awakened to the fact that it was not a true experience. It is like pulling away the folds of a growing bud to disturb unduly the tender unfolding of religious nature. The greatest difficulty seems to be that the hardened natures who need the help of violent methods for restoration are the last to respond, and meanwhile much harm is done to those who are receptive and responsive to finer influences. Unless the person is ready for a change the results of hastening conversion are apt to be temporary and soon followed by relapse. We have seen that "backsliding" much more often occurs after revival experiences than after the others. The question is, How can we preserve the essential things in revivals and at the same time escape their evil effects? How can the uninterested be led to identify themselves with righteousness, and the wayward be reclaimed without harm to those who least need the influence of revival tactics? A few things are suggested by the study, which can only be most briefly hinted. People should be dealt with as individuals as far as possible instead of in masses. Still, the force of the ensemble should be preserved in furnishing the necessary stimulus to carry the "seeker" out of his slough. The higher motives should be appealed to more and the lower ones less. It is doubtless entirely out of proportion that one third of the subjective forces present at conversion were self-regarding (mostly fears), while the number of distinctively altruistic motives were only one third as frequent as the self-regarding. The lower ones should, of course, not be neglected. If a person has become an habitual transgressor of right it is not only pedagogical, but true to the facts of life, to bring him squarely to face the evil consequences of his ways, and to feel the awful authority of the moral and spiritual order. But conversion means unselfing, the entrance into a new life of insight and love, and the wise teacher will naturally hold up those incentives which are in direct line with the new life. If men were reached more on their God side the possibility of lifting them into a higher life would be greater and the results more permanent.

Another similar study is now being conducted by the same investigator as to the character of religious growth in cases not marked by abrupt beginnings or in periods free from sudden changes, and a list of questions suitable for eliciting the desired

information is ready to be sent to all who can be induced by the interest and importance of the matter to return answers to the inquiries. It would seem that many persons, laity and clergy, women and men, young and old, ought to be eager both to furnish for such a purpose in strict privacy (anonymously if preferred) the particulars of their experience, giving age, sex, temperament, church, and nationality, and also to obtain the tabulated results and justified conclusions of the investigation when completed. Such results and conclusions will be sent free upon request to all who answer the list of questions. These results are regarded in scholastic circles as of sufficient importance to be lectured upon in Clark University, Stanford University, and elsewhere.

EVANGELICAL DOCTRINE AND RECENT UNIVERSITY RESEARCH.

PROBABLY not all who read Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* perceived that his central aim was to substantiate from a new standpoint on the scientific side of things the reality of the religious life, and especially of its catastrophic feature, sudden conversion. The book grew out of his observation as an evangelist and his study of conversions in an evangelizing tour with D. L. Moody through the United Kingdom in 1873–74. Born, as it was, not in dreams, but in the heat of actual experiment and in contact with living facts, his book should have held some truth. Speaking a young man's fervent message to young men, he saw hosts of them converted under his appeals, as, in many cities, he summoned them to a personal friendship with Christ, which he set forth as the secret of a pure manhood and the inspiring power of a strong and beautiful life. Into the mind of this undergraduate, who had laid down temporarily his college text-books to be for the time a traveling revivalist, there flashed the conviction, while in the thick of the business of bringing men to spiritual awakening and renewal, that the reality of conversion, though scouted in the circles of scientific culture, is countenanced by laws which are familiar to science. Often he saw the spiritual life begin as if it were a new creation let down suddenly into the merely natural life, and yet it seemed not a violation of man's nature but a change wholesome, suitable, and necessary to his due development, harmonious with the natural and expected enlargements of life in

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general. His fascinating and suggestive book was enthusiastic and extravagant, its arguments in part were inconclusive, its contentions were pushed to extremes; the light of biology is not so sufficient as he made it seem for an interpretation of man's spiritual life: but that beautiful book had a core of firm and solid truth; science, as well as philosophy, will be compelled to countenance conversion and various other stages of the spiritual life as a normal part of human nature's unfolding, and harmonious with the cosmic order as well.

A sacred interest attaches to certain recent studies in the psychology of religion conducted in and from Clark University, Worcester, Mass., on the assumption that the spiritual realm, as manifest in the moral nature of man, is a real world presenting phenomena susceptible of experimental investigation, with a view to ascertaining the regulative laws and underlying principles in accordance with which the due development of man's spiritual nature into a healthy and vigorous religious life proceeds. In the *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. viii, No. 2, appears an article entitled "A Study of Conversion," by E. D. Starbuck, which presents in tabulated form some results of an investigation conducted in the scientific spirit by scientific methods through inquiry and testimony, together with certain conclusions drawn therefrom. We infer that this special study appears as part of a general scheme intended to be, when finished, a complete examination of the facts of adolescence, or the development of the human being from infancy to maturity, that is, from birth to the age of twenty-five. The whole, when it shall appear, will be of absorbing interest to all serious-minded persons; but a careful scrutiny of the results already published in the article referred to is of immediate practical importance to all pastors, parents, Sabbath school teachers, and professors of pastoral theology. We doubt if any minister should enter upon his work for the coming autumn and winter without a thorough reading of the reprint of the above-mentioned article in pamphlet form.* Its contents will help to locate and define afresh for the pastor his present opportunity of saving souls, so that he may direct his efforts intelligently to results large and lasting.

Besides calling attention to this pamphlet and to the possible value of the systematic investigations of which it is a part, we

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*This pamphlet may be obtained through mail from Edwin Diller Starbuck, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

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wish to note that such studies are bringing confirmation to the soundness of evangelical doctrine; and particularly do they tend to show that John Wesley was a wise spiritual philosopher, as sagacious in psychologic discernment as in practical administration, having so fully the mind of the Master that he, too, correctly "knew what was in man," and so understood how to deal with men effectively for their moral transformation. Human nature was mightily moved under Wesley and Whitefield because their message was framed and their methods proceeded on a correct understanding of the human constitution, which accordingly responded instinctively to their intelligent and accurate touch.

It is not yet so widely known as it should be that the great evangelical revival was abreast of the most advanced European scholarship of that age. The Moravians in Germany and the Methodists in England were in the current of the most progressive philosophy, steering in one of the channels sounded and marked by Spinoza, Lessing, and Kant; steering away from the false and comfortless conception of a deity so external to the world, and outside the regular order of things, as to manifest his presence only by breaking in upon the normal order with signs and wonders, and steering into the deep, safe waters of the doctrine that God is present and known in the convictions and common experiences of the soul, and that the test of truth and the certification of reality reside in man's consciousness.

It is difficult for us to realize how offensive was the idea of conversion to the world of Wesley's day, in which the truth presented itself as something new. Even to many professedly Christian men of that time that strange doctrine seemed to deprive religion of all sanity, dignity, and decency. That God by his Spirit moved in the nature of man to lift it, all at once and as a whole, to a higher life, and to give it a new adjustment, a true orientation in relation to spiritual realities, was to the eighteenth century a fanatical notion, severely condemned and scornfully rejected by the prevalent philosophy, which leaned to the deistic conception of a distant, incommunicative, and uninterested God who heard no prayers, extended no care, and held no intercourse with men. To the general world of that day people who claimed that a revolutionary change had been wrought in their inmost nature, and attributed it to the presence and working of the Holy Spirit of God, appeared like fools or hypocrites. But as the great revival proceeded the genuineness of religious

awakening and moral transformation became so obvious to earnest men of philosophic acumen and spiritual insight that the divine reality thereof was presently accepted by the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, and the Baptists, as well as by not a few in the Established Church. Soon those religious bodies, which had descended from seventeenth century origins, found themselves unified in faith upon one common central doctrine which worked itself out naturally into considerable uniformity of practical method. Religion from being mainly institutional, if not merely formal, was revivified and intensely vitalized, and the minds of men were turned from reliance on priesthoods and sacraments to a quickening belief in a living God working immediately upon, or rather normally within, the human heart.

Not only is it a fact that the principles and teaching of the Wesleyan revival kept step with an advanced philosophy and were in harmony with the trend of the highest eighteenth century intellect in continental universities, but it is equally and even more interestingly true that the latest researches of scholarship in this year of our Lord 1897 confirm the soundness of Wesleyan doctrine. Whoever cares to learn may know that experimental psychology, standing on the threshold of the twentieth century, is reaching back to put its sanction on the principles and preaching of the eighteenth century's evangelical awakening, making it clear that Wesley, Whitefield, and their coadjutors discerned as by divine illumination the facts of man's inner nature and caught the secret of God's methods with the soul. It is not too much to say that evangelical doctrine subjected to modern critical investigation is shown to be scientifically sound, and that the experiences testified to as corresponding thereto and connected therewith are proven to be no pretense or delusion, but real; not tokens of a fevered imagination, but of health; not symptoms of hysteria, but of the normal progress of a necessary personal development. The latest psychology in the youngest university for original research teaches in effect that the multitudes who, in Wesley's day and under the same doctrines in later times, rejoiced over a change in their own nature were not ignorant, but in that matter at least were in advance of the general intelligence, and were no more fanatical than they who disapproved and ridiculed them were intelligent and wise. The further investigations which are proceeding or promised may have particular interest for us.

THE ARENA.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD JAPAN, RETROSPECTIVE AND PROSPECTIVE.

It is safe to say that a few years ago the Protestant Churches of America took more interest in Japan as a mission field than in any other country. The speedy evangelization of the mikado's empire was greatly desired and eagerly expected. Both the Church at home and the representatives on the field were full of enthusiasm. But a great change has taken place. Some hold that we have not room in our sympathies for more than one people at a time. Others affirm that the need is less, both because of the advance of the nation and of the progress of the Church. Still others regard the work as less hopeful than formerly. The appropriations of our General Missionary Committee fell off from $66,665, four years ago, to $48,576 last year. This we believe to be not so much the result of a lack of interest or an absence of hope as a necessity growing out of special conditions. The committee last year found itself unable by nearly one hundred and forty thousand dollars to appropriate as much for the general work as four years before. Only three fields received an advance over the year named, Africa, South America, and India. All of the others suffered. Would that the gifts of the Church had warranted an increase to Japan of eighteen thousand dollars for the quadrennium, rather than a decrease of that amount! We went to Japan in 1873 because it was felt that the people needed the Gospel, and because it was a promising field. Has Japan had its day? Is the golden age in mission work behind us? God forbid! The field was never more needy nor hopeful than to-day.

All who are not Christians are Shintoists, Buddhists, Confucianists, or, what is perhaps worse, indifferent to religion or skeptical. One in a thousand of the people are Protestant Christians, one in five thousand Methodists, and one in ten thousand Methodist Episcopalians. Since the World's Parliament of Religions we have heard much of the elevated teachings and influence of these faiths of the East. To be sure, there are excellent things in them all, but they cannot satisfy man as a moral and religious being. There is another side, which must be seen in daily life in the Orient to be appreciated. The Shintoists teach that the Japanese, being a moral people, need no moral law. But neither in Buddhism nor Confucianism are there the loftiest teachings, the highest motives, or the transforming power of Christianity. The Japanese, with all the peoples of the world, need the power and sweetness of the Gospel in this life and its blessed hope for the next. Compare the Buddhist doctrine of transmigration with the Christian doctrine of heaven, and then choose. We have the glad tidings. Are not many of us condemned by the words of the leper in the days of the awful

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famine in Samaria who, when plenty had come to him, said to his fellows, "We do not well; this day is a day of good tidings, and we hold our peace?"

The indifference and infidelity which are becoming more and more prevalent, especially among the educated classes, are a result of the departure from the old faiths, of the reading of skeptical literature from Europe, and of the world spirit which accompanies material prosperity. Those who know the situation can but feel greatly concerned. The failure of the old faiths to satisfy man's higher nature, the influence of modern science, together with the immorality of the Buddhist priesthood, which has brought it into contempt—all have had their influence in destroying the old and in making it difficult to substitute the new. Confucian agnosticism and Buddhist atheism have cooperated in preparing the soil for the skeptical writings of the West. Says Professor Henry Satoh: "In a soil already prepared by Confucian philosophy and Buddhistic atheism, and in a soil where there is more or less prejudice against Christianity, none can find a readier access than the theories of such classes of thinkers as agnostics, materialists, and skeptics of almost every description. There is a tendency to welcome anything and everything that is opposed to Christianity." We are not free in this country from the world spirit that follows business anxiety and prosperity, but should have fortitude to overcome it. But what should be said of a nation just coming out of heathenism? The new industrial Japan greatly needs the Gospel. The nation needs it badly and now.

Two things should especially encourage us, the progressive spirit of the nation and the results of missionary effort. I need not refer to the great advance which Japan has made. There is no other nation that has so astonished the world during the last quarter of this century. Some argue that in consequence they are able to take care of themselves. An official member of one of our churches in this country, when learning that I was to come home last year on furlough, advised me to leave with an idea of remaining in this country, on the ground that a nation that can fight as Japan did, in the war with China, is able to get along without missionaries. It takes more than the externals of civilization to make a Christian nation. From a purely intellectual standpoint the Japanese educational system is unsurpassed, but it makes adequate provision neither for the education of women nor for the moral training of both sexes. The progress that is being made should stimulate us to action and warn us against delay. In choosing a candidate for a scholarship it is natural to select a bright boy rather than a dull one. And it is natural for us to take special interest in a promising nation—not that all do not need our sympathy and help—because of the possibilities. The Japanese have certainly proven themselves worthy of our best effort. They are destined to be the English of the East. In industries and commerce they are to take a leading position. The influence of their civilization will not be confined to their own islands. What shall

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it be? If the Bible is the secret of England's greatness, as her noble queen is reported to have said, then at this time when Japan is manifesting such an ambition it is our privilege to give her that which will truly exalt her and make her a power for righteousness. Rather than deter us from further activity her progress should stimulate us to greater effort. What we do must be done quickly, for the character of the new nation is being rapidly molded.

Again, the success which the Church has had and is having, notwithstanding all discouragements, should certainly inspire us. Who can even outline this in the space at my disposal? Compared with other denominations, the growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church has been phenomenal; and yet, if a recent writer is correct, it has taken twenty-five years to double the membership. In Japan, with everything against it, humanly speaking, the same has been done in the past ten years. To be sure, in this respect some missions have done considerably better. Yet not only have we doubled in numbers, but in presiding elders' districts, pastoral charges, native ministers, Sunday schools, and Sunday school scholars—that is, in round numbers. The type of member produced is also a most important factor in the future prosperity of the Church. I note briefly three things—intelligence, benevolence, piety. To be sure, we are not to neglect the poor and illiterate, and this has not been done. Methodism has a providential mission to such. But, in common with other denominations, an unusual proportion of our converts in Japan have come from the educated classes, which, as I have pointed out, are hard to reach. This is due to the work in our mission schools. Many of the Christian students have gone into the higher government schools, where John R. Mott, in his world tour, found them greatly interested in Christian work and in the great movement which he represents. Many are preaching, some teaching, and others are officers in the army and in other branches of the government. This means much in the way of Christian influence for years to come. Does such work pay? In gifts the native Church, in the period noted, has done even better. It has trebled and more in the amounts paid for pastoral support, quadrupled in benevolent collections, and increased nearly sixfold in the amounts contributed for current expenses and church and parsonage building. The work is better organized and equipped, and the native workers much more promising, both so far as intellectual and spiritual qualifications are concerned. There is a growing interest in spiritual things and an intense longing for an unusual outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Last year was marked by the presence of the revival spirit, both at the Conference and on the charges, and the future will certainly be glorious.

This is not the time to retrench or withdraw, but to reinforce strongly. The opportunities which are now ours will soon be gone forever. The evangelization of Japan is a possibility in this generation, if the Church will do her duty. At present rates, however, it will take a

century, and it is not impossible that the type of piety may be greatly affected by the delay. Much has been done, but "there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed." As was the case with Palestine, when these words were uttered by Joshua, some of the territory has been only partially occupied and much not at all.

Kingston, Pa. HERBERT B. JOHNSON.

NOVELS AND SERMONS.

IN the August *Bookman* Clement K. Shorter points out the fact that the Victorian literature has been preeminently "a literature of the pulpit, . . . always moral." By which he means that it has always preached. "Wordsworth, we know, was ever a prophet; Coleridge —why everyone knows the story of Lamb, when asked by S. T. C. if he had ever heard him preach, retorting, 'I have never heard you do anything else.'" And our writer goes on to show that nearly all the great authors of the Victorian epoch, especially the novelists, have been dominated by some moral purpose.

It has often occurred to us that, in fact, a good novel and a good sermon are much alike. Both are distinctively works of art—in their highest types, of creative art. They must each have a plot or plan, not too discernible, but distinctly marking a beginning, a middle, and an end. They must begin somewhere and arrive somewhere, and that arrival, to be successful, must be forceful and dramatic.

The writer of a novel and a preacher of a sermon are unlike the author of a scientific treatise or a lawyer making his plea before a jury. The scientist and the lawyer have the facts with which they are to deal provided for them, and imagination and invention have little to do in determining either the matter or the form of their discourse. But the preacher and the novelist have the whole universe from which to choose their themes, and imagination is a prime factor in their treatment. The scientist and historian may be said to speak of particular facts; the preacher and novelist, of general human facts.

The novelist and the preacher must alike speak true to the general features of human nature. While debarred in most forms of fiction and of the sermon from speaking with perfect exactness of particular historic individuals, yet the treatment of universal human phenomena must have such verisimilitude that each hearer or reader feels it to be essentially correct. The preacher or the novelist most appeals to us who makes his supposed instances most natural.

Sermons and novels must be interesting in order to succeed. With scarcely any other form of literature is this absolutely necessary. A book of law, or science, or reference, or history may be dry as dust, and yet answer all the purposes of its creation, while the preacher and the novelist must charm while they instruct, or their work is futile. The element of human interest is absolutely indispensable.

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Is there not, then, good reason why a minister should study the great masters of fiction? By catching the secret of the successful novelist's art may he not learn the need of cultivating his own invention and imagination and of infusing a vital human interest throughout his sermons? No one, in fact, can be a moving and powerful preacher who has not in him in many respects the elements of the successful writer of fiction.

J. C. Jackson.

Columbus, O.

THE PRESENT OUTLOOK FOR MISSIONS IN CHINA.*

To every foreigner resident in China who has an open eye to the course of events it is apparent that a great change is taking place in the attitude of the Chinese, and particularly of the official classes, toward missionaries and their work. Whereas formerly the mandarins were almost altogether contemptuous or else actively hostile, many of them are now looking to missionaries as a possible means of help and benefit to their country. Here and there, it is true, a man is still found who shows the old spirit of proud superiority and antagonism, but such men are becoming fewer, and their influence is evidently declining. In saying this we must not be understood to suggest that the officials are at all desirous that Christianity may spread and triumph. It is extremely probable that, with rare exceptions, they are more or less indifferent with regard to the Gospel and the Church. But they recognize that Western peoples have both knowledge and power, in which China is sadly lacking, and they look to the missionaries with something of the feeling with which the impotent man at the gate of the temple looked to Peter and John. They hope to receive something from the missionaries, but have little inkling of the true character and magnitude of the blessing which these bring in the name of Jesus Christ.

With the masses of the people it is different. The missionaries have now for many years been in close contact with them over a large part of the empire. Consequently they better appreciate the true object of the many-sided activity of the Christian Church, and their quickened interest must be regarded as, in a very considerable degree, an interest in Christianity itself.

The signs of these two movements, the one among the officials and *literati* and the other among the people, are manifold. Mention may be made of some of the most important and striking. (1) The increase in the number of inquirers and converts is extraordinary. In Fukien province, and in the very neighborhood of the massacre of 1895, no less than twenty thousand inquirers presented themselves last year in

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* The above communication from Dr. Stevens was received after the writing of a somewhat similar article in our "Missionary Review" department. As the testimony of a qualified observer in the midst of the movements he describes it is a valuable confirmation of the statements to be found on pages 814-816.—Ed.

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connection with the three missions working there. Of these some five thousand have been accepted for Church membership. Dr. Griffith John, who has been laboring in Hupeh for thirty-five years, says that the increase of the last few months is unprecedented, and that the character of the converts is such as to inspire confidence. Similar statements might be made of other provinces, notably Shantung and Manchuria. Even in Hunan, the most bitterly antiforeign of all the provinces, there are now at least two devoted companies of Christians. (2) The demand for Bibles and Bible portions, as well as for Christian books and tracts, shows a remarkable advance. The American Bible Society circulated last year no less than 396,088 copies of the Scriptures, in whole or in part, and of these only some two per cent were donated. The sales of the British and Foreign Bible Society and of the National Bible Society of Scotland have also been phenomenal. The enlarged success of the tract societies can be no more than named here. As an indication of what they are doing it may be stated that the Central Society, working from Hankow, circulated last year nearly a million and a half of their publications. Other and kindred societies, such as the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge, and the Educational Society of China, have also felt the sweep of the flowing tide, and have contributed not a little to its force and volume. (3) Medical and school work are now in high favor. In some instances officials of the highest rank have appealed to the missionaries to aid them in establishing institutions for the instruction of Chinese youth in Western knowledge, and many of the mission schools are crowded.

If it is asked by what means this great and significant change has been brought about, the answer is plain. In the good providence of God the late war with Japan was made a potent agency in opening the eyes of the ruling classes to the weakness and need of their country. Much of the prejudice and opposition of former years have been disarmed by the influence of Christian literature, the beneficent and self-denying work of missionary physicians, the teaching in Christian colleges and schools, missionary interviews with mandarins, and, not least, the pure and devoted lives of missionaries and their families.

The Christian Church has a great and effectual door opened of God in the China of to-day. True, there are many adversaries still in the land. It is perhaps not improbable that there will yet be many days of trial and persecution, both for foreign workers and native Christians, in some parts of this wide field. But, notwithstanding, the times may be said to be ripe for a more earnest and more aggressive effort on the part of the Church. A truly magnificent opportunity is now afforded well-equipped Christian physicians, teachers, and preachers. Will not the Church hear the voice of God in the present condition of affairs, and send forth and sustain such laborers as are needed for the ingathering of the Lord's harvest in China? The country has long been known as the Celestial Empire. To Christian eyes it is manifestly ruled, not by its rightful

King, but by the prince of darkness. Now is the time when an unparaleled opportunity is afforded the Church to bring the kingdom of God near to the people, through the manifestation of the truth.

Shanghai, China. JOHN STEVENS.

"KNOWLEDGE AND FEELING IN SPIRITUALITY."

REV. J. WALLACE WEBB in his criticism, in the July-August *Review*, of my contributed article on the above subject, quotes extensively from John Caird's *Philosophy of Religion*, in defense of his position that the essence of religion lies in feeling, and with the impression that Dr. Caird's view is identical with his own. I wish simply to call attention to a fact which my critic has evidently overlooked. Not a sentence of these quotations represents Dr. Caird's own view. They are all taken from pp. 157-160 of his book (Macmillan and Company, 1894), where he states at length the position that the essence of religion lies in the feelings, *preparatory to refuting it.* This he does in the pages immediately following.

Stamford, Conn. FRANK W. CROWDER.

THE ATROCITIES OF THE CUBAN WAR ASSOCIATED WITH THE MOSAIC LAW.

STEPHEN BONSAL, who has been an eyewitness of the Cuban war, has written an article on that subject which appears in the May number of the *Review of Reviews.* In it he says: "Perhaps after our delay, our inactivity which has permitted atrocities to be committed and a policy of extermination to be enforced which is without a parallel in modern history, and a war to be waged according to the Mosaic law almost within our borders, . . . we must admit that if six months ago we had a character to maintain as a nation in the vanguard of the powers of civilization and of humanity, we now have that character to redeem." The Israelites under Moses's leadership looked forward to exterminating wars, but this was because the nations which they were to dispossess had corrupted themselves till "the cup of their iniquity was full," and sparing them would have involved the hopeless contamination of Israel. The command of extermination came from Jehovah. It was severe. But who can affirm that the moral preservation of the Israelites, sufficient to enable them to fulfill the mission for which they were chosen, did not require it? When a nation reaches a certain degradation who can say that extermination is not a mercy even to the nation exterminated?

The mode of extermination, under the Mosaic law, was by the edge of the sword. But in Cuba, according to Mr. Bonsal, it is the cruel process of starvation. He informs us that some of the Cuban women who are taken captive are reserved by the Spaniards for evil purposes. The Mosaic law made this a capital crime and punished it as such. Our eyewitness of the Cuban war tells us that certain men who were shut up to starve were permitted at their request to go out into the fields under

guard to dig roots, and that four of these men, while thus engaged, were shot in the back by order of the sergeant, the others being frightened back to their starving families by this breach of good faith. Joshua was the first and great interpreter of the Mosaic law of warfare. Shortly after he entered Palestine with his army the Gibeonites came to him, representing that they lived in a distant land and desired to make peace with him. Accordingly, Joshua "made a league with them to let them live." Their deception was soon discovered, but this Israelitish general, out of respect for his covenant, still spared their lives. I cannot see how this resembles shooting men in the back who have been allowed in pretended good faith to dig roots for their starving children.

Where in the Mosaic law can a syllable be found that sanctions the torture of enemies? To say that the war Mr. Bonsal has described is "waged according to the Mosaic law" is nothing short of blasphemy. It is an insult to the commonest scholarship. An insinuation which shows such disregard for truth does violence to pagan morals, to say nothing of the ethics of Christian civilization. The only explanation my charity allows me to give for such a paragraph in the *Review of Reviews*, without a correcting note by the editor, is that it escaped his notice.

Seward, N. Y. M. J. OSTEYEE.

ON REFORM AND CONVERSION.

A CORRESPONDENT of this department makes a great mistake, I think, in his use of the word "conversion." Too many preachers make the same mistake. Religious teachers ought to be careful in the use of words; and I am surprised that anyone should imagine a difference to exist between "reform" and "conversion," which is one and the same thing.

There is a difference between "reform" or "conversion" and "regeneration." Confusion must be created in the minds of hearers by the improper use of these words. They are not synonymous, but complemental, and differ essentially. I think that Ezek. xi, 19, 20, shows a clear distinction between regeneration and conversion, or reformation. God gives man a new heart; that is regeneration. The man then walks in God's statutes and keeps his ordinances; that is conversion. Regeneration is internal, a work wrought in us; conversion is external. The work in us is hidden, except as manifested by the outward life of the regenerated man. Regeneration is the birth from above; conversion is the walking of the regenerated one in the new life. It seems to me that the distinctions in meaning are so clear that no one need make a mistake concerning the use of these terms. Let us keep the distinction clearly before our hearers. A man may reform without regeneration; but regeneration crucifies the "old man" with his deeds, buries him into the death of Christ, and raises up a new man to walk in the newness of the life that is in Christ. A regenerated man will be converted and torn from his former sinful life to a life of faith in the Son of God. C. R. RICE.

Baldwin, Kan.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC PRAYER.

It is one of the complaints often made against ritualistic Churches that they place too much emphasis on the service. On the other hand, it is charged against nonritualistic Churches that they neglect the service and give excessive importance to the sermon. Perhaps both charges are partially correct. The ritualists have undervalued the sermon, and hence have not cultivated preaching to the extent to which it has been done in nonritualistic Churches. On the other hand, many Protestant Churches have overvalued the sermon, and have apparently regarded the other parts of worship as relatively unimportant. It is worthy of note, however, that many individual churches are enlarging the liturgical part of their services. Indeed, the Methodist Episcopal Church as a body is making marked strides in this direction, as shown by the order of worship enacted at the late General Conference.

There is one part of the service of Protestant Churches which is often undervalued, namely, the prayer. And yet, what can be more important? The people are gathered together for worship. Preaching is an essential part of church service, but not all-important. It is true that the Saviour's primary command was, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." But the accompaniment of preaching has ever been prayer. The ability to pray in fitting words, and with power, is not always coincident with the ability to preach. We have known men of fine scholarship and choice literary style and real piety who seemed to hesitate, even to the extent of awkwardness, in their prayers. On the other hand, men whose ability to preach has been inferior have been wonderfully effective and felicitous in their approach to the throne of grace.

It is not of prayer, however, as such that we are now writing, but of public prayer as a ministry of blessing to the people. By public prayer we mean those prayers which are offered by the minister in his official capacity. There is the prayer which ordinarily precedes the sermon. In this prayer the minister is not speaking for himself only; he is the mouthpiece of the congregation. It is becoming, therefore, that he gather up and summarize in the compass of a few minutes the needs, the aspirations, and the hopes of his people. For the time being he is the embodiment of a whole congregation, and is, as it were, their voice, approaching the eternal throne. The dignity and the importance of his position cannot be overestimated. In order that such a prayer may be appropriate he must, as it were, enter into their feelings by a study of their condition, and must put in fitting words those things which he recognizes as the heartfelt expressions of his people. Who would

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engage rashly in such a service? Who would undertake to voice without premeditation such lofty aspirations? Only a bold man would venture to approach the sacred presence, under such circumstances, thoughtlessly and carelessly. The usefulness of fitting prayers on such occasions is very great, and many people have gone from the house of God realizing that the prayer has been to them more effective than the sermon.

Another occasion of public prayer is found in dedications of churches and in the inauguration of great enterprises. At such times it is customary to invite some one to offer a prayer appropriate to the occasion. To be able on such an occasion to present before the throne of grace the interests under consideration in words that are fitting, and with emotions that are sincere, is a gift which ought not to be undervalued. One who can do it properly has a great means of usefulness.

Another form of public prayer is that which takes place at the bedside of the sick. It is the special prerogative of the ministry to visit the sick and to administer the consolations of religion in hours of trouble. It often happens that there can be no personal converse with the sufferer, and the only way of administering consolation to him and of securing divine blessings for him is in prayer. Here all the power, ability, and delicacy of taste and appreciation which belongs to the ministerial office are called into requisition. It is to be feared that preachers, especially young preachers, do not appreciate at its full value the importance of this part of their duties. It is a great thing to be the mouthpiece of a sufferer—one perhaps rapidly approaching the end of life—in the presence of God. To pray in such a manner as to be true to one's self and true to the sufferer and true to God is as much a test of ministerial preparation as to preach a sermon on some important occasion.

Another occasion of public prayer of the utmost importance is the prayer at funerals. This involves the delicacy of taste, as well as the fullness of treatment, which belongs to ordinary public prayer. No one has failed to notice the felicity of some persons in prayer on funeral occasions. Indeed, almost every community has a minister who is regarded as peculiarly gifted in this direction. To pray acceptably at such a time, as the comforter of the suffering ones and of the sympathizing friends and in such faith as to reach the throne of grace, makes demands at once upon the intellect and the heart of the preacher. On such occasions, words fitly chosen are "like apples of gold in pictures of silver." Happy, indeed, is he who by nature, by training, and by grace is fitted for this important service.

We desire to emphasize, therefore, in this paper the ministry of prayer as one of the most efficient sources of the preacher's usefulness. Its power for good, we fear, is not estimated among young ministers as it should be. They are constantly studying how to preach, and they do not inquire as they ought to do how to pray. When the disciples asked this question of our Lord he answered them with that beautiful prayer which has been repeated all through the Christian centuries.

In thus urging the importance of public prayer, and of preparation for it, we must not be understood as undervaluing private prayer. The first impulse toward salvation is an impulse to pray. It is a part of the Christian's very being. Prayers are the instruments of our approach to God, and in his presence they are not valued by the choiceness of their language nor by any external adornments of presentation; but they are received and answered in proportion as they are the outpourings of earnest souls. The first condition of true prayer in public is prayer in private. He who would pray well before the people must be familiar with prayer in the secret place where none but God is near. He who prays only formally does not pray at all. Thought may be feeble, language lame, but the heart, pouring out itself before the Lord, will constitute the most insignificant utterances the most effective prayers. A true prayer will always be in part spontaneous; but in its highest form it will also be well considered beforehand. In order to properly pray there must be suitable spiritual and mental preparation. We may prepare ourselves by reading the Scriptures, thus putting our minds in a spiritual frame, by self-examination, and by consecration of ourselves to the divine service. Having thus prepared our hearts, and ascertained by premeditation our needs, we may fitly approach the throne of grace, whether we come for personal blessings or for public welfare.

With the answers to prayer we do not need to concern ourselves. It is ours to pray. We are invited to come, bringing our needs and pouring our wants into the ear of the infinite Father. It is his to answer, not according to our petitions, but according to our necessities. We may ask for the things which we do not need, or which we should not have. It is the prerogative of our Lord to give, not according to our asking, but according to his wisdom and his fatherly interest in our welfare. Our Father knoweth that we "have need of all these things."

The object of this paper will not be secured if we have failed to impress on the reader the supreme value of personal and public prayer for the minister of the Gospel. It is the one thing without which a minister cannot succeed. He may have passed through the schools; he may have become familiar with ancient and modern learning; he may be able to discuss with perspicuity and force the great theological problems of the times; he may be an eloquent and powerful preacher; but he cannot reach his highest power as a Christian man, or as a Christian minister, if he does not enter into his closet and shut his door and learn from our Lord himself what it is to pray.

SOME ADVANTAGES OF SMALL PASTORAL CHARGES.

It is a laudable desire on the part of the young itinerant to secure, at as early a period in his ministry as possible, a church of recognized prominence. He imagines that in so doing he will attain greater usefulness than would be possible to him in smaller fields of labor. He is in

danger of forgetting that any field of labor to which he may come, in the order of Providence, is an important one and worthy of his best powers. It is well for such a one to bear in mind that in the administration of the Church there may be small charges, but no unimportant ones. Every place demands the best powers and attainments of the preacher.

Such smaller charges often afford the opportunities for the noblest forms of labor, both in the pulpit and in pastoral life. In them are often found some of the most intelligent hearers, who demand the very best that the preacher can give them. There are no charges so small as not to demand the choicest attainments of the man who is called to dispense to them the Gospel. These charges are not only places of power, but also sources of power, for out of them go forth those who are to bless the world both in the ministry and in business life. In God's light there are no second or third class appointments. They are all first-class, for every place where God puts us is the best place for us and for the world.

In addition, however, to the opportunities for usefulness which these charges afford in the direct work of the preacher with his people, it is important to remember that there are other respects in which they may become thrones of power even greater than would be possible in a pastorate, with a large membership, in a great city. Some ministers are specially qualified for usefulness in the departments of biblical and theological study. It is neither fitting nor necessary that the scholarly work of the Church should be confined to professors in our institutions of learning. The atmosphere in which the minister lives is one of intellectual activity, and he may, if he will, increase his own stores of knowledge, while at the same time he prepares himself more fully for his direct duties. For such pursuits the smaller charges offer unusual facilities. In a prominent city charge there is a tax on a minister's time and energies which leaves no room for studies outside his routine duties. The busy pastor has not an evening that he can call his own. Pulpit demands, coupled with extensive pastoral obligations, exhaust both his powers and his time.

Another of the advantages of a small charge to the preacher is that it affords opportunity, not only for sacred study, but also for literary productiveness in some chosen field. This is not the primary work of the preacher, it is true, and must always be done in subordination to his supreme duty to preach the Gospel. His call is to preach, and whatever interferes with his success in saving men must be rigidly excluded. He has no right to accept an appointment unless he intends to do his full duty in relation to it both as preacher and pastor. There are churches, however, so circumstanced that the preacher can keep abreast of all his duties and at the same time find opportunity to give to the world the results of his studies and thinking. There are productions of highest value which would probably never have seen the light if the author had been placed in a large church. It is a serious question whether the late English text critic, Dr. F. H. Scrivener, would ever have done the work for New Testament criticism if his earlier years had not been passed in an

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obscure parish among the Yorkshire miners. It gave him time to pursue his studies in a department where one cannot succeed who does not exercise time and patience such as cannot be secured amid the exactions of a large city pastorate. In that narrow field Scrivener wrought year after year on his studies, in a department where there were few toilers at that time, but out of which came results of highest importance to the settling of the New Testament text. The great philosophical writer and thinker, Jonathan Edwards, who produced his immortal work, *Freedom of the Will*, when a missionary to the Stockbridge Indians, is another illustration of the same thought. Dr. Bloomfield, the author of valuable notes on the New Testament and other critical works, in his preface to one of his books asks the indulgence of his readers because he was compelled to do his work at a distance from the great libraries; and yet the very fact of his isolation may have enabled him to accomplish it at all. It is needless to multiply instances. A study of all great writings will reveal the fact that they were prepared afar from the strain and bustle of public life ; they were works which required opportunities for meditation such as are afforded by quiet environments.

Small churches also constitute for the young minister the best school of preparation for those positions which are generally regarded as more responsible and important. Life is a great school, and every position should be regarded as one of preparation for the future; nor does this school life expire with the freshness of youth. The early part of one's ministry is of special importance because of its bearing on the whole after career. One of the most eminent preachers of our country advised one in whose future he was deeply interested to remain for years in a retired country pastorate before he assumed a charge which otherwise might be too taxing for his strength. There is opportunity for reading and meditation such as will strengthen and enrich the mind and heart. Such a charge enables a timid man to gain confidence in his own powers and to prepare sermons which may serve as a basis for his future work. John Wesley was trained for his great mission by his efforts in small communities. Henry Ward Beecher was greatly indebted in his preaching to his early experiences in a small place, on what was then the frontier. The experiences secured in churches sometimes very remote from the great centers proves of wondrous value in later years.

It would be an inadequate view, however, which would lead us to conclude that what are sometimes regarded as small churches are merely stepping-stones to larger positions, or are opportunities for study and literary productiveness. The latter are always to be regarded and treated as secondary. Any outside work which takes the preacher away from his direct business of preaching and pastoral work must be avoided. The best epistles which the minister can write are those written on the hearts of his people. Whatever studies or scholarly labors the pastor may undertake, either in a small or large charge, it must always remain as a fundamental proposition that he must be a man of one work.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE EDUCATION OF MOSES.

The silence observed in the Old Testament regarding the early education of Moses is remarkable. Though the story of his birth and childhood is given at some length, there is not a word concerning the nature of the instruction which he received. We are simply told that the Hebrew child rescued from the waters was for some time nursed by his own mother, who, when the child grew, brought it again to Pharaoh's daughter, and that he became her own son. St. Stephen, the first Christian martyr, in his wonderful speech, voices, without doubt, the traditions current in the first part of our era, when he says that "Moses was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

The exact meaning of these words must be learned, if learned at all, from other sources than the Bible. Philo Judæus, writing about the time of Stephen's martyrdom, in his life of Moses enters into details concerning the education of Israel's emancipator. According to this celebrated Alexandrian Jew, Moses while a mere child showed great aptness for learning. His fondness for study and the readiness with which he mastered all his lessons attracted attention at once, for, unlike other youths, he spurned the toys and amusements pleasing to children of his age, and plunged into the mysteries of the sciences which were taught those intended for higher positions in life. He had all kinds of masters, "some coming of their own accord from the neighboring countries and the different districts of Egypt, and some being even procured from Greece." He soon surpassed all his teachers, and seemed to arrive at all knowledge intuitively. His progress was like that "of a horse, bounding over the plain," and one remarkable characteristic of his mind was that it was "incapable of admitting any falsehood." The subjects mastered by him, according to Philo, were "arithmetic and geometry, and the whole science of rhythm and harmony and meter, and the whole of music." He was also taught the mysteries of the sacred characters called "hieroglyphics," the philosophy of animal worship, and all the encyclical education of the Greeks. Besides, he was made familiar with the literature and sciences of Assyria, especially with "the knowledge of the heavenly bodies so much studied by the Chaldeans." These statements of Philo must be taken with allowance; yet, while they contain some exaggerations, there is no reason to doubt that his account, in the main, is true. As for Josephus, it is surprising that he passes over the childhood, and especially the education, of Moses much as does the Pentateuch, for we have no light from him on this subject.

In view of the silence of the Old Testament, the meager report of the New, and the probability of exaggerations in the statements of Philo,

are we then to despair? It will be generally agreed that such a man as the Moses of Hebrew history existed, and that he lived sometime between 1560 and 1200 B. C. Accepting the account as given in the second chapter of Exodus, that he was brought up at the court of one of the Pharaohs, it is reasonable to conclude that his education must have been of the same extent and character as that given to young princes and those destined for the services of the State. Even under the Old Empire the princes received "government appointments; for example, one called 'the treasurer of the god' had to fetch the granite blocks out of the quarries of the desert; others officiated as high priests in the temple of Heliopolis; and others, again, became the chief judges or the 'scribes of the divine book;' and nearly all of them were, in addition, 'chief reciter priests' of their father, and belonged as 'governors of the palace' to his inner circle of courtiers." Though the age in which Moses lived cannot be ascertained with scientific precision, any more than the exact date of some of the papyri treating upon the education of princes, yet the fact that so large a number of such papyri, extending over so long a period of Egyptian history, have been brought to light ought to aid us greatly in the discussion of this subject. If, as it is now generally believed, Moses lived not far from the golden age of Egyptian culture, when Babylon and Egypt had reached a high place in literature, we can easily understand the importance usually given to him as a factor in the history of civilization.

Education was, at all times, highly valued by the ruling classes in Egypt. This explains why all those destined for the State offices were compelled to spend many years in study for their work. Dauuf, the father of Pepy, says to his son: "Give thy heart to learning, and love her like a mother, for there is nothing so precious as learning." Take the following, cited by Erman from an old document: "He who is industrious as a scribe, and does not neglect his books, may become a prince, or perhaps attain to the council of the thirty, and when there is a question of sending out an ambassador his name is remembered at court." Again: "The poor, ignorant man is like a heavy-laden donkey; his name is unknown and he is driven by the scribe." The word "scribe," used something like our phrase "college graduate," was given to him who had mastered the prescribed course of study.

What was the nature of the course pursued? From existing records we learn that those privileged to be educated at the State institutions were brought to the court schools at a very tender age; that the discipline was rigid; and that corporal punishment was common. Says an old master to his pupil: "Spend no day in idleness, or thou wilt be flogged, for the ears of the young are placed on the back, and he hears when he is flogged." As might be expected, then, as in our times, one of the first duties was to master the arts of reading and writing. The complicated system of hieroglyphs, with its many signs and curious ideographs, must have taxed the young Egyptian much more than our simple alphabet.

From very early times there was the hieroglyphic style, and alongside of it the cursive or hieratic, just as in our schools the printed and the written alphabets. The difficulty in passing from the stately hieroglyphic to the hieratic would be no more than that experienced by a child in our own schools in passing from the printed page to the copy book. The various characters and their combinations having been mastered, and a fair progress having been made in writing, the scholar would now be drilled in composition and rhetoric. We have abundant proofs that the Egyptians laid great stress upon fine style and elegance of diction. Some of the chapters in the Book of the Dead and many of the religious and love lyrics, as well as the more profound sayings of the wise, which have come down to us from the earliest ages, are sufficient evidence of the great care with which the Egyptian scholar clothed his ideas. Thanks to the discoveries of such men as Professor Petrie, a large number of old school copy books, used by the pupils in their classes in rhetoric, are shown in our museums. Many of these are in an excellent state of preservation, showing not only the corrections of the teacher, but also the exact number of lines written in one day. The pupils spent much of their time in copying from the philosophical and religious works of the Egyptian sages. The portions thus transcribed would serve a twofold purpose; for, while the young student was improving his penmanship, orthography, and style, his mind would be stored with useful knowledge and pious maxims. These papyri also prove that the epistolary style was thoroughly taught the young student, probably to aid those intended for the diplomatic service at home and abroad.

The education of a prince was not purely literary in its nature, for, alongside of *belles-lettres* and rhetoric, instruction was also given at least in the elements of more than one science. There is in the British Museum an old papyrus written during the reign of one of the Hyksos kings, but in fact a copy of a much older document. It is an old text-book in mathematics, perhaps the oldest yet discovered. It contains examples in addition, multiplication, and division, as well as many problems of an elementary character, such as would be useful in everyday life; for example, rules for land surveying, for ascertaining the capacity of a granary, for paying a workman in produce for a given amount of work, and other rules of a similar nature.

Other papyri show us that astronomy formed a part of the course. Even more than five thousand years ago the Egyptians divided the year into three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days, or practically as we do to-day. They also had their twelve months of thirty days each, making three hundred and sixty days. Then they added "five intercalary days at the end of every year." Many charts of the heavens on which are indicated the position of many stars during the twelve hours of the night for as many as fifteen successive nights have been found in the tombs of the twentieth dynasty. The Egyptian, like all nations, had their lucky and unlucky days, for even the

most enlightened people were not free from such belief. As an instance we may cite Job iii, 8, "Let them curse it that curse the day, who are ready to rouse up leviathan." Inseparably connected with the study of the stars was that of magic, spoken of at length in the Book of Exodus, and with this, again, the study of medicine. The very large number of prescriptions found for all manner of diseases, as well as the various recipes for the compounding of cosmetics, hair dyes, insect exterminators, and other preparations, show that the people of Egypt made great pretensions on this line. Many of the remedies prescribed in their ancient medical books are very disgusting, but, according to Erman, not more so than those revered by the apothecaries of Europe in the seventeenth century of our own era.

The intimate relation between the priests and the king explains the influential rôle played by the former in matters of education. In Egypt, as in Babylonia, the priesthood took a very active part in educational affairs. Indeed, the priests were at the head of all education; hence the predominance of the religious and the ethical in Egyptian culture. This also explains the prominence given to the doctrines of the immortality of the soul, the intermediate state, and the future life in the literature discovered in the valley of the Nile.

If any dependence is to be placed upon the opinions of the best Egyptologists the age of Moses was one of great literary activity; indeed, some have called it the Elizabethan age of Egyptian literature. Any young man, therefore, then educated for the civil service would wield the pen of a ready writer, and would be an adept in composition, and well acquainted with the niceties of rhetoric. The statement of Philo that Moses was versed in Babylonian literature is made highly probable by the discovery of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, for this important correspondence between so many foreign lands and Egypt proves that both the Babylonian script and language were known far and wide many years before the Exodus. It is almost certain that Egyptian and Babylonian held about the same place in the education of an Egyptian courtier as English and French in that of Europeans preparing for the diplomatic service in our day. The fact that Moses was of Semitic origin is an additional reason for believing that he was acquainted with cuneiform writing and the Babylonian language.

The inference may therefore be safely made that education in the Mosaic age was sufficiently advanced for the production of a book like the Pentateuch. Leaving out all reference to inspiration and supernatural guidance, there is nothing in these five books, from a literary standpoint, which could not have been written by the great legislator himself. Thanks to the science of biblical archæology, the strongest objections against the Mosaic origin of the first part of the Old Testament Scriptures are being gradually swept away, and the more we discover and decipher the more are we persuaded that the Pentateuch, as we have it, is substantially as it came from the pen of Moses.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE WORLD MOVEMENT OF CHRISTIAN STUDENTS.

The movement which has just resulted in the organization of the World's Christian Students' Federation deserves far more than passing consideration. It is nothing less than an attempt to make Christian leadership dominant in the entire higher educational institutions of the world. This organization had its inception in a conference in Scandinavia, composed of representatives of five intercollegiate movements which had already grown to great vigor and influence. They were the American Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association, the British College Christian Union, the German Christian Students' Alliance, the Scandinavian University Christian Movement, and the Student Christian Movement in Mission Lands. The delegates assembled in this international conference in Sweden were authorized by the great bodies represented by them to consider the question of a great international Christian federation of the students of the world. This was the first student convention in which were present delegates from all the Protestant nations of the world. There was to be no merging or consolidation of old organizations, but each was to preserve its independence and individuality while receiving inspiration from, and giving unity to, a great consolidation of activities. Since that time five other organizations have become associated with this movement—the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association of India and Ceylon, the Australasian Student Christian Union, the Student Christian Union of South Africa, the College Young Men's Christian Association of China, and the Student Young Men's Christian Association Union of Japan. The promotion of the objects of the federation is committed to a committee composed of two men from each of the above "movements." Corresponding members have been appointed for countries not yet admitted to the federation. Only those movements have been federated which combine a national or international group of colleges, and which in their aims and work are in full harmony with the objects of the union. The federation had, as its first object, the possibility of a full investigation of the moral and religious condition of students in all lands; and, besides disclosing vast opportunities, it has been found to greatly facilitate the introduction of organized Christian work into some of the most difficult and important unoccupied fields, and to promote the comparative study of the methods of promoting a Christian life and work among students. What the indirect influences of such a movement are to be cannot be foreseen. It is hoped that it may tend to the development of strong international bonds of union, which shall greatly facilitate, if they do not dominate, treaties between nations that look to peace and brotherhood among them.

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In this great federation nationality has no significance. The Student Young Men's Christian Association Union of Japan in joining this body gives the first impulse toward a larger conception of life by the Japanese nation, and directs the first expression of that impulse to something broader and greater than the merely selfish national interests of that island empire.

When we reflect that this entire development among the student class of the world is but twenty years old, the American Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association having been organized in 1877, the growth seems not only phenomenal, but must stand out as a great providential development, challenging the attention of the Christian world. Twenty years ago there were less than thirty of these Christian Associations in the institutions of learning in the United States and Canada. The British College Christian Union is but four years old, beginning with seventeen universities and colleges, and now every great institution of learning in the British Isles is identified with this movement. The German Christian Students' Alliance is but seven years old, and originated in the Bible circles of the gymnasia. Its importance among the thirty thousand students in the universities of Germany itself cannot be estimated, apart from the influences which go out from these universities upon the thought of the rest of the world. The Scandinavian University Christian Movement was only perfected as an intercollegiate organization two years ago. National organizations among the Christian students of colleges have been organized in India, in China, in Japan, and are already admitted to membership in this world's federation. Nor is all this mere machinery. It has been the outgrowth of increased and intense spiritual manifestations, and has all been dominated by the missionary principles, so that the local associations, the national associations, the international associations, and this entire world's federation have been built up on the base of the profoundest conviction of the duty to evangelize the world.

This is not the place for a notice of this great movement, nor even for a proper review of the literature which covers the case; but we cannot refrain from at least making mention of the brief and comprehensive manual by John R. Mott, entitled *Strategic Points in the World's Conquest: the Universities and Colleges as Related to the Progress of Christianity*, which has been recently issued with favorable introductory indorsements by ex-President Harrison, the Earl of Aberdeen, Governor General of Canada, the Right Honorable Mr. Gladstone, and Prince Oscar Bernadotte of Sweden.

THE NEW DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA.

From many sources there comes testimony to the excellent effect of the political punishment visited on the perpetrators of the massacre of Kucheng and the rioters in West China, together with the awakening of

the Chinese by the China-Japan war. Dr. H. H. Lowrey affirms that the war gave a new impetus to China. The government was made to realize its weakness, and they have as one result resolved to establish a university in each of the eighteen provinces, with smaller schools in the large cities, for the purpose of instruction in Western science. Dr. Hunter Corbett says that, during the war, the newspapers and magazines published by missionaries were everywhere sought for by Chinese as affording the most reliable information. Thus, the scholarship and intellectual power of the West has found recognition by the nation, as well as by the people. He declares that, instead of prejudicing the people against the missionary, the late war has awakened such a desire to receive instruction from him as has been seen at no previous period in history. Christianity and education are coming to be understood to be inseparable, so that when parents become Christians their sons and daughters are trained and educated in such a way as to give them special advantages ; and this is not only understood to be the case by the Chinese, but is welcomed. Parents are pleading to have their children educated in the mission schools, although they know that as a result they will probably become Christians. But, with them, education is beyond price, and the education introduced to them through Christianity has a higher value under existing and prospective conditions than any other. Even Li Hung Chang directed the agent appointed to secure students for the Imperial College at Tientsin, intended to educate men for government service, to secure all he could from the Christian schools, as he would there find the best material. There has never been such a demand as at present for books written or translated by missionaries—such as histories, works on science, political economy, natural and moral philosophy, and other text-books for schools and colleges—as well as for religious books. Native physicians, educated after Western methods, are held in high esteem and are summoned to the relief of highest officials; lady physicians are called to the homes of the most wealthy and aristocratic; and hospitals are receiving liberal subscriptions from Christian converts, and from Chinese officials and merchants not yet Christian. Recognizing that official corruption and incompetency were the chief factor in the recent humiliating defeat of China, many believe that Christianity is the only power which can restore their prestige and give to them the wealth and influence of Western nations. The organization of a complete postal system has been intrusted to Sir Robert Hart, who has during the past third of a century been at the head of the Chinese customs department, and who has brought that service to a purity and efficiency unexcelled in any land.

Dr. Martin, president of the Imperial College at Peking, declares that the scholars of the empire are awake as never before to the effects of their inadequate style of education, recognizing that it was not new arms or numbers, but a new education, that enabled Japan to gain the victory in the recent war. Hence, in every direction there are fresh openings

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for the teaching of Western languages and sciences. Dr. Martin quotes from the preface of a new work on political economy by a mandarin who sneers at the metaphysical subtleties of Buddhism, since Buddha's native land has been three times conquered by foreigners. He points out that the production and distribution of wealth are not among the subjects of instruction which are taught in China, and that hence a vast and magnificent empire has been left to run down into poverty and weakness until it has become helpless in the presence of its foreign foes. Dr. Martin thinks it a great thing to have haughty scholars, like this writer, humble their ancient pride and sit as learners at the feet of the progressive teachers of the West.

The increased demand for religious literature throughout the entire land is something most extraordinary. The sales of the Central China Religious Tract Society last year amounted to a total of over one million three hundred thousand copies; but that is only one out of thirteen societies. The National Bible Society, of Scotland, with its headquarters at Hongkow, sold a quarter of a million of copies of books, and so on with the other great societies. All this literature is sold, and an eminent missionary says, "Everyone, whether missionary or merchant, believes that what a Chinaman is willing to buy must be the thing he wants." The spiritual results are equally phenomenal. The massacre of missionaries near Foo-Chow in 1895 struck horror to the Christian world, but Rev. P. W. Pitcher, writing from that same district, says it has been estimated that since then twenty thousand inquirers have presented themselves at the doors of the churches of the three missions located in the Foo-Chow districts, and of these twenty thousand inquirers probably five thousand have been accepted and united with the three missions since August 1, 1895.

Rev. Timothy Richard, of Shanghai, says the government is calling for schemes of reform ; and a peaceful reformation, instead of a revolution, can only be secured through missionaries seizing the present opportunity by word and by books to quiet the reformers, so as to avoid the disasters which attended the Taiping rebellion in 1852. Even in such a hostile province as is that of Hunan, where the most vile and virulent attacks against Christianity and Christians have originated, another and more favorable sentiment is now manifested. The chief examiner, who furnishes texts for the Chinese classics to those who are candidates in the competitive examinations, welcomes the incoming of Western studies.

The newly appointed minister of China to the United States, Wu Ting Fang, an unexceptional Christian, a member of the English bar and also of the Church of England, in addressing a company of Chinese at San Francisco declared that, when China had no diplomatic relations with this country, their missionary teachers guided and protected them in their foreign relations, and that it would not do to forget them and their important service.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Richard A. Hoffmann. In the dispute relative to the significance Jesus attached to the supper instituted by him, which dispute abates none of its intensity, Hoffmann has made for himself a place. In 1896 he published a small work entitled *Die Abendmahlsgedanken Jesu Christi. Ein biblisch-theologischer Versuch* (Jesus's Conception of the Lord's Supper. An Essay in Biblical Theology). Königsberg, F. Beyer. In this work he discusses with true German patience the form or reading of the words which we should accept, deciding in favor of the *textus receptus*, and also the sources of our information. He holds, contrary to some, that the gospel of Luke is not a distinct source alongside of Matthew and Mark, and thus reduces the number of the sources within the New Testament to two, the synoptic gospels and Paul. These are somewhat independent of each other. As a third source he adds Justin Martyr's account (*Apology*, 66). He thinks that account was not drawn from the three synoptics in their present form, but from other collections somewhat different from them. He refuses to accord to any one of these sources unqualified preeminence, but prefers to investigate the details of each and to judge accordingly. However, he accepts as settled what the three sources have in common. He regards every attempt to show an inner connection of the Lord's supper with the Jewish passover feast as a failure to understand the purpose of Christ. In this he argues with the majority of modern thinkers. To reach a satisfactory conception of the new covenant which is mentioned in connection with the administration of the cup he discusses the significance of the death of Christ. Here he distinguishes sharply between his disciples who are gathered about him and the unbelieving multitude of his people. It was not for the former, but for the latter, that he went to his death. In other words, he gives the preference to the language of Matthew and Mark, and thinks that the "for you" of Luke and Paul does not express the thought of Jesus. Yet if the object of the Master in giving his disciples the bread and wine was not to impart to them the knowledge of the forgiveness of their sins, and the assurance of the divine pleasure, what was his object? First, Christ used the bread and wine to represent his life, his body and blood, which suggested to them, therefore, the power of his life to give them life. Second, he meant the supper to be a memorial of him, and thus a source of comfort to them. Yet he did not have in mind any gratification of pride in himself, but rather that they might be compensated for the loss of daily personal communion with him. The early disciples and the apostles, continues Hoffmann, were not always mindful of every feature of value in this sacred feast, though

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they always betray a recognition of the highest features of the meal. We may not agree with all of Hoffmann's ideas, but we must recognize in them an honest attempt to solve a problem which, once it has become a subject of investigation, cannot rest until it finds a solution satisfactory to the thought of the Christian world.

Erich Haupt. Once again we bring him before our readers, this time to give his thoughts relative to the New Testament idea of the apostolate, which he has published in a recent work, *Zum Verständniss des Apostolats im Neuen Testament.* Halle, Niemeyer, 1896. With Harnack and Sohm, he regards its essential character as that of a charism. But it will be better to give his argument. He thinks the title "apostle" to be not a borrowed but an original one. Nevertheless, he does not think the idea clearly contained in the word. In order to determine what the idea is he takes up all the passages in the New Testament which refer to it. In his study of the gospels and Acts he gathers that the "twelve-apostolate" was an historical reality, but that Jesus did not give the twelve a definite duty distinct from the other disciples. The missionary command was not directed to the twelve in person, but as representatives of the congregation, and contained our Lord's programme for the future. Nothing definite concerning the apostolate, then, can be learned from these sources. He next turns to Paul. The revelation to him finds its kernel, not in what was revealed, but in the fact that Christ revealed himself to Paul, and it was on the basis of this that Paul felt himself "called to be an apostle." The distinctive feature of his apostolate was not in the conferring upon him of an office. Like the twelve, he felt convinced of his duty to work for the kingdom of God, but his special task of missionary to the heathen became clear to him only gradually. So that a definite limitation of the concept "apostolate" is not to be found in the life and experience of Paul. The apostolate falls under the category of gracious gifts, not under that of an office. An office signifies a definite limitation and a sense of legal obligation, both of which are wanting to the New Testament apostolate. In as far as the apostolate rests on the force of personality it is like the prophetic function of the Old Testament. It differs specifically from other charisms in that this is the gift of founding churches and administering the word. Whoever had an independent commission for the development of the Church was an apostle. The content of the apostolic activity was the founding of missions, the institution of missionary methods, and the production of the New Testament writings. As a fundamental activity it could have no long continuance, and it could not be transmitted by those who held the office to any successors. The apostolate had only an indirect source in Jesus, who did not found it, but who merely created the conditions under which his disciples could become apostles in the sense in which Paul uses the term. In a time when the question is being discussed anew by scholars these thoughts are valuable, though not altogether final.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Renée de France, duchesse de Ferrare. Une protectrice de la Réforme en Italie et en France (Renée of France, Duchess of Ferrara. A Protectress of the Reformation in Italy and France). By E. Rodocanachi. Paris, Paul Ollendorf, 1896. This work is partly the result of original research and partly an embodiment of the studies of Jules Bonnot, conducted with a view to a biography of Renée. It permanently settles some questions which have hitherto been in doubt, as the dates of her birth and death, which have now been fixed respectively as October 25, 1510, and June 15, 1575. It is interesting to know that even the account book in which Renée recorded her household and other expenses now proves to be one of the most valuable of the sources from which a knowledge of her life can be extracted. On the other hand, it is to be profoundly regretted that as yet her correspondence with Calvin and other principals of the Reformation has not been rescued from oblivion. The book describes in about equal parts the life of Renée in Italy and in France. As a princess she was married at the age of eighteen to Hercules, the hereditary Duke of Ferrara, the object of the marriage from the political standpoint being to maintain the interest of the ducal court in France. From 1528 to 1560 she fulfilled her difficult and painful situation, and then returned as a widow to her native land. During this thirty-two years she remained French in her sympathies. This is revealed in part by her bountiful charities. These were, indeed, given regardless of national or of religious considerations; yet far more was bestowed in this way upon Frenchmen than upon any other people. From the beginning her sympathies were with the Protestants, and this inclination developed with years. The court of Ferrara was thoroughly Romanist, and was even under the suzerainty of the pope himself. The situation was plainly not one of ease. Nor did she fulfill her duties in this respect as perhaps an idealist could have wished; for, while she was in correspondence with Calvin, she also managed to retain the favor of Pope Paul III. When too hard pressed by persecution she accommodated herself both to the Roman mass and to the confessional, and yet she kept even Calvin in such humor as that he could regard her as the most valuable support of the Italian Reformation. It would be wrong, however, to consider her as doing all this with hypocritical intent. Rather was it the result of a conviction that in this way she could better perform the obligation which rested upon her. In part, also, it arose from the fact that her benevolence was wide enough to include Protestant refugees, and also to provide for the Italian monks. In France her situation was little less difficult. Personally, she became more and more openly Protestant; yet her son-in-law was the Duke of Guise, the most bitter opponent of the Reformation in France. This is a book which all readers of the French language and those interested in French religious history will find full of profit.

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Gesammelte Schriften. 11 Band, zur Ethik. 1 Theil, Die geheimen Fesseln der wissenschaftlichen und praktischen Theologie. 2 Theil, Einige Grandfragen der Ethik (Collected Writings. Eleventh Volume, Ethics. Part I, The Unconscious Bonds of Scientific and Practical Theology. Part II, Some Fundamental Questions in Ethics). By F. W. Dörpfeld. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1895. The bonds in which scientific and practical theology are unconsciously held are forged and fastened in the act of refusing to make ethics independent of all other knowledge and science, instead of employing the scholastic method of authority. Ethics is made dependent upon dogmatics, or, in other words, is deduced solely from the Scriptures, the formal principle of Lutheran theology. Dörpfeld has no objection to ethical works based on the teachings of the Bible, but he does object to making the Bible the authority for ethics, which should be treated rationally. To this error of ethical method he traces the difficulty the German Church experiences in winning back the estranged masses. But, that ethics is independent of dogmatics is proved by him on the ground of the assertion that the improved moral tone of the community caused the entire reformation of the Church with its doctrines, in the sixteenth century. He claims that by induction it is possible to discover from experience what the normal morality demands. Thus the science of ethics is in no wise behind any of the other rational sciences, in point of certainty and exactness. But this great gift of God, this rationally evident ethics, which makes the fundamental half of the theory of religion a matter of evident knowledge, theology cast out into the street as a worthless thing. Rational ethics coincides in every respect with the teachings of the New Testament, but these teachings are illuminated by the principles of rational ethics. On the other hand, the moral teachings of the New Testament are furnished in such great abundance in order that the principles which underlie them might the more readily and surely be found, although the followers of the method by authority have not found these principles, or else have borrowed them from philosophy. Dörpfeld asserts that Christianity has been the most influential factor in the advancement of the rational method of ethical study, and that the present perfection of rational ethics is due to the fact that we have in the New Testament a corrective for our theories of morals, a test to which we can bring all our conceptions of ethics. It seems to us that in making these concessions Dörpfeld gives up his case, for he practically affirms that rational ethics cannot be trusted, while the ethics of the New Testament, the method by authority, can.

Vater, Sohn, und Fürsprecher in der babylonischen Gottesvorstellung. Ein Problem für die vergleichende Religionswissenschaft (Father, Son, and Paraclete in the Babylonian Conception of God. A Problem for Comparative Science of Religion). By Heinrich Zimmern. Leipzig.

Hinrichs, 1896. This is an attempt to trace a trinity in the religion of ancient Babylonia. It consists of Ia, god of the ocean; the son-god, Marduk, god of the early sun; and Gibil, or Bilgi, god of the fire. Nusku, who is related to Gibil in point of nature, and who may be identified with Gibil, appears once in the character of the Paraclete or intercessor. Hence Zimmern ventures to raise the question whether this is not a parallel to the Christian triad, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, or Paraclete. Professor Jensen in a critique of this work admits that in conjurations and exorcisms Ia, Marduk, and Gibil work together and are associated with each other, but points out that further than this there seems to be no mutuality of interests, and that no nearer connection between them appears to exist. He also admits that Nusku, or Gibil, is once represented as being requested to act as intercessor; but it is equally true that the Babylonian religionist appealed to other gods for the same favor, and not only that they should intercede with Marduk, one of the supposed trinity, but also with the other gods, as Sin and Sames. But, even in the place upon which Zimmern depends for the suggestion of a Babylonian trinity, Nusku was not to intercede with Marduk for the king, but with Sin. These points greatly weaken the probability of Zimmern's hypothesis, which, however, he tries to strengthen by the assertion that our ignorance of the later development of Babylonian religion makes it impossible to say that there was not a modification of it which would make it easier to establish the parallel between the Christian and the supposed Babylonian trinity. The weakness of this argument from ignorance is astounding. On such grounds we could prove anything, if we only knew little enough. But, as Jensen points out, it is only after 81 B. C. that we have no texts illustrative of the religion of Babylonia. What documents we have show no material modification after the time of Assurbanipal. But, even if Zimmern's case were made out as to the triad, still it would differ materially from the Christian trinity, whose persons are closely connected and represented as intimately related, to say nothing of the frequency of their mention in the New Testament together. We have no objection to parallels between the heathen religions and Christianity. But we object to the pretense of them where there is no evidence that they exist.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The Dispute Concerning the Christ of the Gospels. Although it has been in progress for many years this dispute has recently been rendered acute, and that by a little work devoted to the subject by M. Kähler, professor of theology in Halle. Kähler's position is that we have no adequate sources for a biography of Jesus, in the modern sense of these terms. But he also says that we are none the worse off for that, since to the Christian it can make no possible difference as to the external course of the life of Christ. The effective Christ is the Christ who was

preached by the apostles and believed in by the early disciples. We need no biography of him to receive all the benefits he has to confer. Kähler is not alone in holding to this position. Otto Ritschl, the son of Albrecht Ritschl, who was the founder of the Ritschl school, says, "For the believing Christian, as such, the question relative to the historical Christ has absolutely no significance." Von Orelli, who is as strongly opposed to the Ritschlians as is Kähler, speaks of the historical Christ as belonging only to the past. Perhaps, however, Kähler's position is rather more clearly put than that of any other. Hear him: "Why do we commune with our gospels? What have we in Jesus? The redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of our sins. What more do I need to know of him than what Paul announced to the Corinthians, namely, that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, that on the third day he arose again according to the Scriptures, and that he was seen? This the glad tidings, this the testimony and confession of faith which has overcome the world; and in addition I need no exact knowledge of the circumstances of the life of the Crucified." It is not strange, then, that those who are fond of historical research should complain of such remarks, for they are elicited by the feeling that the present state of historical science is such that it tends to destroy faith in Jesus rather than to give us a picture of his life. We do not think that this is true, although, as a matter of fact, much of what was formerly accepted as established is giving way before historical investigation. The result is that, in general, the most negative of the theologians of Germany are most strongly in favor of the prosecution of the study of the life of Christ. And they do it under the plea that the neglect of strict historical study of the life of Jesus has reacted until Herr Liebknecht, one of the leaders of the social democracy, can say, "We do not even know of Jesus of Nazareth, whether he so much as lived; we only know that all that is related of him must be false." They also attribute to this neglect the possibility of such productions as *Joshua Davidson*, a life of Jesus according to social democratic ideas, and Notowitch's recent forgery giving a pretended account of the life of Jesus during the years between twelve and thirty. Many of the best and most experienced teachers of Germany, at least in the professed interest of Christianity, assert the necessity of a better method of teaching concerning Jesus in the higher grades of the State schools. They affirm that the attempt to teach Jesus as the Redeemer, with the neglect of all the other features of his life, is a practical depreciation of all his life except his passion. One of the ablest of them affirms that, when Kähler declares that he needs no exact knowledge of the Crucified, but only so much as Paul communicated to the Corinthians, he really furthers the cause of unbelief—an unbelief which asserts that there was no historical Christ in the sense of the gospels, but that Christianity was the product of the thought of the apostles, especially of Paul, and that the person of Christ was in some measure an invention added to their

doctrine, or, at any rate, that Jesus was by no means the historical person the apostles claimed him to be. Those who favor the strictest application to the Gospel records of the principles of historical criticism thus claim that what they wish to arrive at is, not what the apostles and early disciples thought of Jesus, but the facts as to what Jesus was and taught; and they believe that, for the most part, the means at their command are ample to furnish such information. It all seems right enough to the unsuspecting. But, when it is remembered that their results deprive us of much that we have hitherto believed concerning Christ's life, and that they fill up the chasms in the Gospel records by inferences drawn from the times in which Jesus lived, and that their real object is to establish the so-called religion of Jesus in distinction from the religion taught in the entire New Testament, we can see why the initiated oppose them so strongly. For, by their criticism, they cut out of the Gospel record as untrustworthy about all that is peculiar to the teachings of the apostles, and by so doing reduce Jesus to a very different form from that in which he appears in the gospels taken as a whole.

Roman Catholic Apologetic Activity. It is a peculiarity of much recent Romanist apologetics that it does not attempt a defensive statement of the general tenets of Christianity, but rather of the Roman Catholic form of the faith, and that in its extremest positions and its most peculiar doctrines. However, while there is a degree of the polemical spirit necessary in such a method, yet it must be said that there is not altogether wanting a spirit of conciliation toward Protestantism. The religion of revelation is nevertheless the religion of the Roman Catholic Church, and the *demonstratio Christiana* is simply the *demonstratio Catholica.* The decisive proofs of the truth of Christianity are those which Romanism offers for its dogmas, using the external proofs, for instance, from miracles. One of the most recent asserts that if in the exercise of the cautions which the Roman Church requires for the establishment of the fact of miracles certainty is unattainable we should have to doubt the possibility of fixing any fact. Hence it is necessary for Romanist apologists to make a vigorous defense of their supposed miracles against the suspicion of spiritualism, magnetism, and hypnotism, from the results of which they are almost indistinguishable.

An Interesting Question in the History of the Relation of Protestantism to Foreign Missions. Professor Kawerau has recently published a small work on the question why the German Protestant Church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries failed of a full comprehension of the missionary idea so prominent in the Bible. He shows that all the reformers alike failed to see in the great missionary texts of the New Testament the ideas that are so plain to every Christian to-day. The reason he assigns for this is that they expected the last day to come almost

immediately, and overlooked the fact that the preaching of the Gospel to all the world was one of the achievements which was to precede that day. Together with this was the fact that the heathen world lay outside of the range of their thought; or, in other words, they were so absorbed in the reformation of the Church that they gave no thought to the non-Christian world. The fact that the leaders of the Church up to the middle of the seventeenth century were indifferent, if not hostile, to missions he explains on the ground that they held the doctrine of a single ministerial office, that of pastors bound to their individual congregations. They assumed that the apostles who went out and preached the Gospel in all places had once for all discharged the duty of the Church. It was a cold and barren idea, no doubt, but it explains, if it does not excuse, their pitiful neglect.

Religious Life in Denmark. It is impossible to accept all that the book says from which we quote, since it disregards some of the fundamental distinctions of theological parties. Yet, on the whole, it is trustworthy. We find that the orthodox party stands true to the Apostles' Creed, underrates the sacraments, overrates the value of the social scriptures, and is too optimistic for safety. In the propagation of the Gospel there is much that is Methodistic, such as the preaching of repentance, the offer of the "mourners' bench" (*Bussbank*), and the realization of an assurance which arises from an inner and blessed experience. Laymen think more highly of all this than do the educated clergy. It is marvelous how Methodism takes with the Danish people. One of the principal movements of the present time is the work of the Society for Domestic Missions, which is under the leadership of the evangelist Wilhelm Beck, and which is carrying forward the work of spiritualizing the formal life of the Church. There are many in Denmark whose religious life is characterized by worldly conformity, and among these it is that rationalism in its newer forms makes its appearance and finds a welcome. Among them are some who, while calling themselves Christians, hardly know whether there is any life beyond this. On the whole it is a dark picture.

The British Wesleyan Conference. The recent session of the British Wesleyan Conference was held in Leeds from July 20 to August 4. Rev. W. L. Watkinson, fraternal delegate to our last General Conference, was elected president. Rev. Henry J. Pope, D.D., was made Secretary of the Home Missionary Department, Professor W. T. Davison, D.D., fraternal delegate to the Southern General Conference of 1898. "The Welsh Wesleyan Methodist Assembly of Wales" was constituted, to bear a somewhat similar relation to the parent Conference as does the Irish Conference. For twenty years there has been agitation for increased lay participation in connectional affairs; this year a great but not decisive battle was fought; final action was postponed till next year.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

What about the rank of the writers now conspicuous in the world of letters? Speaking for England, at least, Edmund Gosse takes a somewhat discouraging view of the situation, in his article on "Ten Years of English Literature," as found in the *North American* for August. "The trumpets and fifes of this almost too glorious summer," he begins, "are over at last, and we sink back into the dowdiness of the day after the feast." The last decade "has been a period of the removal of landmarks." In 1888 "Tennyson was writing still, and his modes had not radically changed for sixty years. Browning, having completely conquered the public and the critics, was nearing his eightieth year. For those who loved elegance and lucidity in prose, what could be offered more acceptable than that of Newman, and Newman, on the borders of ninety, was still alive. At Oxford, Jowett formed a barrier of influence; in science, there were Tyndall and Huxley; in history, there were Kinglake and Froude." And not only have these gone—and their old age indicated their near departure—but also such natural successors of younger years as Matthew Arnold, William Morris, Pater, and Freeman. Only two aged writers survive in England whose public appearance "could excite universal enthusiasm"—Spencer, who is "still visible," and Ruskin, who is "quite unseen at Coniston," and has practically "joined the chorus of those invisible singers whose births made the second decade of this century so incomparably splendid." As for Gladstone, he "does not solely, or even considerably, owe his prestige, as Mr. Ruskin and Mr. Herbert Spencer do, to the exercise of the pen." In this removal of landmarks poetry has not suffered most. "It is quite certain that the variety, delicacy, and fervor of its young versemen have done more to redeem the decade from the charge of poverty of spirit than any other products of the pen, and the spiritual quality which interpenetrates some of their best work offers the most encouraging phenomenon of recent intellectual life in England." As for the novelists, however, Mr. Gosse finds the vast majority "wholly worthless, mere cumberings of the press." The "great reading public," also, "is rapidly becoming unable to assimilate any ideas at all, and to appreciate impressions it requires to have them presented to it in the form of a story." And, along with this, at educational centers "masters are chosen, not because of their scholarship or their tact, but because of their prowess at football or cricket," while generally "the athletic ideal has pushed all others to the wall." Yet Mr. Gosse is not an unreasonable croaker, as these random quotations would suggest. While confessing to a certain disquietude, he does not see in this rest from "the stern middle Victorian priggishness" a permanent danger. One may watch with regret the ebb of the tide, and yet not be a cynic.

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In the July number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* Professor J. M. P. Metcalf continues his notice of "The Tell-El-Amarna Letters." Of the Palestine letters he says: "We find the wedge-shaped characters used to write one more language, and, in this case, not a non-Semitic one, as in the cases above, but one that seems very, very like our Hebrew, in fact, practically the same language. The Palestine letters are full of glosses in the Hebrew language. That the language of those who lived in Canaan, two hundred years before the Exodus, was Hebrew is conclusively proven by these letters." In this issue President Henry Morton, Ph.D., concludes his consideration of "The Cosmogony of Genesis and its Reconcilers," his article being particularly devoted to a review of some of the work of the different creative days. "Further Studies on the Bloody Sweat of our Lord," by W. W. Keen, M.D., LL.D., is a discussion "from a medical standpoint" of the possibility of such a physical phenomenon. By the citation of various similar instances, both European and American, the author shows that, in the case of Christ, "with such intensified emotion beyond the limit of human endurance, and with such physical suffering as culminated on the cross, it cannot be a wonder either that his sweat became bloody, or that his heart, even at so early an age as thirty-three, should rupture." In "Joseph as a Statesman," the Hon. James Monroe, LL.D., points out the high qualities which marked the rule of this Jewish leader. The author's reference at the close to the administration in Washington seems a peculiar digression. The next article, by Professor H. A. Scomp, LL.D., considers "How to Promote the Study of Greek." General culture in Greek, the writer holds, "must concern itself more with the thought, the literature, of the Hellenes, and less with forms and syntax;" the language must be dealt with "as a living tongue;" and the Erasmian system of pronunciation must be renounced for "the native" system. "Improved Homes for Wage-Earners" is a practical discussion, by J. G. Johnson, D.D., of an important subject. "The slums have no right to exist. No city has the right to permit them to remain. Business energy, illumined by a love for our city and for our fellow-men, will banish them, and will eliminate from the regions of poverty every element of degradation and the last vestiges of ugliness." Edward Mortimer Chapman follows with an elaborate discussion of "The Idea of the Kingdom of God;" and W. Douglas Mackenzie, D.D., concludes the list of contributed articles with a paper on "Evolution Theories and Christian Doctrine." He affirms that "within the Christian religion it is now recognized that there has been a continuous history, both of doctrine and of institutions. The religion of revelation has its place in history, which means that it has had stages, development, evolution." The relation of evolution to the doctrines of revelation and of sin is particularly considered by Dr. Mackenzie.

The admission of the products of Great Britain into Canada at a reduced tariff rate forms the basis of Henry Birchenough's article in the

Nineteenth Century for July. Under the title of "The Jameson Expedition—a Narrative of Facts," Major Sir John Willoughby publishes his official report of that now famous adventure. The advance of science in its investigation of brain structure, and the practical application of the "serum treatment" to the "black death" and to snake bites, are discussed by Prince Kropotkin in "Recent Science." A suggestive charge is found in "The Growth of Caste in the United States." Its writer, Joseph Edgar Chamberlin, notices the habits of fashionable society in New York, Newport, Fall River, and elsewhere, and in the rigidity with which our *élite* guards the doors of admission to its charmed circle finds the proof of his claim. Sir Wemyss Reid, in "Some Reminiscences of English Journalism," recalls certain interesting personal experiences. "There is something worse," he says, "than the egotism of the journalist. This is his Wegotism—if I may adopt a word invented, I believe, by Sir William Harcourt. The journalist who, by virtue of his command of the 'We,' thunders forth his decrees as though he were throned upon Mount Sinai is only too familiar an object in modern journalism." In the succeeding article, entitled "On Conversation," James Payn declares that the art "has suffered in England from the example of its most famous professor," Dr. Johnson. "The fact is, conversation is a gift of nature; when artificial, it is never really good. The disposition must be genial; the wit ready and keen, but of the kind that 'never carries a heart stain away on its blade;' the humor abundant, but always arising from the situation, not pumped up, but a natural flow; there must be a quick sympathy, and above all the desire to please." The life and peculiarities of the author of *Sandford and Merton* are noticed by Colonel M. Lockwood, M.P., in his article on "Thomas Day." The discussion of "Genius and Stature," by Havelock Ellis, is full of interest. The saying of Balzac that "nearly all great men are little" seems disproved by the tabulation of names which the writer gives. "It will be found," he writes, "that we thus obtain one hundred and forty-two tall men of genius, seventy-four of middle height, while one hundred and twenty-five are short." And in conclusion he observes that "among those variations and abnormalities which, as is already generally agreed, we find with unusual frequency among the very tall and the very short, extraordinary mental aptitude ought sometimes to occur." In "The Pope and the Anglican Archbishops" the Rev. Father H. I. D. Ryder listens "with bewilderment" to "the claim of continuity from the mouth" of the Anglicans. His article is the Roman Catholic presentation of some of the questions which divide, and will perhaps always divide, the two Churches. Attendance at the funeral of Louis Pasteur, in Notre Dame, and a later visit to his Institute prompts the article of Lady Eliza Priestley on "The French and English Treatment of Research"—the advantage being on the side of the former. "Life in Poetry—Poetical Decadence" was originally delivered as a lecture at Oxford, by Professor W. J. Courthope, C.B. Its title is

self-explanatory. J. Cuthbert Hadden discusses "The Teaching of Music in Schools," particularly considering the merit of the Tonic Sol-fa system; M. M. Beeton, B. A., deplores the decline of colonial prosperity, in "The Wrecking of the West Indies;" and Miss Frances H. Low writes "How Poor Ladies Live—a Rejoinder and a 'Jubilee' Suggestion." The Hon. Mrs. Theo. Chapman concludes the long table of contents with a brief but adverse paper on "Woman Suffrage Again!" The results of such sufferage on women would, she maintains, be "more deplorable, as we think, than the spectacle which seems so to distress many worthy people at present, of an educated lady seeing her coachman go to record his vote at the poll, while she has none."

THE *Presbyterian Quarterly* for July has: 1. "Philip Melanchthon—Scholar and Reformer," by John De Witt, D.D., LL.D.; 2. "Mariolatry," by R. P. Farris, D.D.; 3. "Pope Leo XIII on the Validity of Anglican Orders," by R. C. Reed, D.D.; 4. "The Public Language of Our Lord," by R. B. Woodworth, A.M.; 5. "A Divine Manual for all Christian Workers," by A. W. Pitzer, D.D.; 6. "W. K. Marshall—A Missionary Pioneer of the Southwest," by D. F. Eagleton, A.M.; 7. "A Plea for Unity," by R. P. Kerr, D.D.; 8. "The Southern General Assembly, 1897," by W. McF. Alexander, A.M.——The July number of the *London Quarterly* opens with a paper on "The Victorian Era." Other articles are, "A Jacobite Arch-Traitor," "Arctic Siberia and its Wonders," "The Structure of St. Paul's Doctrine," "Miss Kingsley in West Africa," "Jowett as a Teacher," and "The Progress of Our Colonial Empire during the Queen's Reign."——Among the admirably illustrated articles of the August *Century* are, "'The Lordly Hudson,'" by Clarence Cook; "A Journey in Thessaly," by T. D. Goodell; "The Alaska Trip," by John Muir; and "London at Play," by Elizabeth R. Pennell. Among its valuable historical articles are, "Controversies in the War Department—Unpublished Facts Relating to the Impeachment of President Johnson," by Lieutenant General J. M. Schofield, and General Horace Porter's tenth paper on "Campaigning with Grant."——The *Preacher's Magazine* for August is rich in suggestions for those who need. The opening sermon, with portrait of the preacher, is on "Paul's Secret." Its speaker is F. B. Meyer. This is followed by a sermon on "The Creed of the Mount," by Dr. D. J. Burrell, the discourse being also accompanied by a picture of the speaker.——The issue of the *Outlook* for August 7 continues its illustrated series on "The Story of Gladstone's Life." Other articles made attractive by their pictures are "The Master of Balliol"—a review of the recent life of Jowett—"The Cambridge Conferences," and "Studying the Sun," an account of the Amherst eclipse expedition to Japan in 1896. This issue of the *Outlook* is called the "Educational Number."——In the *Gospel in All Lands*, for August, Dr. Smith has made Mexico and Japan the subjects of attractive illustrated articles.

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BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

An Introduction to the History of Religion. By FRANK BYRON JEVONS, M.A., Litt.D. 8vo, pp. 443. New York: The Macmillan Co. Price, cloth, $2.50.

This is an investigation of the history of early religion on the principles and methods of anthropology, the recent results of which it summarizes, and then endeavors to estimate their bearing upon religious problems and to weave the whole into a connected history of early religion. It does not claim to be a history of religion, but only an introduction thereto, aiming to prepare the student for the study of that history by familiarizing him with some of the elementary ideas and some of the commonest topics of the subject. It deals, not with Christianity, Mohammedanism, and Buddhism, which are called "positive religions," as being enjoined by some known founder, but with what the author calls "customary religions," as being practiced by custom and tradition without the authority of any single founder. These earlier religions, their ideas, customs, and institutions, form the theme of this book. Results of recent anthropological research which lay scattered abroad are here brought together and focused in order to show what their total bearing on the history of religion is. The data presented are preliminary and helpful to the study of comparative religion. Even if there were any use there is no good reason for objecting to the application of the comparative method to the study of religion, because while the use of that method does imply that religions resemble one another (else there were no use in comparing them), it also implies that religions differ from one another (else it would be unnecessary to compare them). Comparative anatomy is needed because animals differ from each other in structure. The very existence of comparative philology proclaims the fact that there are differences between languages. So the application of the comparative method of study to religion is a rejection of the notion that all religions are alike. That they differ is assumed by that method, and the aim of it is to find out how much and in what respects. The Christian who believes in the vast superiority of his religion over all others ought in all consistency to welcome all honest comparison of other religions with Christianity. He not only has no reason for fear, but also he cannot afford to show signs of being afraid of the result. Incidentally the author corrects the notion that evolution is the same thing as progress; evolution is sometimes degeneration; a lower type frequently comes out of a higher. "Institutions not only grow but decay also, and decay, as well as growth, is a process of evolution. Florid art is evolved out of something simpler, but is not therefore superior to it. The Roman empire was evolved out of the Roman republic, and was morally a degeneration from it. The polytheism of Virgil is not better,

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as religion, than that of Homer; the polytheism of late Brahminism is certainly worse than that of the earlier periods." These and similar undeniable historic facts make it clearly possible that the heathen religions may have come from some higher religion by a long process of degeneration; and the savage of to-day may be historically an evolution from, and yet morally, intellectually, socially, and religiously a degeneration from a far higher and nobler type of man. From the scientific and historic point of view such a fall of man as is recorded in Genesis is not improbable. That human history began with a savage and brutal state is not a justified conclusion of anthropology. When anthropology gets back as far as that hypothetical creature which it calls "primitive man," it is even then not in sight of our first parents, and, as Jevons says, "the anthropologist, standing on primitive man's side of the gulf, cannot pretend to see or say with certainty what did or did not happen on the farther side" of that gap where our first parents were. Remarking that the balance of purely scientific opinion inclines to settle in favor of a monogenetic origin of the human species, Professor Jevons writes: "Whether the anthropologist will fall back upon the Book of Genesis to assist him in his conjectures as to what happened before the earliest times on which his science has any clear light to throw, will depend upon the value he assigns to Genesis and the interpretation he puts upon it. Some writers argue that Genesis may be literally true, but it never says that religion was revealed. But it seems to me that the account in Genesis could never have been written except by one who believed (1) that monotheism was the original religion, (2) that there never was a time in the history of man when he was without religion, and (3) that the revelation of God to man's consciousness was immediate, direct, and carried conviction with it." A good index at the end of this book guides to the particular contents of chapters which treat of the supernatural, life and death, taboo, totemism, animal sacrifice, the sacrificial meal, fetichism, ancestor worship, nature worship, polytheism, mythology, priesthood, the next life, transmigration of souls, the mysteries, the Eleusinian mysteries, monotheism, and the evolution of belief. The author notes that, as every anthropologist now knows, the notion that any race of men, however rude and savage, is found destitute of religious ideas, has "gone to the limbo of dead controversies." Commenting on the fact that the progress of knowledge in any large field encounters from time to time facts which seem irreconcilable, it is observed that in the case of religious faith numerous difficulties of this sort are encountered, as, for example, the difficulty of reconciling much which happens in the world with the conviction that all that happens is for the best. "*Such difficulties,*" says Jevons, "*require an act of will,* if faith is to reassert itself; and the energy thus stimulated may expend itself in renewed efforts to harmonize the apparently conflicting facts. The desire to unify our experience is a perennial need of human nature. The fact that it can be unified is not peculiar to religion, but is

the base of all science. The track by which science has marched in its conquest of nature is marked by the ruins of abandoned hypotheses. One hypothesis is cast aside in favor of another which explains a greater number of facts; and although no hypothesis, not even evolution, accounts for all the observed facts of the physical universe, yet no man of science believes that the facts are incapable of explanation: on the contrary, he believes that they are only waiting for the right hypothesis, and that then they will all fall into line. In a word, as a man of science and in his scientific labors he walks by faith—by the faith that the universe is constructed on rational principles, on principles the rationality of which the human, or at any rate the scientific, mind can comprehend. His faith is that the external facts of consciousness do form one consistent, harmonious whole, regulated by the laws of nature, and that we can more or less comprehend the system which the physical universe forms. Now, the moral philosopher holds the same faith with regard to the facts of morality, that they, too, are consistent with one another, and are all consistent with reason and with the moral aspirations of man rightly construed. The religious mind believes that these facts, all facts, external or internal, of which we have direct knowledge, immediate consciousness, can be reconciled with one another, or rather actually are harmonious and consistent, if only we could see them as they are, instead of looking at them without seeing them. But this, the religious, faith which looks forward to the synthesis of all facts in a manner satisfactory to the reason, to the moral and to the spiritual sense alike, covers a much larger area than either science or moral philosophy, and is much more liable to meet with facts apparently irreconcilable with it. *Hence the effort of will is a much more frequent and more marked feature of religious than of scientific faith.*"

Beyond the Horizon; or, Bright Side Chapters on the Future Life. By HENRY D. KIMBALL, D.D. 12mo, pp. 250. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.

We do not understand that Dr. Kimball has suggested in this book any new argument for immortality. He has not written for critics who have already swept the field of proof and are still exactingly insistent on further evidences. But his volume, which is the outgrowth of three decades of ministerial life and study, is rather designed for the comfort of common people with their everyday yearnings and pathetic loneliness. To this effect he declares in his Preface: "We have written to help our own thought, and with the hope that we might help the thought of others, concerning the world to come. The possible readers we have had in mind are not great theologians or profound philosophers. Nor have we had a vision of the sentimentalist, who lives in his feelings, poring over these pages. We have rather seen, mentally, dear friends of other years, to whom we have sustained the relation of pastor, with our book in hand. . . . We also confess to a hope for a wider circle of readers among those whose faces we have never seen—persons

in whose hearts bereavement may have put the spirit of thoughtful inquiry concerning the future." Yet, if the author proposes no new argument for the unseen life, the proofs which he adduces have at least passed through the alembic of his own thought, and are therefore new, though old. We may quote in full the titles of his various chapters, which are as follows: "Is There a Beyond?" "Conscious Existence after Death—Natural Witness;" "Conscious Existence after Death—Supernatural Witness;" "The Intermediate State;" "'Clothed' or 'Unclothed;'" "Resurrection;" "With what Manner of Body?" "Judgment;" "Heaven—Where is It?" "Heaven—What is It?" "Recognition in Heaven." As to the fact of a future the reader lingers over the fourth of the author's eight proofs, in the opening chapter, to the effect that immortality follows if we postulate God. There are "traces of infinity" in man's nature. In his intelligence, affection, will, personality, and creative powers; in his moral nature; and in the fact that, like God, the real man is invisible, his origin seems to be different from that of material things. "Man is evidently sprung from the divine nature, and, hence, is God's child. He is God in miniature; he is the absolute put into conditions. As such he must be dowered with immortality." Concerning that mystery of which the believer does not tire to talk, the nature of the resurrection body, the author holds that "the elements of the essential human body at death will enter into the body of the resurrection." He further says: "Will the digestive organs be superfluous, and therefore be eliminated? But what Scripture suggests it? On this assumption what explanation can be given of the fact that our risen Lord partook of food? What significance is to be attached to the fruit-bearing trees which line the banks of the river of water of life?" And, again, there are in this life indications of a law which may make the risen body "the faithful and exact expression of the spirit within." Each man "is in this life molding and shaping his resurrection body. Just as every stroke of the sculptor helps to bring the angel out of the marble, so every thought, feeling, and purpose contributes something to the beauty or deformity of our resurrection body." Or, discussing the no less fascinating questions that cluster around the location and occupations of heaven, the writer thinks it at least "not unreasonable" to believe that "the physical universe is to maintain its integrity, through whatever changes may be wrought, as the field of study and the theater of exploit for moral intelligences." While the Scripture gives no hint as to the situation of heaven, in its relation to other worlds of the universe, yet the theory of a common center of all systems of worlds—as held by Kant, Lambert, Mädler, and others—is suggested at least as a possibility by Dr. Kimball. Nor does the theory put the Father's house at "an awful remove." Distance is only relative. "The standard of distance to the mole that burrows in the meadow is not that of the bobolink which pours forth its song with gushing, gladsome melody. . . . London is nearer Chicago to-day than Detroit used to be. . . . To the divine

Being there is no such thing as distance. Angels and redeemed spirits doubtless move with greater celerity than light. . . . An heir of God is heir to all that he has made." There will be worship in heaven, "character development," the creation of one's own environment "in harmony with his individuality," the "community life," activity "both voluntary and spontaneous," and acquisition of knowledge. Some will perhaps teach others. "We shall enter heaven from the level of this life's attainment. . . . There will ever be heights beyond the heights. The farther heights can never be reached till those nearer have been scaled." And there will doubtless be recognition in heaven. The sociality of our nature, the indestructibility of memory, the imperishability of affection, the universal longing of the heart, and the intimations of Scripture are so many arguments, thinks Dr. Kimball, for recognition. "Heaven will not be so unlike this world as many seem to think. Take sin away, take death and sickness and weariness and pain and poverty out of this world, and it would doubtless be very like heaven." By such random quotations the reader may infer what have been the author's excursions into this ever-inviting field of speculation. Because it is a line of inquiry of which children and children's children will never grow weary, the book has a claim upon universal attention. Whoever has come to think that he is better than a clod, that he is not to stay here always, that he is going out into the great immensities, that he is to have fellowship with cherubim and archangels, and that he is to look upon the beatific vision of the Godhead will find suggestions and help in the volume

The Celestial Summons. By Rev. ANGELO CANOLL. Edited by HOMER EATON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 280. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The reader is not less interested in the personality of the Christian minister here recalled than in the message he brings to men. Mr. Canoll served as a Methodist pastor for forty-three years, in five Annual Conferences. His friend, the late Rev. R. H. Howard, in the "Introduction" says of him: "Mr. Canoll was eminently a pulpit orator. Even long before he attained his majority he was regarded throughout the whole extent of his Conference a prodigy of pulpit ability, and ever thereafter, in all his various fields of labor, was uniformly considered a creature of unique, versatile, and matchless gifts. His vivid imagination and imperial voice, whose every intonation was music; his fervent impulses, charming imagery, choice diction, and always fresh and vigorous thought—the whole set off by a faultless pulpit manner—combined to make him easily chief among his ministerial brethren. . . . He was always thoughtful, scholarly, manly, not to say profound. His style, if ornate, was always chastened, severely simple, and cast in the best of English." The volume of discourses now under consideration—whose editing was left to the kind offices of Dr. Homer Eaton—takes its name from the first sermon of the twelve. The third discourse, entitled "Nature's Interpretation of Immortality," dwells upon "a single and special view" that, says Mr.

Canoll, "has never been presented, so far as I am informed, and as I have been assured by competent authority." This view, in a word, is that there is in nature a "merging or evolution of the lower order into the higher," and that, unless death be a "transition to another life," the "ever-onward march ceases that very moment." With what thrilling climax the sermon closes: "Opposite forces of grace and sin are acting upon you, and for the present, it may be, you hesitate under their equilibrium; but that equilibrium will soon cease, and you will sweep out upon your long career of darkness or of light. You are defining your orbit, and you are defining it for eternity. . . . I am indeed preaching truths that pervade the whole system of the Scriptures; but you can burn the Bible, and the infinite volume of nature, whose pages represent eternities and whose worlds are but letters—that book will never revise its theology to escape our fagots." In the sermon on "Watching with Christ One Hour" occurs this forceful and vivid utterance: "The strange spectacle that fills us with wonder and shuddering on the misty slope of Mount Olivet repeats itself daily. Broadly cast upon all the perspective of history are the ever-contrasted forms of the tireless, sleepless, struggling, overcoming Christ, and the palsied sleepers who fear or faint in the dark hour of the great and agonizing tribulation of the regeneration." Of the place of feeling in religion Mr. Canoll, in his sermon on "Christ's Sovereignty over the Human Heart," speaks as follows: "There is no irrepressible conflict between the reason and the sentiments, the intellect and the heart; and we must beware of that increasing tendency of the modern pulpit, and of the Church generally, to regard the intellect as the lawful potentate over the working Christian forces, and the heart as an imbecile pretender hardly to be tolerated." The last discourse, on "The Millennial Call," rings with the invitation of the Gospel to mankind, "O come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord, toward the ringing of the glad millennial bells." These quotations, necessarily fragmentary and chosen at random, suggest what the complete volume is. In their perusal the reader feels himself in the presence of an intellectual and spiritual teacher of unusual power.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Theory of Thought and Knowledge. By BORDEN P. BOWNE, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University. 8vo, pp. 389. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The satisfaction which many a reader finds in this, as in the author's other books, is like the pleasure of seeing the fog lift and a sunlit landscape come to view. One is reminded of a morning at Zermatt, when the clouds blew away from the Matterhorn. No keener intellect for analysis, no more decisive judgment, no rarer genius for elucidation can be found at work anywhere in philosophy. Any mind with the least capacity for philosophic comprehension may find straight paths, solid

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footing, and bright daylight in these pages. Matters usually abstruse and opaque are set forth clearly in a style concise, translucent, accurate; no word superfluous, no sentence obscure, no statement unintelligible, no reasoning inconsecutive, no page dull. By a revision now proceeding Professor Bowne's previous volume on metaphysics is to be adjusted to the book before us so that the two together may form a kind of whole, setting forth a general way of looking at things which will be found consistent with itself and with the general facts of experience. The root idea in the theory of thought here presented is that thought is an organic activity which unfolds from within, and can never be put together from without by the mechanical juxtaposition and association of sense impressions. From this it follows that the laws of thought are to be sought within thought itself as immanent principles of mental action, and are not a deposit or precipitate of sense experience. Accordingly the author says that knowledge is not "something originating outside of the mind, possibly in the nerves, and passed along ready-made into the mind; it is rather something built up by the mind within itself in accordance with principles immanent in the mental nature." In treating of the theory of knowledge particular attention is called to the speculative significance of freedom, to the suicidal character of all mechanical theories of mind and fundamental existence, and to the impossibility of any tenable theory of knowledge except on a theistic basis. In this book, as elsewhere, Professor Bowne places emphasis on the volitional and practical nature of belief and inculcates tolerance by reminding us of the incompleteness of all our systematic constructions. Last of all, it is shown how much of popular speculation and magazine philosophy is rendered worthless by vicious forms of verbal and logical illusion. It is remarked especially of current heated discussion of social problems that it is largely verbal and abstract, having little contact with reality and being mainly carried on in a mirage of rhetoric and question-begging epithets, so that there is hardly any more pressing necessity than the exorcism of logical specters and verbal illusions in order that we may see our problems as they really are. Little as the subject-matter of philosophic works usually lends itself to brief quotations, there are in this book many paragraphs and pages we are tempted to quote as perfect examples of luminous, compact, and irresistible statement. The author never uses figures of speech inaccurately, nor is he led astray by them, but one notices how sometimes at the end of an extended argument in purely philosophic language a short illustrative sentence puts the matter concretely, so that the gist of the argument lies visible in a flash, as distinct as a fly in amber. The things likely to impress the reader most are the author's at-homeness in the world of philosophy and metaphysics, his mastery of materials and native familiarity with all bypaths as with open roads, and the clearness, solidity, and cogency of his reasoning. His chief aim is to bring to light certain fundamental principles which underlie the puzzling prob-

lems of thought and knowledge. As an example of how the philosophic skeptic may be cornered, we quote from the close of the second chapter on the theory of knowledge the following conclusions resulting from precedent argument: "1. If the sensational theory of knowledge leads to the impossibility of knowledge (and Hume showed that it does), then sensationalism must be eschewed by everyone who views knowledge as possible. 2. If materialism has similar consequences (and it certainly has), then materialism must be rejected by every believer in knowledge. 3. If all fatalistic theories, whether of finite minds or of the basal reality, engulf thought in hopeless skepticism (and they unquestionably do), then they also are to be ruled out as fatal to the first condition of all theorizing—trust in our power to know. 4. If, finally, atheism is but another name for some or all of the above theories, and hence has the same bearing upon knowledge (and the identity is unquestionable), then atheism is to be rejected as essentially inadmissible, as being the destruction of all theory, itself among the rest. . . . The implications of the theories mentioned may not prove them false, but they do prove that we cannot consistently allow them to be true and retain any system of knowledge. Even the theories themselves would lose all logical foundation as a result of their own consequences." These are cases of suicide not mentioned in the newspapers nor reported to the coroner. Nowhere is firmer validity given to our religious convictions or stronger warrant for Christian belief than in Professor Bowne's writings. The only thing we could crave for the volume before us is an index for convenience of quick reference, after a first reading, if such an index be practicable in connection with the treatment of such subjects.

Without Prejudice. By I. ZANGWILL. 12mo, pp. 384. New York: The Century Co. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

In several senses this is light literature. The light buff color of the cover strikes the eye; the book feels lighter in the hand than any volume of its size we can remember; and all its topics, grave or gay, are played with in a lightsome, rapid, and easy fashion. A flashing fancy darts across its pages. A satire, which is like a keen, bright rapier thrusting right and left, pierces many things. The author of *The Master*, *Children of the Ghetto*, *Ghetto Tragedies*, and several other novels, appears as a sparkling essayist in these selections made from his monthly contributions to the *Pall Mall Magazine*. The book is dedicated "To You;" its contents are grouped under three heads, "Gossips and Fantasies," "Philosophic Excursions, Here, There, and Somewhere Else," and "Afterthoughts: A Bundle of Brevities." The author's light-hearted candor takes many willful liberties, but without prejudice or animosity; and his queer quips and quirks, his whimsies and vagaries, are conceived in all moods except the mood of dullness. What the woods are like one tells you best by bringing to you some spicy pieces of birch and sassafras and wintergreen, some wild flowers, lovely or peculiar. A few sprigs will give our readers something of the zest and color of these

essays. The true critic is an interpreter, not a cynic; criticism with the praise left out savors of the prosecuting attorney rather than of the judge. On the omnipresence of prejudice the author says: "A human being is born a bundle of prejudices, of instincts, impulses, and intuitions that precede judgment. Reason is only called in to justify the verdict of prejudice. Sentiment is prejudice touched with emotion. Patriotism is prejudice touched with pride, and politics is prejudice touched with spite. Philosophy is prejudice put into propositions, and art is prejudice put into paint or sound. . . . Every man is born a Platonist or an Aristotelian, a Romanticist or a Realist or an Impressionist, and usually erects his own limitations into a creed. Every country, town, district, family, individual, has a special set of prejudices along the lines of which it moves, and which it mistakes for exclusive truths or reasoned conclusions." Miscellaneous bits are culled as follows: "The cocksure centuries are passed forever. In these hard times we have to work for our opinions; we cannot rely on inheriting them from our fathers." "Just as the Pyrrhonist in maintaining that there is no truth asserts one, so the literary pessimist partly contradicts his contention of the futility of existence by his anxiety to express himself elegantly." "What Professor Huxley has done for the crayfish, that Thackeray did for the snob. He studied him lovingly, he dissected him, he classified every variety of him." "Mr. Stead believes in himself in a way that is refreshing in these atheistic times." "The world is divided into those who take life seriously and those who treat it as a farce. The workers and the fighters have the nobler, better part. A genuine emotion, an earnest conviction, vitalizes life. The daydreams and enthusiasms of hungry youth are better than the dinners of prosaic maturity, and a simple maiden in her flower is worth a hundred epigrams." The idealists in art and literature say essentially: "We can create a much nicer world than nature's. Why be plagiarists when we can make universes of our own?" "Englishmen cannot think of two things at once; they are like heavy, solid craft, sound of timber but slow of turning. 'One thing at a time' is the national proverb." Zola is called "that apostle of insufficient insight." "Because real ethics resides, not in rules, but in principles, obedience to the letter may mean falsity to the spirit if the circumstances that dictated the rules have changed. This is not casuistry. It is a concept not to be found in Panætius or Cicero or the Jesuit fathers. It means that we are not to wear our boyhood's waistcoats, but to be measured for manhood's. Tight lacing is bad for the spiritual circulation. . . . The governing principles of morality must be broad and simple." This is from the essay on the "Philosophy of Topsy-Turveydom:" "Darwin, the Barry Pain of biology, asserted that man rose from the brutes, and that, instead of creatures being adapted to conditions, conditions adapted creatures. Berkeley, the Lewis Carroll of metaphysics, demonstrated that our bodies are in our minds, and Kant, the W. S. Gilbert of philosophy, showed that time and space live in us. In literature it is the same

story. To credit the scholars, Homer is no longer a man nor the Bible a book. As for Zechariah, it was written before Genesis. This topsyturveydom is a valuable organon of scientific discovery. Take any proposition, invert it, and you get a new truth. Any historian who wishes to make a name has but to state that Ahab was a saint and Elijah a Philistine; that Ananias was a realist and George Washington a liar; that Charles I was a republican hampered by his official position and that the Armada defeated Drake; that Socrates died of drinking and that hemlock was what he gave Xantippe." And then the author, to show how it may be done, strikes out for fame by an apology to Jezebel, whom he eulogizes as a "martyr in a noble strife," a "protestant for light and sweetness against the narrow incompleteness of Elijah and Elisha's view of life." English prose is said to owe to Walter Pater "harmonies and felicities unsurpassed and unsurpassable." Style alone may make good art, but not great art. Matter, and not form, is the supreme thing. "It is on the quality of the matter it informs or controls, its compass, its variety, its alliance to great ends, or the depth of the note of revolt, or the largeness of hope in it, that the greatness of literary art depends, as *The Divine Comedy*, *Paradise Lost*, *Les Misérables*, and the English Bible are great art." Apropos of Pater's literary style is the following: "This exquisite care for words has something of moral purity as well as physical daintiness in it. There is, indeed, something priestly in this consecration of language, in this reverent ablution of the counters of thought, those poor counters so overcrusted with the dirt of travel, so loosely interchangeable among the vulgar; the figure of the stooping devotee shows sublime in a garrulous world." "Prose is the highest of all literary forms, the most difficult to handle triumphantly. We get the music of it in Ruskin and in Pater." Concerning the proneness of people to estimate things by their cost or amount of advertising Stevenson is quoted: "If we were charged so much a head for sunsets, or if God sent round a drum before the hawthorns came in flower, what ado would we not make about their beauty." About the World's Fair at Chicago Zangwill, who is sad because he did not see it, writes: "Except as an object lesson in the unity and federation of mankind the fair had no valuable *raison d'être*, and, unfortunately, the school term was short and the number of pupils comparatively limited. America is a long way from everywhere, even from itself." The search for truth and reality grows ever more resolute and relentless. Its fearlessness is the highest form of proof of faith. Weaklings moan, "Analysis and criticism are killing ideals and driving to despair." But robust souls answer: "Ideals that can be killed by knowledge are delusions which deserve to die, and you are better off without them. Know the truth at all costs, for it alone can make men free. Superstition is slavery. No comfort at all, if that were the result, is better than false comfort. But fear not, little flock: despair will not be the result of analysis; it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom by exact knowledge of what and where that

kingdom is. On, therefore, after truth and fact, with intrepid faith in the system of things and in the Author thereof." European tourists are described as "going about comfortably with a Baedeker and a stock of admiration which they distribute as per instructions." Zangwill happened in Venice when the present German emperor was there, and writes: "This young man—from all I have observed since he became my neighbor—lives a highly colored dramatic existence, in which there are sixty minutes to every hour and sixty seconds to every minute. He must be a disciple of Nietzsche, a lover of the strong and splendid, this German gentleman, who is just off to Vienna to prance at the head of fifteen hundred horsemen. While William II lived opposite me it was all excursions and alarums. As a neighbor an emperor is distinctly noisy. . . . What a strange life is a king's! What an unreal universe of flags and cannons and phrases monarchs inhabit! Do they think that the streets are always gay with streamers and bunting and triumphal arches, always thunderous with throats of men or guns, always impassable? Poor kings! I always class them with novelists for ignorance of life. If they would only stop and think! But when they stop they do not think, and when they think they do not stop. And this William II, he, at any rate, is not likely to stop and think." And yet more about William: "We English have abolished the sovereign, but we are too loyal to say so. In Germany the sovereign refuses to be a symbol, and in a country overcivilized in thought and undercivilized in action he is having a pretty good innings. I must confess I do not find this attitude of his merely ridiculous. It forces clearly upon the modern world the question of kingship, whether it is to be a sham or a reality. Unpopular as William II has made himself by his martinet methods—ridiculous, if you will—there is only one step from the ridiculous to the sublime. In a flippant age he takes himself seriously, has a sense of responsible relation to his people." Zangwill, rummaging old court records, finds the signature of Queen Elizabeth to be the most regal autograph in the world, "like some ships going out against the Armada with swelling canvas and pennants streaming. There's a woman after Nietzsche's heart—strong, splendid, and unscrupulous. If Nietzsche had married her he might have changed his philosophy." Writing of progress, he says: "The notion of progress, said Spinoza, is a futility, because God, of whom the universe is a manifestation, is always perfect. Later philosophers have found this doctrine a barren blind alley and craved for the notion of a more energizing God. But both notions seem perfectly compatible. Progress may be just the way perfection manifests itself. The universe moves—and at each point is perfect. It is as good as it could be—at the moment; it could not be any better. For if it could have been it would have been; it has no interest in being otherwise. That it is not perfect in our sense of the word matters little to the metaphysician. We have such limited experiences of universes that we could not judge what a really good one should be like; and to say that ours is bad is to foul

our own nest." "Herbert Spencer knew a retired naval officer in whose mind God figured as a sort of transcendently powerful sea captain. An old English admiral, when fighting the Dutch, was confident of victory because he was sure God wouldn't desert a fellow-countryman. The materialist says woman's poetry is inferior to man's because she exhales less carbonic acid." For a last quotation this admonition comes across the sea to our republic: "Let universal suffrage operate honestly, or let it be suspended or abolished. Let those States which now, in accordance with deep Machiavellian principles, dishonestly, by a reliable inaccuracy in the counting, render nugatory the vote of the enfranchised black man, withdraw their spurious pretense of Christianity. A double standard of morals subtly infects the whole core of the nation. Corruption cannot be localized; it creeps and spreads through all departments of thought and action. To give with the right hand and take away with the left is a maneuver unworthy of a great nation. To found society or communities upon a farce is to lower those ideals by which, as much as by bread, a nation lives."

The Complete Poetical Works of James Russell Lowell. 8vo, pp. 492. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

This is the latest volume of what is named "the Cambridge edition" of the poets, and like those of Longfellow, Browning, Holmes, and Whittier is a benefit conferred upon the reading public by providing much for little, in small compass and attractive form. We are more than half inclined to side with those who regard Lowell as the representative American poet. One advantage in holding all his poems in one's hand at once is that one marks the author's gradual perfecting of quality and form from the first crude beginnings. Lowell in maturity looking back over his earlier poems apologetically adopted the words of Petrarca to Boccaccio: "We neither of us are such poets as we thought ourselves when we were younger." The history of the principal poems is given in headnotes, and a liberal use is made of the *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, published in two volumes by Harper and Brothers. Lowell's face is the frontispiece, and the title-page bears a picture of "Elmwood," the old square house at Cambridge in which Lowell was born and died; of which he wrote in a letter: "Here I am in my garret. I slept here when I was a little curly-headed boy, and used to see visions between me and the ceiling, and dream the oft-recurring dream of having the earth put into my hand like an orange. In it I used to be shut up without a lamp—my mother saying that none of her children should be afraid of the dark—to hide my head under the pillow, and then not be able to shut out the shapeless monsters that thronged around me, the creatures of my brain." Edward Everett Hale, a college mate, writes of Lowell's Harvard student days: "The fashion of Cambridge was then literary. Now the fashion of Cambridge runs to social problems." The brightest students in those days were interested chiefly in literature; they read and discussed Byron and Shelley and Keats and Carlyle and Tennyson and

Browning. A great change has come. Now athletics, the physical sciences, social problems, dominate the student mind. This suggests that we may have entered on an era the literary product of which will be so small and poor as to make us cling with ever-increasing appreciation to the literature bequeathed by Hawthorne, Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, and Holmes. Of his college days Lowell wrote in middle life: "Never were we ourselves so capable of the various great things we have never done." Distinguished as a poet, he was far from being a mere *littérateur;* he was a publicist, a prophet, a patriot, a man of the world. His wit and humor, his moral fervor, his keen ethical discernment, his gift of irony and ridicule, enabled him to make many an effective raid against wrong and corruption in civil and political life. His dispatches while minister at Madrid and at the Court of St. James show "his sagacity, his readiness in emergencies, his interest in and quick perception of the political situation in the country where he was resident, and his unerring knowledge of the world." His wit appears in the definition of suzerainty which he gave Lord Lyon: "Leaving to a man the privilege of carrying the saddle and bridle after you have stolen his horse." He "combined the unflinching earnestness of the Puritan with the mellowness of a man of the great world." Few things in this volume are so interesting as Lowell's Introduction to the second series of *Biglow Papers,* which gives a personal narrative of the origin of the scheme and dwells upon the literary use of the homely Yankee dialect in which those papers are couched. He speaks of the schoolmaster starching our language and smoothing it flat with the mangle of a supposed classical authority. He ascribes Lincoln's strong, simple, masculine, and noble English to his lifelong study of Shakespeare, Milton, and the Bible. It seems possible that the *Biglow Papers* may hereafter be treasured as the most vital and ebullient, the richest, raciest, and most brilliant product of Lowell's genius. In them his faculties are all at their best, with unsurpassed vigor and delightful abandon. Discussing the shrewd wit of many homely expressions heard in uncultivated and out-of-the-way places, Lowell writes: "Prosaic as American life seems in many of its aspects to a European, bleak and bare as it is on the side of tradition, and utterly orphaned of the solemn inspiration of antiquity, I cannot help thinking that the ordinary talk of unlettered men among us is fuller of metaphor and of phrases that suggest lively images than that of any other people." He quotes some which have "a native and puckery flavor:" "Mean enough to steal acorns from a blind hog;" "Cold as the north side of a Jenooary gravestone by starlight;" "Stingy enough to skim his milk at both ends;" a neighborhood so thievish that a man "has to take in his stone wall at night;" a negro "so black that charcoal made a chalk mark on him;" a man who took so much mercury that he found a lump of quicksilver in each boot when he went home to dinner. So true is Lowell's statement about the abundance of graphic, pithy, and suggestive phrases to be heard among our native population, East, West, North,

and South, that many who will read this book notice could easily make a list longer and brighter than Lowell's of expressions used by odd and original characters, full of keen insight, homely humor, sound sense, good-natured sarcasm, and poetic imagery. Frontiersmen, guides, men of the sea, farmers, stage drivers, backwoods preachers—how many of them, being full of thoughts which must have expression, not having the language of books, minted their own speech, fresh and sharp and bright. The writer of this notice could fill a page offhand with quaint, shrewd, funny phrases which he has heard and remembers like these: "Land so poor you can't raise a disturbance on it;" "I've got my first set of store teeth, and feel as if I had a window-blind in my mouth;" describing an attack of colic and severe intestinal disturbance—"I felt as if a Tammany Hall primary meeting was going on inside of me;" disapproving a sudden and evanescent excitement—"I don't like a brush fire." This naïve and ingenious gift for descriptive expression was possessed by the mountaineer who, hearing in the Rockies the bray of a donkey reverberating among the peaks, facetiously named the animal "the Rocky Mountain canary." The *Biglow Papers* hold one of the richest deposits of homely American phrasing to be found in print. One noteworthy statement from Lowell is that, more than anyone he knew except Hawthorne, Arthur Hugh Clough impressed him with the constant presence of that indefinable thing we call genius.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

A History of Our Own Times, from 1880 to the Diamond Jubilee. By JUSTIN MCCARTHY, M.P. Crown 8vo, pp. 473. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.75.

A person of respectable ability and judgment recently called Justin McCarthy the Macaulay of our time. Certainly such praise is excessive, but it shows that his historical writings have excited admiration. The present book concludes the history of the reign of Queen Victoria. The preceding volumes followed the events of her reign down to the spring of 1880, when the Liberal party resumed control of the government under the leadership of Mr. Gladstone. Now we have before us an elucidation of many events which have affected British interests during the last seventeen years. This book treats at length of some matters likely to be passed by with brief reference in more pretentious histories, such as the Bradlaugh episode, caused by the refusal of that notorious advocate of atheistic principles to repeat the customary oath on taking his seat as a member of the House of Commons, demanding the privilege of simply affirming his allegiance because the words, "So help me God," which concluded the oath were objectionable to him. Concerning the real pith of the long struggle which aimed to prevent Mr. Bradlaugh from taking his seat our author writes: "The great question really disturbing the minds of serious men was, whether a professing and proclaimed atheist ought

to be allowed to sit in the House of Commons. No one argued that an atheist ought not to be allowed to sit in the House—that is, no one contended that there ought to be a religious examination by Mr. Speaker, or by anybody else, of each elected representative in order to find how far he had gone in the way of free thought. Everyone knew that there were atheists, according to the common understanding of the term, in every House of Commons. But the question was whether a man who proclaimed himself an atheist ought to be allowed to sit in the House. There was an irritated feeling with many men that Bradlaugh had made a needless fuss about his opinions, and that, as he after a while expressed his willingness to take the oath, he ought to have taken it in the first place and said nothing at all about it. Many men pointed to the example of John Stuart Mill, who had taken the oath without protest, and they asked, angrily, if what was good enough for Stuart Mill was not quite good enough for Bradlaugh. But the cases were entirely different. Mill had never proclaimed himself an atheist, and in point of fact never was an atheist in Mr. Bradlaugh's sense of the word. *Mill was in all his sympathies a Christian, although he could not identify himself with any one form of Christian faith.* (!) [Italics ours.] He had no more conscientious objection to taking the parliamentary oath than he would have had to taking off his hat on entering St. Paul's Cathedral in London or St. Peter's in Rome. But Bradlaugh was a convinced and aggressive atheist, the organizer of a propaganda of atheism, and his followers would have been amazed, indeed, if their leader had hauled down his flag and consented to take the oath without even a word of protest." Deeming it unnecessary to follow the story through all its wearisome details, the author says: "Some of its passages were ludicrous, and even farcical. Some were grave, odious, and lamentable. Mr. Bradlaugh kept on making little rushes at the House of Commons. Every now and then he ran unexpectedly up the floor, and made for the table in front of the speaker's chair, and clutched the Testament, in the hope of being sworn in, or, with the view of swearing himself in. Then the sergeant-at-arms and the deputy-sergeant sprang after him and seized him at the table. Each caught him by either arm, and, thus seized, he consented to be led back again to the bar of the House. The moment the officials released his arms he started off again on his run to the table. Then the officials toiled after him once more, and again he was led back to the bar of the House; and again, on being released, he made for the table as before. Anything more ludicrous, anything more ignoble, anything more degrading to the character of a great parliamentary assembly could hardly be imagined. Once the struggle assumed that grimmer and more lamentable character to which we have referred. . . . An order was made that Mr. Bradlaugh should be removed from the precincts of the House. He declared his determination to resist the order, and he was actually dragged and driven out of the House by the force of ten policemen. He had presented himself in the lobby, and was about to enter the House itself, when the order was given

[illegible]

by the officials for his removal. He was forced down the flights of winding stone steps which led from the central lobby to the private entrance of members. He was a man of extraordinary physical strength, and he fought like one desperate. The ten policemen had all they could do. Of course they were anxious not to hurt him. At last they got him out into Palace Yard. His clothes were torn, his face was flushed, his limbs trembling; yet he bore himself with imperturbable good humor and talked civilly with the police officials when the scuffle was over. The whole scene, however, was utterly unworthy of any House of Parliament. Nothing of the kind, so far as we know, had ever been seen in the legislative assembly of the smallest South American republic. Nothing of the kind had ever been known in the Capitol at Washington, even in the stormy days just before the American civil war. . . . There must certainly have been some possible way of settling an important constitutional question without wild dances on the floor of the House of Commons and scuffles in the lobby and on the staircase. Moreover, the struggles to prevent his sitting in the House of Commons all came to nothing. He had to be allowed to sit there in the end." The Irish question and its climax are discussed in five chapters; the Venezuelan and Transvaal troubles in chapter xix. Some important matters not yet concluded are mentioned, such as the Dongola campaign, the Armenian question, and the Benin disaster. No small part of the interest of this volume is in the portraits, descriptions, and reminiscences of various historic figures who have died since 1880 and of the chief parliamentary personages, such as Darwin, Rossetti, General Gordon, Colonel Burnaby, Trollope, John Bright, Disraeli, Tennyson, Browning, Cardinal Manning, Spurgeon, Cardinal Newman, Freeman the historian, Ford Madox Brown, Robert Louis Stevenson, Parnell, Lord Rosebery, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, John Morley, Arthur James Balfour, and others. We quote some of Gladstone's words on the Franchise bill, which he introduced into the House of Commons in February, 1884: "I take my stand on the broad principle that the enfranchisement of capable citizens, be they few or be they many—and if they be many, so much the better—is an addition to the strength of the State. The strength of a modern State lies in the representative system." Of Spurgeon Mr. McCarthy writes: "His congregation for a long time could find no place but Exeter Hall large enough for them. Even Exeter Hall would not hold the thousands who tried to hear Spurgeon. People of all ranks and classes flocked thither. It became the fashion. Great statesmen and parliamentary orators rushed to listen to him. People ran into wild extremes of opinion. Some insisted that he was the greatest pulpit orator who had ever been heard in England or anywhere else. Others as stoutly argued that he was nothing but a wind-bag and a loud-voiced charlatan. On one point all had to agree—that he had a magnificent voice, a fine dramatic gesticulation, and a style which rose from conversational simplicity to an impassioned and thrilling rhetoric. . . . Mr. Spurgeon was undoubtedly a great min-

ister of the poor as well as a great public orator. He led a noble life of self-denial; if indeed that could be fitly called a life of self-denial which was absolutely given up to the very work dearest to his own heart. Large sums of money came to him by bequest and by presentation, and he employed it all in the interest of those to whom he had devoted himself. He lived a simple, modest, quiet life, like that of any humbler worker in the cause of religious ministration. . . . Men of all faiths, and of no faith, united in regarding him as a devoted worker for religion and the interests of the poor and the lowly." Of Disraeli this is written: "He had a boundless ambition and he followed his own star. Men of thorough sincerity, and who had nothing but public purpose to inspire them—men like Gladstone and Cobden and Bright—felt shocked now and then by what seemed to them his lack of earnestness. Not many years before Lord Beaconsfield's death Mr. Bright had spoken of Disraeli's 'sated ambition.' Bright and Disraeli talked one night privately in the House of Commons, and Disraeli suddenly said, 'You know what you and I come here for. We come here for fame.' Bright could not succeed in persuading him that he, Bright, at least did not go to the House of Commons for fame. Disraeli smiled blandly, almost pityingly, and declined discussion. It was not possible to convince him that any man could waste his days and nights in the House of Commons for the mere sake of serving this or that public movement." He judged others by himself, simply believing himself to be more frank than they.

Southern Statesmen of the Old Régime. By WILLIAM P. TRENT, M.A., Professor in the University of the South, Author of *William Gilmore Simms*, etc. 12mo, pp. 293. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

Six lectures, on Washington, Jefferson, John Randolph of Roanoke, Calhoun, A. H. Stephens and Robert Toombs, and Jefferson Davis; delivered last year before the University of Wisconsin; and now published, with a dedication to Theodore Roosevelt, as the thirteenth volume of the "Library of Economics and Politics." edited by Professor Richard T. Ely. "Washington must be taken," says the author, "if only to show that to the South must belong the eternal honor of having given to the Union the greatest of all Americans." "Jefferson did not have the qualities of a great executive." "Like some whist players, he knew the theory of the game, but he was a very bad player." But "he was a profoundly influential statesman in the realm of ideas." Randolph's eccentric career "furnishes an effective foil to the lives of great and consistent statesmen like Washington and Lincoln, and an agreeable contrast to those of certain mediocrities that need not be named." "Calhoun unconsciously started with the conclusions he wanted, reasoned back to his premises, and would not, because he could not, examine them. . . . Grant him but his premises, and he leads you, willy nilly, to his conclusions." But perhaps the most interesting part of the book to us of the present day is that devoted to Alexander H. Stephens and Jefferson Davis, and is sufficient to prove that the oft-supposed solidarity of

Southern opinion before, and even during, the war never really existed. The book, indeed, is not intended for scholars, and those who desire to make an adequate study of Southern statesmanship must go to other works than this. But it shows, nevertheless, how candid and unprejudiced Southerners of to-day are coming to think for themselves in politics and on the history of politics, without regard to the old traditionary policies of any section. No one who reads it, no one who feels the tendency of our current history, can fail to realize how the old ideas that once divided North and South are passing rapidly away. State rights is not a burning issue any longer. The South is beginning to divide on questions of to-day. She is waking to the fact that what she needs is, not loyalty to bygone and worn-out institutions, but adjustment to the manifold life of a newer and better century. Old things are passing away, and all things are becoming new. What the South needs now is no blind adherence to dead constitutional interpretations, but a joyous and eager development of her multitudinous resources. Politics has hitherto been her bane; she needs now to take her place in the march of progress. This little volume, making no pretensions to thoroughness or learning, does have its use in endeavoring to bring about a better understanding between the sections, in smoothing the old asperities of the last three quarters of a century. The sooner North and South recognize one another's sincerity of opinion, however mistaken, the sooner shall they reach a ground of mutual agreement and mutual helpfulness and endeavor.

Letters from the Scenes of the Recent Massacres in Armenia. By RENDEL HARRIS and HELEN B. HARRIS. 12mo, pp. 251. New York: F. H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The title of this volume of travels tells its own sad story. In the search—which was more or less interrupted—for certain valuable Syrian manuscripts preserved in the monasteries of eastern Turkey and northern Mesopotamia, the time from March to October, 1896, was spent by Professor and Mrs. Harris among some of the scenes of recent Turkish oppression. Their route from Alexandretta eastward as far as Mardin, and then north to the Black Sea, took them through such centers of massacre as Aintab, Ourfa, Diarbekir, and Harpoot; and their pleasant archæological excursion soon took on the nature of a burdened journey by two humanitarians overwhelmed in mind and heart with the sights and tales of keenest human misery. As almoners of moneys sent them by the Friends of England they were enabled to save some from absolute starvation and to alleviate the wretchedness of a few out of the multitude who appealed to them for aid; and in the measure of success that accompanied their judicious distribution of funds the reader will heartily rejoice. Of necessity their correspondence, included in the present volume and written in collaboration, is couched in moderate words, because of the danger of its falling into the hands of the Turkish authorities. "It must not be assumed," says Professor Harris, "that we have told more than a fraction of the misery which we have seen, or reported more than a very small fraction of the horrors of which we have heard." The picture that the

writers draw is, however, painted in the dark colors of hideous tragedy. Men incapacitated for self-support, from the loss of their hands; whole villages razed to the ground; churches ruined by flames, in which vain refuge many lost their lives; widows and orphans left without means of support; entire trades obliterated; and survivors afraid to rebuild their ruined homes and sitting down in blank despair—these were some of the sad sights the travelers saw, and of which they write. The prime responsibility of the sultan in the case is suggested in the statement of Mrs. Harris, written from Constantinople, that "all the massacres have certainly been ordered from the palace." And this further led Professor Harris to say of the two Latin inscriptions, "dedicated by Nero to some officers of the third legion," and found in a little Armenian church near Hooiloo, "It seemed appropriate to find the name of Nero here! It ought to be inscribed over the whole country side and on a thousand broken walls and ruined homes." As a whole, these letters of Professor and Mrs. Harris are sadly instructive. The travelers, by their unusual culture, their wise judgment, and their marked heroism have won the most respectful hearing. And the duty which they emphasize is familiar. The measure of Turkish iniquity is full, and the Christian world should compel the immediate sheathing of the Mohammedan sword.

MISCELLANEOUS.

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ties." The volumes seem well adapted to their purpose, and also for independent reading and study. We notice typographical errors for correction: in the volume on Johnson, p. 31, and twice on p. 92, "Whitfield," for "Whitefield;" same volume, p. 77, "king," for "kind;" same volume, p. 78, "James III," for "James II;" and also, in the *Life of Nelson*, Introduction, pp. x, xi, the statement, "Though hard pressed for money, the strength of his [Southey's] conscience would not, as Emerson's would not, permit him to obtain the relief which he could have secured at once by taking orders." This hardly coincides with the fact that Emerson was for three and a half years a Unitarian pastor in Boston.

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FIFTH SERIES,
VOL. XIII, No. 6.

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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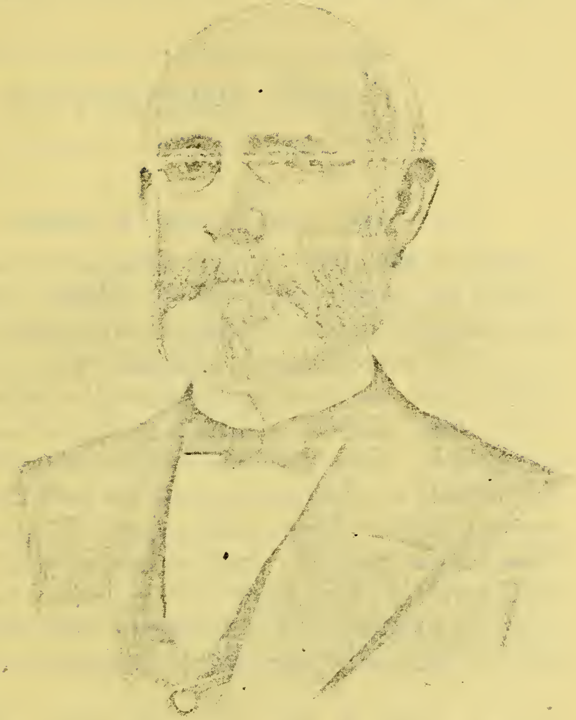

J. H. McCauley.

METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1897.

ART. I.—JAMES A. McCAULEY, D.D., LL.D.

"THE memory of the just is blessed;" and when "the just" are favored with exceptionally large opportunity for highest usefulness which they have improved with signal devotion and success, their "memory" should be perpetuated for the instruction and inspiration of succeeding generations. The subject of this paper was a striking specimen of such "just" men. Converted in his youth, he gave nearly threescore years to the service of Christ, all but one decade being spent in faithful and successful labors for the Church, about equally divided between the educational and the pastoral field. So great was his modesty, and so quiet the energy with which he did his work, that men were startled when his splendid achievements were made manifest. It is the purpose of this paper to outline the man and his work.

James Andrew McCauley was born in Cecil County, Md., October 7, 1822, his parents residing at the time on a farm adjoining what is now the village of Mechanic's Valley, some six miles southwest of the town of Elkton, the county seat. His grandfather, Barney McCauley, who was of Scotch-Irish descent, came to this country from the north of Ireland about the middle of the last century, and married Ann Miller, a Swiss. Their son Daniel, father of James Andrew, married Elizabeth Harvey, a woman of unusual force of character, of gentle disposition and earnest piety. She was a great reader, with a remarkably retentive memory, which she retained until her death at the ripe age of eighty-six years. Coming of good

Methodist stock, she grew up in the Church and trained her children in the fear of the Lord. Her husband was an industrious and intelligent farmer and miller, of strictly moral habits. In his ninth year the lad entered the country school taught by his cousin, James McCauley, afterward for many years President Judge of the Orphans' Court of the county; and, according to his teacher's testimony, "he early showed a fondness for knowledge and ability to acquire it." These traits of character "grew with his growth and strengthened with his strength," the former becoming an all-controlling passion, and so utilizing the latter as to secure for its possessor, under the stimulus of a sanctified ambition, the largest gratification in splendid achievement.

In his sixteenth year James Andrew was happily converted while a pupil in the Sunday school of Fayette Street Church, Baltimore, to which city the family had removed the year before. This experience of divine grace was clear, thorough, and abiding; and so long as he lived grateful memories were cherished of his spiritual birthplace, the very spot at which he was kneeling when light from heaven first broke upon his penitent soul being often pointed out by him in after years.

After two years in mercantile employment he applied himself to earnest study, that he might gratify his "fondness for knowledge" and secure a first-class education. Rev. Dr. John H. Dashiell, an able educator and principal of a classical academy, now an honored superannuate of the Baltimore Conference, became his teacher. Says Dr. Dashiell:

> James A. McCauley entered my school in Baltimore when about twenty years of age, to prepare for college. He was unassuming, studious, and successful. In about a year he mastered his English, Latin, and Greek grammars; read Cæsar, Virgil, and several orations of Cicero, and considerable Greek. He entered Dickinson and graduated with highest honors.

Matriculating as a freshman in September, 1844, he continued to be so "studious and successful" that he completed the entire curriculum in three years, graduating with first honors in 1847. During his first year in college it was his great privilege to be under the personal instruction and care of that master teacher

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and peerless pulpit orator, John P. Durbin, the distinguished first president of Dickinson after its resuscitation under Methodist auspices in 1834. The rest of his course he was under Dr. Robert Emory, the gifted son of Bishop John Emory, who became Dr. Durbin's youthful successor in 1845. Clinton Lloyd, one of McCauley's classmates, remembers him as "a diligent, laborious, and conscientious student;" and another, Samuel C. Wingard, Supreme Court Justice, of the State of Washington, as "an earnest, industrious, and pious student, regarded as the best debater in college."

Soon after graduation he became tutor to the children of Dr. Durbin, and later was for two years tutor in the family of George H. Elder, a leading Methodist of Green Spring Valley, Baltimore County, Md. He received license to preach at a Quarterly Conference in Ward's Chapel, Baltimore Circuit, October 14, 1848. In March, 1850, he was received on trial in the Baltimore Conference, and was appointed to Summerfield Circuit, with John Maclay as his senior colleague; but during the summer he was elected principal of Wesleyan Female Institute in Staunton, Va. Accepting this position, he reorganized the school, arranged a full course of study, and prepared a diploma in Latin for graduates; and during his first year had the satisfaction of seeing a new building erected suited to the needs of the students. Although the Methodists were comparatively a "feeble folk" in Staunton, and two female seminaries were already in successful operation, Principal McCauley's enterprise was firmly established and largely patronized. It still stands a flourishing institution, monumental of the wisdom and fidelity with which its youthful principal laid its foundations.

July 8, 1851, Principal McCauley was united in marriage with Miss Rachel M. Lightner, daughter of John Lightner, a large landowner and highly respected citizen of Highland County, Va., and an elder in the Presbyterian Church. This sacred union was happily perpetuated for more than forty-five years, until the lamented death of the husband. His widow and their only child, an accomplished and beautifully dutiful daughter, survive, to cherish the memory of one of the kindest and most affectionate of husbands and fathers,

finding great comfort in the hope of a blissful and eternal reunion hereafter, albeit their hearts often sigh

> For the touch of a vanished hand,
> And the sound of a voice that is still.

At the Conference of 1852 Principal McCauley was ordained deacon by Bishop Edmund S. Janes, and two years later elder by Bishop Edward R. Ames. Having resigned his position in Staunton at the end of three years of very successful work, he resumed his place in the itinerant ranks, and for the succeeding eighteen years did grand service in the pastorate. After six years in circuit work he was appointed in succession to four of the largest and most important churches in the cities of Baltimore and Washington, being always retained as long as the law allowed, and everywhere winning the love of the people by his exemplary life, his able and instructive preaching, and his faithful pastoral service. While at Dumbarton Street, West Washington, he was honored by his *alma mater* with the degree of doctor of divinity, at the commencement of 1867; and the next year he was elected by his brethren one of their reserve delegates to the General Conference. In March, 1870, he was appointed by Bishop Ames as presiding elder of the Washington District; and in this position of difficult and delicate responsibilities he bore himself so worthily as to secure the confidence and love of all, and to exert a most salutary influence upon both churches and pastors. In 1872 he was elected to the General Conference next on the list after his friend Dr. Lyttleton F. Morgan, who led the delegation. He did valuable service on the committees on education and revisals, and the Conference showed its appreciation of his character and abilities by giving him a plurality vote for the editorship of the *Ladies' Repository*, and by selecting him as fraternal delegate to visit the English and Irish Wesleyan Conferences, with one of the bishops.

At the same General Conference Dr. Robert L. Dashiell, the eloquent and popular president of Dickinson College, was elected one of the three secretaries of the Missionary Society chosen to succeed the venerable Dr. Durbin, who retired as honorary secretary after a marvelously successful administration of twenty-two years, and his assistant, Dr. William L.

Harris, just elected bishop. At the ensuing commencement in June Dr. Dashiell resigned the college presidency, and Dr. McCauley was unanimously elected his successor. In *The Christian Advocate* of July 4, 1872, the editor, Dr. Daniel Curry, refers to the new president as "a gentleman of wide reputation as an administrator and scholar, and for many years one of the most devoted trustees of the college." His election, the notice further says, "gave the highest satisfaction to everyone; and the announcement that he had accepted the distinguished position was warmly applauded." It was indeed a "distinguished position," in view of the illustrious history of the college, the scholarship and eminence of its presidents and their associates in teaching, and the renown won by her distinguished sons for their *alma mater*—coeval with our national independence, the college having had the unique distinction of being the first college in the land that was established under the new republic.

The position, however, was not only "distinguished," but one that was attended with serious embarrassments. The buildings were greatly in need of repair; financial resources and equipments were inadequate to meet the demands for enlarged courses of study; the damaging effect of the great rebellion upon the patronage of the college was still felt, and, worse than all, a feeling of despondency as to the future of the institution began to obtain among its friends, some of whom went so far as to suggest the propriety of closing the school and selling the property. Conscious of pure motives, with loving devotion to his *alma mater*, and with firm reliance upon the promise of divine aid to those who are loyal to the call of duty, Dr. McCauley addressed himself to his great task with heroic courage, quiet energy, tireless industry, and a resolute purpose to at least deserve success. In two years by personal effort he had secured sufficient funds to repair and renovate the buildings, and in his third year graduated the largest class that had gone out from the college in fifteen years.

In the summer of 1874 President McCauley made a brief but most enjoyable tour abroad, visiting the British Isles and the Continent. In company with Bishop Harris he appeared before the English Wesleyan Conference as a fraternal dele-

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gate from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was received with great cordiality and respect. His brief address was very happy in its graceful allusions to the bonds of union and affection between the mother Church and her prosperous daughter across the sea, and was frequently applauded. The great William Morley Punshon was in the chair, and William Arthur, the Nestor of English Methodism, seconded resolutions of appreciation for the visit and eloquent addresses of the American delegates. After his return home he received as a souvenir a choice edition of Wesley's works handsomely bound in fifteen volumes, the first bearing this inscription:

> Presented to the Rev. J. A. McCauley, D.D., by the Wesleyan Methodist ministers, assembled at their Annual Conference at Camborne, Cornwall, August, 1874, with their fraternal regards.
>
> W. Morley Punshon, *President.*

In 1883 the centennial of the college was celebrated, and large additions to its endowment and equipment were secured, so that President McCauley was able to say in his brief address, "The college enters upon its second century, not alone with cause for glorying in the past, but also with auspices of cheer for the future." The same year, in fraternal recognition of the venerable institution and its scholarly president, Lafayette College conferred upon Dr. McCauley the honorary degree of doctor of laws. In 1884 he was again elected to the General Conference, and did valuable service on the same committees to which he was assigned in 1872. This year two new professors were added to the faculty, the curriculum being correspondingly enlarged. In 1887 President McCauley graduated one of the two largest classes in the history of the college—the single exception being that of 1858 under Dr. Charles Collins, which exceeded these by but two members, the only other class as large as that of 1887 being that of 1792, under Dr. Charles Nisbet, the first president.

At the commencement of 1888 Dr. McCauley presented his resignation as president of the college; and in accepting the same the trustees unanimously adopted resolutions highly appreciative of the great work he had accomplished in the sixteen years of his able and most successful administration. In this minute the trustees note with thanks to God the success of his

long and judicious administration in "more than doubling the value of the college buildings, raising the endowment to more than $300,000, elevating the moral tone of the institution, enlarging the scope of its operations, and in sending out a large number of trained graduates, bearing the impress of his faithful labors." They also bear "cheerful testimony to the kindness of heart and noble Christian character" which had "so endeared him" to them all. The use of the president's house was tendered to him till needed for his successor, and his salary as president was continued until the ensuing session of his Conference.

President McCauley's term was unique in several respects, some of which are the following:

1. It was the longest in the history of the college for one hundred and five years, with the single exception of that of Dr. Nisbet, and only two years less than his.

2. Under the plastic touch of his benign influence the college sent out two hundred and seventy-five graduates, besides nearly as many other students who did not complete the full curriculum. This was a larger number of graduates than were sent out under any of his fourteen predecessors, being ninety-eight more than those under Dr. Nisbet, and one hundred and thirty-five more than those under Dr. Durbin, the annual average being seven more than those under the former, three more than under the latter, and within a fraction as high as the annual average of the preceding thirty-six years under Methodist auspices.

3. Under President McCauley, Dickinson distinguished her entrance upon the second century of her illustrious history by opening her classic portals to young women on equal terms with young men; and at the commencement of 1887 Dr. McCauley had the pleasure of conferring the college diploma upon a young woman, the first instance in its history.

4. Not only was the endowment, that had accumulated to about $150,000 in eighty-nine years, "more than doubled," and the number of buildings "doubled" also, but the three new buildings were admirable in style, quality, and adaptation. These were a well-equipped gymnasium costing $14,000, the gift of a generous layman; a model scientific building costing

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over $30,000, the gift of Hon. Jacob Tome, a Cecil County banker, whose name it bears; and a splendid library hall costing over $70,000, the gift of a Presbyterian lady, the widow of James W. Bosler, in memory of her husband, whose name the library bears.

Judged by the splendid results accomplished, Dr. McCauley was indisputably a great president. The present head of the institution, Dr. George Edward Reed, bears this testimony:

> As Dr. McCauley's successor in the presidency of the college he so long and faithfully served, I have had abundant opportunity of knowing the character of his work and the extent and value of his services. I have learned, too, how great were his burdens and how patiently he must have toiled, oppressed as he must have been with multitudinous cares. The monuments of his work are here, and here they will remain for generations; but a man's best memorials are not always in brick and stone. Rather are they to be found in the lives of men, living and dead, influenced by his words and example. All over the country are men who felt his molding power, and by them he can never be forgotten.

From many other spontaneous tributes by grateful alumni only a few can be given here. Dr. W. L. Gooding, class 1874, the able and successful principal of the Wilmington Conference Academy, at Dover, Del., writes:

> What impressed us all was the sincerity of his character and the dignity of his manhood. He moved among us with a quiet intensity which effectively secured respect and admiration. The finest manifestation of his intellectuality was in his sermons. These were marked by richness of diction, appositeness of quotation, breadth of knowledge, fervor of faith, and intensity of delivery. A subtle, indescribable element was there, too, which made his style altogether unique and individual.

Dr. M. D. Learned, class 1880, professor in the University of Pennsylvania, writes:

> Dr. McCauley's influence is indelibly engraven into my life. When as a struggling youth I was trying to work my way through college, it was he who never failed me with advice, encouragement, and even with his services, in securing me financial assistance. His interest in his students never ceased, even after he had retired from the presidency of the college. With excellent intellectual endowments and fine scholarship he linked a moral character of such loftiness and a spirit of such gentleness as gave him rare power in influencing others; and many lives are nobler because he has lived. Such a life is an indestructible force in all time to come, and the best heritage one can bequeath to those who follow.

One of his students, now a Protestant Episcopal clergyman, writes:

> He led as a father, by an example worthy the imitation of everyone, while, by words of wise counsel, he sought at all times to direct us into the paths of righteousness. To such helpfulness many to-day can point with gratitude, thanking God that in the formative period of their lives they had so wise and so consecrated an instructor. I feel personally that along these very lines I received benefit that is most helpful and lasting.

Another writes:

> None of us, his students at Dickinson, understood till later to what degree Dr. McCauley had formed our lives. To many of us it has been as the salt to remember his firm principles. The respect his students had for him was universal.

In an outline of salient points in the character of Dr. McCauley as president of the college, written by request, Professor Charles F. Himes, a member of the faculty and its secretary during Dr. McCauley's entire incumbency, and occupying the chair of natural science from 1865 to 1896, writes:

> As professor of moral science he was a factor in the educational work of the college, and as president of the college he was interested in the success of every department; and under the multiplied demands upon him he never gave up the work of the class room. He attended to the minutest details of administration, was present at the religious exercises, was accessible to students at all times; in fact, as president of a small college he was one of a class rapidly passing away, upon whom rested to so great a degree the character of a college and its influence for good upon its students. Outside of his proper college work he was active in the local church and in his Conference. His predecessor was one of the most magnetic men and eloquent preachers in his denomination. Dr. McCauley could hardly be said to be magnetic; but, quiet, unostentatious, and reserved in his manner, he won respect and confidence and made many warmly attached friends. In the pulpits of the town he was always heard with marked attention, by reason of his thoughtful sermons rather than on account of oratorical display. He had a wonderful faculty of thinking on his feet. When called upon in an emergency his remarks were always not only happy and in good taste, but fit for type without revision. His scholarship was varied and full, without being technical. He had scholarly tastes and scholarly habits; but perhaps his strongest point as college president was his faith in scholarship as an element of broadest success in life, which expressed itself in many ways and made a college education to him more than a conventional fad. His ideals of professors were the men who controlled the college during his student

days—great and worthy men—and his ideal of a college was something like the college of that day, with its scholarly atmosphere and its inspiration to earnest study. Yet, whilst conservative of all that was good in that golden age of the college, he readily, even if sometimes reluctantly, fell in with new demands of the present day. He left the college with its high character as a literary institution fully sustained, with a body of alumni enthusiastically devoted to it, and with men of large means practically interested in it—altogether, an educational plant of such a character as to justify expectations of largest future success.

From a highly eulogistic minute adopted by the faculty, after his death, the following excerpts are given:

> Elected at the age of fifty, he brought to the position ripe powers of head and heart, and for sixteen years presided over the college with rare wisdom and skill. His ideals of college life and training were lofty, and his personal influence did much to realize them here. He was preeminently the Christian scholar, exact, polished, cultured. . . . He was the personal friend of the boys who came to college. Encouragement to the despondent, advice to the hesitant, warning to the reckless and heedless, and reprimand to the persistent transgressor, wisely tempered to suit the individual case, are some of the invaluable services for which the students of his time must thank Dr. McCauley; and the loyal love of hundreds who came under the spell of his sweet and gentle nature during his long administration testifies to-day of his deep and lasting influence for good.

The remaining eight years of Dr. McCauley's life were busily employed. After two years as pastor of "Old Eutaw," in Baltimore, where he had served so acceptably for three years, two decades before, he felt obliged to retire from the effective ranks by reason of seriously impaired health. While resting and recuperating he employed his facile pen as Conference correspondent for *The Christian Advocate*, and in 1894 was elected professor of historical and systematic theology in Morgan College. In this important field he did excellent service for two years, and had just entered his third year when he was laid aside by his last illness.

His eventide was luminous and peaceful, and his characteristic patience was never more conspicuous than in the severe sufferings he endured. The faith that had been his stay all his life did not fail him now, but in holy triumph he exulted in complete victory over the last enemy. A little while before his departure, having given directions respecting his funeral, and gratefully acknowledged the attentions of those who had

ministered to him during his sickness, he said to the loved ones at his bedside, "I have always prayed that when my end came my pathway might be bright;" and, in response to a loving inquiry if he found it so now, he replied with emphasis, "O, bright as the sunlight!" Saturday, December 12, 1896, he gently "fell on sleep." He "was not, for God took him." Very impressive funeral services were held the following Monday in the Madison Avenue Church, Baltimore, under direction of Dr. D. H. Carroll, an intimate friend, in which appreciative resolutions were read from the several organizations with which the deceased had been connected, and appropriate addresses were delivered.

An analysis of Dr. McCauley's character will show a combination of admirable mental and moral qualities that are rarely found in any one person, and still more rarely in such excellence. His humble, earnest, devout, and intelligent piety, the development of the gracious spiritual change he experienced in his early conversion, was the basis of all the symmetrical virtues that so adorned his beneficently fruitful life. General James F. Rusling, of the class of 1854, one of the college trustees, says of him:

> A whiter soul one seldom meets with in this world. He was the soul of honor. By his "daily walk and conversation" he convinced everyone of the fact. Every student knew and felt it.

Professor Boswell, of the class of 1848, an intimate friend from college days, writes:

> His deep and unaffected piety was his crowning virtue. His reverence for God was profound, and his trust in him never admitted a doubt. As he saw the path of duty he unflinchingly trod it, satisfied if he could only have the approval of his God. His life was indeed "hid with Christ in God."

Dr. Dashiell, the preceptor of his youth, writes:

> For more than fifty years we were friends. He was a man of fine ability and excellent spirit, prudent, until caution disarmed him of some of his power. No one could doubt his sincere devotion to his Lord and Master, or the lofty aim and habitual tone of his religious life.

Another friend of fifty years, Dr. John Wilson, his successor as principal of the Staunton Institute, says:

> I first met Dr. McCauley when we entered the freshman class at Dickinson. The intimacy then formed, when to us both life was a hope and

not an experience, continued without interruption till his lamented death. He was one of the purest and best men I have ever known. As a pastor he was eminently faithful and successful, and into his college work he carried the spirit and accepted the obligations of the pastorate. And the same sympathetic nature which enabled him to lead the timid lambs of his flock into the fold enabled him to deal wisely and justly with immature students, secure their confidence, and bind him with them in tender personal relations. In social life he was genial, frank, and ingenuous, without assumed dignity or conscious superiority, and his conversation often marked by a pleasant humor enlivened with wit.

Says Dr. Carroll, of the class of 1868, one of his most intimate friends:

> An unaffected modesty, at times approaching to diffidence, a quiet dignity, a childlike faith, a prayerful spirit, supreme confidence in the right, a broad charity, a keen sense of fairness, and abounding love for his brethren and all mankind were conspicuous traits in his beautiful life. He was a high type of the Christian gentleman, refined, polite, considerate, a delightful companion, beloved in every circle. He was one of the most methodical of men, of tireless industry, most thorough in his investigations, and tenacious in the grasp of what he had mastered. His gentleness and kindness of heart were manifested in all he did. His mind had the fineness of fiber one would look for in a gifted woman, while it was masculine in its vigor and strength. His preaching was clear, convincing, scriptural, and always edifying, often with special unction and great effectiveness. . . . He was an orthodox interpreter of the Scriptures, heartily accepting the vital doctrines of Christianity as set forth by the consensus of the Church, and had no sympathy with the destructivism of the so-called "higher critics."

As pastor in Baltimore and Washington during the war of the Rebellion he was firm and unwavering in his support of the government and the defense of the national Union. He was one of the most unselfish of men, and his consecrated life of nearly half a century was remarkable for scarcely anything more than for his self-sacrificing devotion to duty. He was a good man, great in his goodness, and as great as he was good.

E. Thomson Thomas.

Art. II.—THE LAW OF SACRIFICE OBEYED BY JESUS CHRIST IN HIS DEATH UPON THE CROSS.

The purpose of Christ's advent into the world was his atoning death. He was a "lamb slain from the foundation of the world." He was born to die; "and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the cross." The full force of this passage does not appear apart from the context. The urgent appeal of the apostle is for an ideal moral condition in the church at Philippi, one only to be realized by the possession of the mind of Christ. For this he pleads, "Have this mind in you, which was also in Christ Jesus;" and then he traces Christ's humiliation, step by step, in a downward scale, until he yields his body to the cross. There Christ surrenders his life, and in his death on that Roman cross his obedience is made complete.

In this obedience "even unto death, yea, the death of the cross," what law of sacrifice did he obey? He was the sent of God, and came into the world to die; but it was Jewish hate that compelled Pilate to issue his lawless decree, that cried, "Crucify him, crucify him," and that finally nailed him to the cross. Did, then, the will of God and the will of the Jews blend in the crucifixion? Were Herod and Pilate, the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, in the consummation of their purpose, simply the executors of the divine will? Were their acts "foreordained," in the Calvinistic sense of that word? If not, then did God simply permit the world's hate to reach its utmost limit and there consent that his Son should die as the most fitting altar on which to "offer himself up to God," and to put on exhibition the Father's love? In either case what law of sacrifice did he obey in his atoning death? A few settled convictions upon the atonement just here are essential to the writer's being understood, because our views of the atonement have much to do with our interpretation of Scripture.

First, then, we hold that in Christ's atoning death no debt, in the commercial sense of that word, was ever paid. If a debt is once paid justice forbids that it ever should be exacted

the second time; there is nothing left to forgive, and hence there is no place for pardon. But instead of his death and resurrection actually canceling all our sins they only made "repentance and remission of sins" possible; and this fact must forever be the burden of the Gospel message.

Second, in his atoning death the guilt of the sinner was not transferred to Christ, and therefore he did not suffer the penalty due to guilty man. Guilt is not transferable, but if it were, and if the penalty due to man was actually borne by him, then in justice that penalty can never be exacted again, and every sinner must go free. The world's hope centers in God's pardoning mercy, not in canceled sin, and this is only offered to man on condition of repentance.

Third, in his atoning death Christ did not suffer in any personal sense the wrath of God. Twice from the rifted heavens the Father said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

Fourth, in his atoning death ample provision was made for guilty man. What Christ did, as Paul says, was "apart" from the law, and was evidently "provisional," as Dr. Miley has shown. His death made it possible for man to repent and for God to forgive, but did not actually cancel the guilt of the world, for unrepentant souls everywhere are guilty still. It worked Godward in the creation of all essential and necessary possibilities, and manward in its benefits. Only, therefore, as God's provisional remedy for sin in the removal of all legal barriers to the exercise of his pardoning mercy can it be said that the Lord "laid on him the iniquity of us all," and that he "bare our sins in his own body on the tree." This is true, because our guilt and the world's guilt could not be transferred to him, and only on condition of "repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ," may any of us ever hope to be forgiven.

But whatever mystery there may be in the atonement, as God's remedy for sin Christ at last reached the cross and there died. But he reached that cross through human instrumentality. Did, then, the envy of the Jews and Pilate's decree enter into the law to which he became obedient in his death? Were the hate and the lawlessness that spent their fury about the cross

in any sense the expression of God's will? Was the cross essential to the atonement? Surely not, and yet Scripture is not silent. Isaiah numbered Christ with "the transgressors" in his death; and he said of himself, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." We accept it, therefore, as a fact that, not on the great brazen altar, but on the cross, Jesus was to die. This was the will of God, but it was also the will of that mob in Jerusalem. In his death upon the cross, then, did Christ become obedient to the will of God, or of the mob, or of both? Surely, the Son of man in his death never surrendered to anything but the will of God. The will of the Jews was that he should perish on the cross as a malefactor, but the will of God was that there he should lay down his life for a perishing world. This clear distinction between the will of that mob and the will of God must ever be kept in mind, and yet there is one passage of Scripture at least that seems to teach that what transpired at the time of the crucifixion was all decreed. It is found in Acts iv, 27, 28: "For of a truth in this city against thy holy Servant Jesus, whom thou didst anoint, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, were gathered together, to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel foreordained to come to pass." It will be observed that the new version, from which we quote, says "foreordained to come to pass." It will be further observed that this language is a part of the prayer of the apostles for deliverance. Now, if we put into the word "foreordained" the idea of a decree, then all that was done was ordered of God; Herod and Pilate, the Gentiles and the Jews each and all only executed his will; their deeds were his deeds, and Jesus in his death bowed both to the will of God and also to the will of the mob, for they were one.

But from such conclusions there is an instinctive recoil, and Scripture declares that they are not true. The mob said that Jesus was a "malefactor," but the Father said, "This is my beloved Son;" Pilate felt his guilt, but washed his hands in vain; and Judas said, "I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood." In explaining this passage Dr. Whedon quotes Limborch, who says, "It is not said that these persons gathered to do what thy hand and thy counsel decreed that they should

do, . . . but simply to be done." That is, the things done were decreed, but the wills of the doers were free in the doing. This interpretation is entirely foreign to the thought of the apostles, and must be given up. Dr. Clarke's comment here is much better. He makes the clause, "For to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel foreordained to come to pass," parenthetical. But, while it is not parenthetical, he expresses the fact when he says:

> It is evident that what God's hand and counsel determined before to be done was not that which Herod, Pontius Pilate, the Gentiles (Romans), and the people of Israel had done and were doing; for then their rage and vain counsel would be such as God himself had determined should take place, which is both impious and absurd; but these gathered together to hinder what God had before determined that his Christ or Anointed should perform.

This clearly expresses the force of the passage. The mob sought to "hinder," to defeat, to bring to naught the mission and work of the Son of man.

But there stands that fatal clause, "To do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel foreordained to come to pass." If the word translated "foreordained" really means that, then a decree of God predetermined the acts of the mob, and from this conclusion there is no escape. The word the apostles used in their fervent appeal was προώρισεν. This word is from πρό, "before," and ὁρίζω, "to limit," "to bound," and means simply to "prebound." It does not express the idea of inspiring or decreeing a thing to come to pass at all, but just the opposite. A boundary to wrath is neither a decree unto its existence nor its inspiration, but is a restraint. This word, therefore, as used by the apostles, simply meant that before it came to pass God fixed a limit to the powers of darkness that were to surge about the cross. In the wilderness, in Gethsemane, and at the cross the Son of man must confront the powers of darkness. "Against the Lord, and his anointed," they gathered together in Jerusalem. Hell, if possible, would defeat the Son of man. But God prebounded that wrath. They gave Christ a mock trial, but utterly failed to convince the world that he was an impostor. They nailed him to the cross, but did not take his life. They sealed his tomb, but did not bind

his power. The prebounded wrath that surged about the cross left the Son of man conqueror. It was just this fact that the apostles presented to the Father in their prayer. On it they based their appeal, and said: "And now, Lord, behold their threatenings: and grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak thy word, by stretching forth thine hand to heal; and that signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy holy child Jesus."

In taking this position we are not transcending what is written. The word ὅσα, translated "whatsoever," should be translated "as much as," and it is so translated by the able authors of the *Bible Commentary*. That little Greek word ὅσος, when numbers are referred to, means "as many as;" when magnitude is the thought, "as great as;" and when quantity is referred to, as in the passage under consideration, "as much as." The apostles' thought was this: That the enemies of Christ were gathered together in Jerusalem to do "as much as his hand [in which inhered all power] and his counsel [in which was all wisdom and knowledge] had predetermined should come to pass"—just that much and no more. The powers of darkness that raged about the cross were under restraint. They could only go so far and no farther. A bounding line had been fixed in the "counsel" of God, and right there all their fury and rage struck the right hand ot God's power and came to naught, even as the fury of the wave perishes at the base of the rock which it smites in vain. God did not ordain the existence of that mob in Jerusalem; its will was not his will, and to it Jesus did not bow in his death. What law, then, did he obey? We answer, The will of the Father, and that only. "This commandment have I received of my Father." In Christ's obedience "even unto death, yea, the death of the cross," he knew no law but the will of God. The preposition "of," in the phrase, "death of the cross," only shows his relation to the cross at the moment of his death. The virtue of his death was in himself and the surrender of life, and not in the cross. They did not take his life, nor did he die of a broken heart. As to this we are not in doubt. Jesus said: "Therefore doth the Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I may take it again. No

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one taketh it away from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This commandment received I from my Father." Even in the last moment the Son was free, and the virtue of his death lay in the fact that it was voluntary. Godet says:

> The word οὐδείς, "no one," includes every creature; we may include in it God himself, since if, in dying, the Son obeys the decree of the Father, he yet does it freely; God neither imposes on him death nor resurrection. The words, ἐξουσίαν ἐχω, "I have the power" (the competency, the authority), are repeated with a marked emphasis; Jesus had no obligation to die, not only because, not having sinned, he had the right to keep his holy life, but also because, even at the last moment, he could have asked for twelve legions of angels, who would have wrested him from the hands of his enemies.

These words are far-reaching, and all may not be willing to follow the bold thinker, but they seem to be true. In the purpose of God Jesus was born to die, but he was free. He was both high priest and the sin offering, for he "took a body for the sacrifice," and when the moment came he simply "bowed his head, and gave up his spirit."

This death took place upon the cross, right where Jewish hate had borne him. For this there was a reason. God permitted it, and the Son despised the shame and endured it all for the sake of man. The cross was the then existing emblem of the world's bitterest hate. It added nothing to the efficacy of his atoning death; but as he prayed, while pinioned to it, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," and then died for man, it did serve to reveal his heart of love and to show to the world at what bloody cost he was willing to save. We can now summon the nations to gather about his cross and say with Paul, "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?" On that Roman cross was the most fitting place to exhibit God's mercy and love, and there, in obedience to the Father's will, as the great law of sacrifice, Jesus gave his life for the world.

J. H. Bethards.

ART. III.—SATURDARIANISM: A BRIEF REVIEW.

Is Saturday the true and only Sabbath of the Bible and of history? The affirmative of this question is the position of all Saturdarian Christian teaching. If the subject has to do with saving men it demands a thorough study by the ministers and laity of all the Churches. Yet the great body of Christian people have not been awake to the real situation. Saturdarians have been growing in organization and influence, and are strongly antagonizing all efforts to protect the weak against their theory. No thoughtful man can question that Adventists, as a rule, have an unfeigned faith in the absolute correctness of their Sabbath teachings; and we are sorry that as much cannot be said of some of their leaders, who are loudest in denouncing the Christian Sabbath and those who keep it.*

But why assail the teachings of Adventism? Because of its relation to the demands of labor to have a Sabbath. Adventists are protected in their religious rights by the laws of the land. They stand related to other Christians in the ratio of one to six hundred and ninety-eight. But, while we concede that the one has a right we are bound to respect, we claim that the six hundred and ninety-eight have their own rights, as has also labor. Yet they ignore our rights and the rights of those who are being continually robbed of the Sabbath. They fought the Blair Sunday rest bill, and claim the honor of its defeat. There was a cooperation of Adventists, liquor dealers, greedy monopolists, and those who wanted the day made one of entertainment instead of rest and worship. Although about seven millions joined in petition for the passage of the bill, their voice was not heeded, because of the number and variety of reasons based on policy, and through lack of reasons based on the Bible and conscience. The strength of the Adventists was in their claim to scripturalness. They take the responsibility of helping to compel an estimated

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* D. M. Canright, who had been for twenty-eight years a leader among the Seventh-day Adventists, thus quotes (*Seventh-day Adventism Renounced*, pp. 27, 28) from Mrs. White, their prophetess: "Satan has taken full possession of the Churches as a body. . . . It is the devil that answers their prayers. . . . Their converts are not renewed in heart or changed in character."

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number of a million and a half laboring people to desecrate the Sabbath every week, that they may desecrate the Sabbath with impunity. Yet there can be no wrong in preventing any person from working on the Sabbath. It is desperately wicked to assist in compelling people to do wrong; and it is the legitimate function of governments to make it as easy as possible to do right and as difficult as possible to do wrong.

But Adventists say that it is a sin to not work on Sunday, because it was instituted by the pope in opposition to the Sabbath of the Lord. Yet the claim is absolutely without foundation in fact, for the Sunday-Sabbath existed for centuries before there was a pope. When was the papacy instituted? "Gregory VII, in a Roman council of the year 1073, formally prohibited the assumption of the title by any other than a Roman bishop."[*] How long has Sunday been regarded as the Sabbath? For the present we will let Enright answer, father of a $1,000 reward for Bible authority for Sunday keeping. He declares, "St. Ignatius, martyr, a disciple of St. John, says, 'Every lover of Christ celebrates the Lord's Day, consecrated to the resurrection of the Lord, as the queen and chief of all days.'" He also says, "The apostles and apostolic men decreed that Sunday must be kept holy." And again he admits that "at first . . . the converts from heathenism [Rome, Antioch, etc.] kept holy the Sunday."[†] But, in spite of such admissions from Enright, the Adventists have circulated "over 100,000,000 copies of Enright's reward" to prove Sunday to be the child of the papacy. "Over 500,000 copies of *Rome's Challenge* have been circulated," and a new tract from the writings of the same man, O'Keefe, has been prepared, entitled *A Challenge to Protestants.* The authors of the above challenges have been corresponded with by Protestants, their challenges accepted, and these would-be champions of Catholicism caused to retreat. Adventist leaders have been tendered the proof of the above, but still continue to push the sale of this literature.[‡] This is only a part

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[*] *Catholic Dictionary of Doctrine, Discipline, Rites, Ceremonies, Councils, and Religious Orders of the Catholic Church*, article "Pope," p. 726.

[†] Private correspondence of Malcom and Enright concerning Enright's $1,000 reward. Enright's letter No. 2, p. 1.

[‡] See article "Fraud" in *Christian Endeavorer* for June, 1897.

of one of the darkest plots in American history. Thousands of dollars are being raised, under the cloak of religious liberty, every year, and are spent in an effort to throttle the press, pervert the public mind, and capture the control of the legislative and executive branches of our national, State, and Territorial government, in order to repeal all Sabbath laws and make it impossible to enforce existing laws.*

Is it not time to wake out of sleep? These conditions have been reached largely because we are not informed of the true Sabbath doctrine of the Bible and of history. Is there any question needing the more careful consideration of Christians to-day? We will study the subject briefly as it relates to the two periods before the exodus and from the exodus to the beginning of the Christian dispensation.

I. During the first of these periods there is no Bible mention of the word "Sabbath," and none in history prior to the flood. "Seven days" are mentioned, but not in connection with Sabbath keeping. The "seventh day" is mentioned in Gen. ii, 3: "God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it." Hence we assume that rest days, or Sabbaths, were kept, and that they were properly reckoned; but there is not the slightest evidence in the Bible to prove the day to have been on Saturday, even if we hold to the theory of a regular septenary cycle during that period. We do not find the expression "the seventh day of the week" in the Bible, nor certain proof that there were no silent or uncounted days. Recent historic records have been discovered which date back about seven hundred years before the writing of the Pentateuch. These records prove that fixed weeks and Sabbaths such as we have were unknown among the ancient Accadians, Assyrians, Hindus, Chinese, and Egyptians. The Hindus all began their weeks with the Sabbath, instead of closing them with it. One portion made their Sabbaths coincide with the moon's quarters; the others divided their months of thirty days into four weeks, the first two containing seven and the last two eight days each. The

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* Consult the Seventh-day Adventists' General Conference *Year Book* for 1893, containing the organization, officers, and by-laws of the "International Religious Liberty Association" of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and the report of the treasurer to the General Conference of over $12,000 raised and over $8,000 expended that year to hinder the execution of law; also the *American Sentinel* of New York.

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Accadians and Assyrians also had months of thirty days each with Sabbaths occurring on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of every month. The Sabbaths of China and Egypt were usually ten days apart.

The *Catholic Dictionary*, basing an argument upon the recent discoveries of George Smith, says: "We now know that among the ancient Assyrians the first twenty-eight days of every month were divided into four weeks of seven days each, the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days being Sabbaths; and there was a general prohibition of work on those days." * Lewis says that they "were months of thirty days each." † Again he writes, "Four years ago George Smith called attention to the fact that the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of the month were days of *sulem*, or rest." ‡ This he claims to be the true Bible seventh day, or Saturday; and that it was called *sabbatu*, and meant "day of rest to the heart." Hirsch says of the Assyrian Sabbaths, "There are traces in the Bible of the same system."§ Crafts says: "The oldest literature, especially that of the Accadians, the immediate descendants of Noah, whose pottery libraries have risen from the dead to confirm Moses and the prophets, contains the very word *sabbatu* which appears in the ancient tablets as the name of the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of every month, upon which certain works were omitted." ‖ The last two days of every month are not counted in the weekly period; hence there are nine days between the last Sabbath in one month and the first one in the next. Supposing the Sabbath dates in the first month to have fallen on Saturdays, they would have fallen on Mondays in the next, on Wednesdays in the third, and so on through the year, making twelve long weeks and twelve changes in the day of the Sabbath in every year. Yet Dr. Lewis calls them "Bible

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* *Catholic Dictionary*, article "Sunday," p. 862; also the quotation from George Smith's *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, p. 19.

† *Bible Teaching Concerning the Sabbath and Sunday*, by A. H. Lewis, D.D., the leading editor and writer of the Seventh-day Baptist Church, p. 91.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

§ Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, of Sinai Temple, Chicago, in the *Chicago Tribune* of December 29, 1896.

‖ Rev. W. F. Crafts, Ph.D., in the *Homiletic Review* of June, 1897, p. 561.

Sabbaths," and pretends to believe they were all Saturdays. He quotes Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, to prove his Saturdarian theories, by showing that "the full moon, the new moon, and the intervening quarters, which were Sabbaths," coincide with Saturday. Yet let one take his almanac, trace the moon's changes through the year, and satisfy himself if the quarters are exactly seven days long, and if the changes invariably fall on Saturdays. Dr. Lewis quotes the same author again, thus: "The first weekly period begins with a day dedicated to Anharmazd, and called after his name; and each of the other three weekly periods also begins with a day dedicated to Anharmazd."* He proceeds with the quotation, and shows that the first two weeks began with a Sabbath followed by six days, and that the last two began with a Sabbath followed by seven other days. The Hindus tried to overcome the long week of their neighbors by giving eight days to each of the last two weeks of every month. Yet the ingenious mind of Dr. Lewis enables him to name these, "Hebrew Sabbaths modified by the astronomical element." But to accommodate him we began the year in Accadia and Assyria on Sunday, in order to start his Sabbaths on Saturday; and we now begin the identical year among the Hindus on Saturday for the same reason. We succeed in keeping the first three Sabbaths on Saturday, the next one being on Sunday, the next three on Monday, and the next one on Tuesday—in four months bringing the Sabbath on every day of our week, changing the day of the Sabbath twenty-four times in every common year and twenty-six times in the long year. This he calls the "origin of the planetary naming" of the days of the week. Since he has stretched the week so as to contain seven, eight, and nine days, he ought to be willing to call the rest days of China and Egypt "Sabbaths" and the period of ten days from one to the other a "week;" but can he invariably locate their rest days on Saturdays?

Thus it is seen that the oldest Sabbaths in ancient history, reaching back from 1600 to 2200 B. C., usually, and in most of the great kingdoms always, were upon the same fixed

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* *Bible Teachings Concerning the Sabbath and Sunday*, p. 107, quoting from Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. v, p. 406.

dates in every month, ranging from seven to fifteen days apart, and changing the day of our week upon which they appeared from twelve to thirty-six times every year. Therefore, as we have shown, the history of the ancient Assyrians, Accadians, Hindus, Chinese, and Egyptians, during a period of about seven hundred years just preceding the writing of the books of Moses, shows that the theory of a regular septenary cycle was unknown to all of them. Some Sabbath specialists * have recently intimated their opinion that the true interpretation of the "seventh day" in Gen. ii, and in the fourth commandment in Exod. xx, means, not the seventh day of a fixed week, but the seventh day of each month, as in the oldest history. However, it is our conviction that there was originally a fixed week, but that its seventh day was not Saturday. We will point out evidences, in the consideration of the next period, that Sunday has a better right to the title of "the Sabbath of the Lord," or the "creation Sabbath," than Saturday has.

II. We now come to the consideration of the Sabbaths of the Bible after the exodus. One month succeeding the freedom of the children of Israel we first find the word "Sabbath" mentioned in the Bible. The meaning of the original Hebrew word for Sabbath is "intermission," "rest." There is nothing about the word to determine the length of the rest period, or the length of time between two Sabbaths. The Sabbath of the fourth commandment, the Passover, the Pentecost, and the Sabbath year are all from the same Hebrew word. The length of the rest, so far as the word is concerned, may be one day or one year.† Pagan Greek influences have so crept into Christian teaching as to supplant the true Bible calendar and lead to wrong calculations on all Hebrew fasts and festivals and on the true time for Easter and Pentecost in the Christian dispensation. After making a careful word study of "months," "moons,"

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* Rabbi Hirsch, of Chicago, and Dr. W. F. Crafts, of Washington.

† Over twenty years ago the writer was confused by Adventist teaching as to what day constitutes the true Sabbath. He entered into a covenant with the Lord that by divine help he would try and learn his will. If Saturday be the true Sabbath, he would keep it. If it proved not to be, he would do what he could to oppose the error. He soon saw that Saturday could not be sustained as the true and only Bible Sabbath. The longer he investigated the more thoroughly he was convinced that the assumption, because we have a regular septenary cycle, that there had been one from the exodus or the creation had led to many misconceptions and misinterpretations of the writings of Moses.

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"new moons," "the Passover," "the morrow after the Sabbath," "Pentecost," and other related expressions, the writer came to believe that there was no Bible basis for lunar calculations, and that "new moons" had no rightful place in the Bible. He arrived at a conclusion, since admitted by Rabbi Mayer May, that no existing calendar affords information regarding the Sabbath before the Christian era.* Therefore he discarded the lunar theory, accepted the Egyptian solar year of the time of the exodus, and made such alterations as the five books of Moses made necessary. The result was that, instead of a year beginning with Tisri, having twelve months of thirty days, with five supplementary days after Elul, he obtained a year of the same length—three hundred and sixty-five days—beginning with Abib, all of the months having thirty days, with the uncounted days thrown in, three after Elul, two after Adar, and seven other days also at this point, once in about twenty-eight years; and that the Passover Sabbath, Abib 15, would fall at the beginning of the harvest, so that a ripe sheaf could be waved "on the morrow," according to the law. The only argument we offer here in defense of our theory is that it brings harmony out of the Old Testament—including the Apocrypha—and the gospels on the question of the fasts, festivals, and Sabbaths.†

We will not attempt a refutation of common errors among the recognized leaders in biblical interpretation, but will present a brief summary of the history on the Sabbath question, embraced in Exodus from chapter xii to the close. Exod. xii teaches that the Passover lamb was killed in the afternoon of Abib 14, and was eaten during the following night; that after midnight the Israelites were freed, and that they started away the next morning, Abib 15. Dio Cassius says, "On their flight from Egypt the Jews, from hatred to their ancient oppressors, made Saturday the seventh day of their week." Exod. xiii, 3,

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* Says Rabbi May: "Rev. Mr. Gamble claims, and justly so, that we are not in possession of any calendar that gives us information concerning the Sabbath days or other days before the time of the Christian era."

† We request that the reader do not reject our calendar until he produces one that harmonizes with the Bible. We have carefully explained our calendar and Sabbath theories to many eminent scholars, and give in brief a few of their written opinions: Rabbi Hirsch, "Fundamentally correct;" Galusha Anderson, "Entirely correct;" Samuel Ives Curtis, "Well established;" a prominent Catholic, "Mathematically, historically, and scripturally correct;" H. A. Gobin, "Surprised and gratified. I wonder that it was not made long ago."

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commands, "Remember this day, in which ye came out from Egypt." We therefore have their "seventh day," or Sabbath, Abib 15, and Saturday coinciding at the time of their departure. The word "Sabbath" is not used until chapter xvi. On Tuesday morning, Iyar 16, the manna appeared; and on Friday, the "sixth day" of that week, the fourth day of the falling of manna, a double portion appeared. Moses informed them on Sabbath morning, Saturday, Iyar 20, that the day was the Sabbath, and that "therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days." God used the manna supply to furnish food during the forty years of wandering and—since he was introducing an entirely new method of Sabbath counting, which should be a sign between him and the children of Israel "forever through their generations"—to distinguish them from all the rest of the world in their manner of Sabbath counting and make it impossible to err about the day to be observed. All planetary naming of the days made Saturday the first day of the week and Friday the last. The Egyptians had such a week at the time of the exodus.

When was Pentecost? "Fifty days after Abib 16," say Fausset and others.* What other name had it? "Feast of weeks," or "Sabbath of weeks." What did Pentecost commemorate? The giving of the law on Sinai. (See Fausset and others.) Saturday, Sivan 4, was the "seventh Sabbath," and Sunday, Sivan 5, the day of the first Pentecost. The people were gathered at the base of Sinai when God uttered the commandments which Adventists admit had been known to man from the creation, and caused the people to fear and request that Moses go up into the mount and be taught of God and then return and teach them. Moses therefore went into the mount and was taught, after which he returned and taught the people. The reader will notice that the fourth commandment directed that "six days [after that Sunday] shalt thou labor." This is made more plain from the fact that at the close of that Sun-

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* See the word "Pentecost" in Webster, Strong, Cruden, Watson, Smith, Robinson, and *Catholic Dictionary*. On Lev. xxiii, 15, read also McClintock and Strong, Schaff-Herzog, the *Britannica*, *International*, *People's*, *Concise*, *Religious*, and other cyclopedias. See also explanations of the above and related subjects by Josephus, Clarke, Brown, Jamison, Jacobus, Strong, Young, Calmet, Whitby, Douay, Lightfoot, Benson, Barnes, Bishop Elliott, A. J. Gordon, O'Keefe, A. T. Jones, Uriah Smith, Bailey, Akers, Vaughan, and many others, in proof that Pentecost came fifty days after Abib 16.

day-Sabbath Moses repeated the words, "Six days thou shalt do thy work" (Exod. xxiii, 12). The next morning, Monday, Sivan 6, Moses wrote all these things in the book. This thought should be well fixed in the mind, that the original, or Edenic, and universal ten commandments required Sunday to be the seventh day, or Sabbath; and that the "sixth day" should follow that Sunday in which work should be done, bringing the seventh day on the next Sunday. Also that these ten commandments were spoken by the Lord, repeated in the evening by Moses, and written in the book before Moses went into the mount for the Lord to write the modified tables which were for the Jews only. On Tuesday, Sivan 7, Moses went into the mount and tarried forty days and forty nights, returning Sunday morning, Tammuz 17. This exact date has been preserved to the present day by the first annual fast of the Jews.* Adventists admit the day was Sunday.† God commanded Moses that Sunday morning, among his parting words, that he should speak unto the people, saying, "Verily my Sabbaths ye shall keep: . . . Every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death." Moses approached and found them "polluting" the Sabbath, and "there fell of the people that day [that Sunday-Sabbath] about three thousand men." Moses consecrated the people anew in the evening and taught them the message he had been sent to deliver, "Ye shall keep the Sabbath therefore, for it is holy unto you. . . . Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath." The next morning, Monday, Tammuz 18, Moses prayed for the people and for himself, and was commanded to make two tables like unto the first, and be "ready in the morning." On Tuesday morning, Tammuz 19, he went again into the mount for forty days and forty nights, returning Sunday morning, Ab 29, when he taught the people the two tables, explaining the Sabbath in its relation to the whole ceremonial and typical system as he had been taught during the eighty days with the Lord. We follow on, and find the months readjusted so that Sunday, the weekly Sabbath, fell on Tisri 1, 15, and 22 (Lev. xxiii, 24, 39), and on to the beginning of the new year (Exod. xl, 17), and find that on the first day

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* Article "Fast" in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, vol. iii, p. 488.

† *Origin of Sunday*, Second-day Adventist Publishing House, Battle Creek, Mich.

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of the first month of the second year Moses put the showbread in order as the Lord had commanded—every Sabbath day—on Sunday. So we find the Sabbath on Sunday, Abib 1, 8, 15, 22, 29; on Iyar 6, 13, 20, 27; and on Sivan 4, bringing the Pentecost Sabbath on Monday and all the weekly Sabbaths for a year on Monday, the next year on Tuesday, and so on, bringing the weekly Sabbath on every day of our week in seven years.

Moses taught this system for forty years. A short time before his death he copied the tables into the second law, Deut. v, and wrote a commentary on the fourth commandment as related to the festivals and jubilees in Lev. xxiii and xxv. In Deut. v, 15, we find the reason that the seventh day, the Sabbath of the Lord, had to be so counted that Abib 15 would be the Sabbath every year, "Remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day." To show that this is a literal copy Moses adds, "These words the Lord spake . . . and he added no more. And he wrote them in two tables of stone, and delivered them unto me."

On Abib 10, every year, the Jews, after determining who would eat the Passover together—a company of from ten to twenty—went to the flock to select a lamb of the proper size, a male less than a year old, without spot or blemish. One must be found to fill every condition—it was a type of a perfect Redeemer—and if it could not be found among the sheep it must be found among the goats. On Abib 14 all the leaven must be cast out, the houses thoroughly cleaned, the Passover lamb killed, dressed, and cooked ready for the feast between sundown and midnight. On Abib 16 a sheaf of the ripe grain must be brought to the temple, that the priest might wave it before the Lord; and it must be accepted before the people were allowed to reap. Then the harvesting could begin on that day. Each of the above dates came on Saturday, once in seven years. Neither of them occurred on a Sabbath, between the exodus and the crucifixion. Therefore three years out of every seven Saturday was not the Sabbath. Abib 16 was "the

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morrow after the Sabbath," or the first day of the week. Therefore once in seven years Saturday was the first day of the week instead of the seventh.

But does not the Bible say in regard to the Sabbaths on fixed dates that these are "beside the Sabbaths of the Lord?" No. The statement is an answer to the question, "If we offer the sacrifice of the Passover, the Pentecost, the Feast of Trumpets, and the Feast of Tabernacles on the proper days, are we released from the regular weekly Sabbath offering?" The answer has reference to sacrifices and nothing else, and is negative. These sacrifices are beside the regular Sabbath sacrifices, that is, in addition to them, not a substitute for them. There are eight of these fixed-date Sabbaths in succession every year, beginning with Abib 15. These dates must fall on every day of the week in succession, in the successive years. Take a year when those eight Sabbaths were Wednesdays, and suppose that Saturday is Sabbath in each of those weeks, too. The command is, "Six days shalt thou labor." Is it evident how one can work six days and keep two Sabbaths in a week? It is impossible. Therefore we justly conclude that Moses taught an irregular septenary cycle, which changed the Sabbath day each year at Pentecost to the next day of the week, making as many changes in the day as there were years in the period. The Sabbath years and jubilees are counted in the same way. A jubilee period is a perfect cycle of just fifty years. Each jubilee period begins with the first work year and ends with two Sabbath years, the forty-ninth and the fiftieth years. Rabbi Hirsch says, "I have no doubt that the old Sabbaths were in no connection with a fixed week,"* and the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says, "We cannot tell when the Sabbath became dissociated from the month" †—a concession that it was associated with the month instead of a fixed week.

We come to the crucifixion, and find Christ in the grave on Saturday, Abib 15, which Adventists allow. Although we agree that Abib 15 was on Saturday in the years of the exodus and the crucifixion, it never occurred to us that Abib 15

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* *Christian Endeavorer*, January, 1897.

† Article "Sabbath," vol. xxi, p. 126.

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must have been on Saturday in each and every year between those dates. But, since Adventists have so much to say about the example of Christ, we will briefly study the Sabbath as found in the gospels, and will show that Christ was not a Saturdarian, as many believe, and that he was not keeping the creation, but the Jewish, Sabbath.[*] There are three passages in which all Saturdarians get their "unanswerable arguments" for "an unchangeable Saturday-Sabbath, for man, for the whole world, for time and eternity." They say, "There never was any dispute between Christ and the Jews about the day to be kept." Hence, when we determine the day of the Sabbaths in question we will prove the day of the weekly Sabbath, and that the weekly and Passover Sabbaths are identical. We will first notice John v, 1–18. Christ went to Jerusalem to "a feast of the Jews." This is conceded by nearly every Bible scholar to be the "feast of the Passover, Abib 15, two years before the crucifixion." The record says he healed a man, and "on the same day was the Sabbath." In Luke vi, 1–5, Christ went through the cornfields with his disciples on *σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ*. Whedon, Strong, Clarke, and others define the expression to mean "second-first Sabbath." It is the first of the minor series of Sabbaths between the Passover and the Pentecost, or Abib 22.[†] Rabbi Felsenthal, of Chicago, says, "At the time of Christ the Pharisees held that the count had to begin from the feast day, and the Pharisaic view prevailed." In Luke vi, 6–11, Christ healed the withered hand on *ἑτέρῳ σαββάτῳ*. Strong, Bailey, and others say that *ἑτέρῳ* means "other," "different," "next"—hence, the next Sabbath, Abib 29. In these three and the parallel passages the word "Sabbath" is used twenty-five times. Nearly all great Bible harmonists locate the three events above on "three successive Sabbaths," and therefore on Abib 15, 22, and 29, two years before the crucifixion.[‡] Christ did not lie in the grave on Satur-

[*] We note the observation that, after the first year of the exodus, Sabbath keeping is not associated with creation, either in the Old Testament or the gospels, except where the prophets refer to the first year of the exodus, the creation and Jewish Sabbaths coinciding in that particular year. At the last Passover, Saturday and Abib 15 coincide; therefore Abib 22 and 29 were also on Saturday.

[†] See Josephus in proof that the count began at Abib 16.

[‡] See Harmony of the Gospels by Lightfoot, Doddridge, Newcomb, Townsend, Gresswell, Jarvis, and Robinson.

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day, or else he did not do the three things above on Saturday. Which side of this issue will the Adventists take? There is no difference. Either one is death to them. If Saturday was the Sabbath at the crucifixion these other weekly Sabbaths were not Saturdays.*

The International Religious Liberty Association of the Seventh-day Adventist Church † refuses to try to prove that the three events described in John v, 1–18, Luke vi, 1–5, and Luke vi, 6–11, did occur on Saturday, or did not occur on Thursday. ‡ These were "weekly Sabbaths;" then why not accept one side or the other of the question? Because, if these three events which fell "on three successive Sabbaths" fell on three successive Thursdays, all the arguments based on Christ's example of Saturday keeping are without New Testament authority, and the Adventist cause is hopelessly lost. If they had any Bible authority for their positions they would have combated the statement, "You cannot prove by the Bible that Christ observed Saturday as the weekly Sabbath for one full year before the crucifixion." The facts of the gospels all go to prove that from the baptism of Christ to the following Pentecost the weekly Sabbaths were on Wednesday; that from the first to the second Pentecost, which time includes the three events in dispute, the Sabbath fell on Thursday and the next year on Friday; and that from the third Pentecost to the crucifixion—seven weeks less than a year—it fell on Saturday. Isaiah and David predicted the limitation of the Jewish Sabbaths. Hosea foretold (ii, 11) the complete abrogation of all their Sabbaths and the whole

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* We have been trying for over three years to get "Senex"—O'Keefe and Company—to furnish us the data by which these Sabbaths can by any possibility be located on Saturdays, and he will not even try. The reason is obvious. There is no calendar, solar or lunar, that will locate the three dates on Saturday in the year of the crucifixion, and on Saturday two years before.

† A. T. Jones reedited *The Christian Sabbath*, by O'Keefe, christened it *Rome's Challenge*, and had it approved as doctrinally correct and sealed with the seal of the International Religious Liberty Association of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Hence its teachings are not only those of O'Keefe and Jones, but of the Association, and are the standard doctrinal teachings of Adventism. To quote a part: "We know these reverend howlers [all preachers who doubt Saturdarianism, or believe in the Christian Sabbath] too well to expect a solitary bark from them, . . . and they know us too well to . . . submit themselves to the mortification which a further dissection of this . . . question would necessarily entail. Their policy is to 'lay low,' and they are sure to adopt it."—*Rome's Challenge*, p. 30.

‡ Correspondence with the secretary of the International Religious Liberty Association in 1896.

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ceremonial system. Paul tells (Col. ii, 14, 16) when they were abrogated, namely, at the crucifixion of Christ. If the Jews kept a weekly Sabbath at all it was one of their Sabbaths. Their Sabbaths could not have all been blotted out, taken out of the way, if their weekly Sabbaths were left, for the special Sabbaths constituted only a small part of their Sabbaths. The Catholic Bible with notes says, "He meaneth in regard to Jewish observations . . . of their festivals, new moons, *and Sabbaths, as being no longer obligatory*" (italics ours). So the binding obligation of the Sabbath ceased at the crucifixion.

This is confirmed by Matt. xxviii, 1, "In the end of the Sabbath." About eleven hours after the close of the last legal Jewish Sabbath is the time that Matthew gives for the close of the Jewish dispensation and the beginning of the Christian—"as it began to dawn." "Literally," says Parker's *People's Bible*, "in the end of the Sabbaths, as if they had all come to a point of termination." We think the true translation of Matt. xxviii, 1, is, "In the end of the Sabbaths [σαββάτων—Jewish Sabbaths of all kinds], as it began to dawn toward [μίαν σαββάτων, identically the same word that appears just above] one of the Sabbaths"—or, as Robert Young translates it, "the first of the Sabbaths." One, or the first creation, or Christian, Sabbath—as Sunday the creation Sabbath—here coincides with the resurrection Sabbath; as the creation and Jewish Sabbaths coincided at Mount Sinai and every seven years thereafter to the day of Pentecost. Parker says: "The Sabbath is only about to begin. . . . 'As it began to dawn.' Yes, that is just what it did. That is the very poetry of the occasion; the word written with apparent accident is the very expression of heaven."

Martin Luther, Robert Young, Beardsley, and many other fine Hebrew and Greek scholars fail to find any authority for translating σάββατον "day of the week." Uriah Smith says: "If that day [Sunday] is called Sabbath by any inspired New Testament writer it is all the evidence that is needed to show that it is a divine institution, and that its observance as such rests on moral obligation."* If it is a "divine institution" God instituted it, and not the pope.

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* Uriah Smith's *Is Sunday Called the Sabbath in the New Testament?* p. 1.

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We make the following observations:

1. There is nothing in the Hebrew Old Testament to justify the common interpretation of Matt. xxviii, 1, and the parallel passages.

2. If any New Testament writers had wanted to say "first day of the week" they had the exact words in the Septuagint Greek and in the current Greek with which to have expressed it, and not one of them used them.

3. The Septuagint Greek was in constant use by Christ and the apostles. It never uses the Greek word for "Sabbath" to express "week," or "day of the week."

4. The Greek word for "day" does not occur in any of the passages.

5. There is no Greek word for "week" or "day of the week" in the Greek New Testament.

6. Each of the evangelists calls the Sunday of Christ's resurrection "Sabbath," and nothing else, in the gospels.

But, says Smith, "'*Σάββατον*' must be translated 'week' in Luke xviii, 12, for the Pharisee said, 'I fast twice in the week.'" No; he said, "I fast twice on the Sabbath." Can a man fast twice on the same Sabbath? No. The Pharisees came into existence to revive the literal teachings of Moses. He never taught weekly fasts. There is no intimation of anything of the kind in the Old Testament or anywhere in the New, except by misinterpreting this passage of Scripture. Moses definitely taught that the tenth day of the seventh month, the day of atonement, was a Sabbath fast day (Lev. xxiii, 27, 32). All Hebrews attribute the fast in Tammuz 17 to Mosaic origin, to commemorate the sin of worshiping the golden calf and the breaking of the tables of stone by Moses. Tammuz 17 fell on the weekly Sabbath every year; but Tisri 10 fell on a fast Sabbath, two days after the weekly Sabbath every year. Every strict Jew observed these two Sabbath fasts each year. All other Sabbaths were feasts. So the literal and the only true interpretation is, "I fast twice [a year] on the Sabbath." Rev. Mr. Bailey, the finest Hebrew and Greek scholar among Saturdarians, in his *Complete Sabbath Commentary* admits:

> The word "week" does not occur in the New Testament except as a constructive rendering, by metonymy, of *σάββατον*. This rendering is

> misleading, as it substitutes "week" for "Sabbath," and leaves out the Sabbath idea. . . . A constructive rendering is admissible where it does not alter the sense of the inspired word. In this case it does alter the sense. "Week" and "Sabbath" are not synonymous words. . . . There is nothing in the construction or sense of this passage (Matt. xxviii, 1) that requires this change in rendering the same word.*

But, while condemning "this change in rendering the same word," he proceeds to institute another equally unscriptural. When the correct interpretation of the nine passages rendered "week" and "day of the week" are fully realized there will not be a vestige of ground left for questioning the Bible authority for Sunday keeping.

We have fully answered the claim that the Sabbath never did, and never could, change, by proving that the Sabbath of the oldest nations changed every year from twelve to thirty-six times, and that the Sabbath as taught by Moses changed once every year, or over fifteen hundred times between the exodus and the resurrection. But, if one contends for a lunar month, the Sabbath changed three times a year, making over four thousand changes in the day, while the Sabbath doubled twice a year, and two thirds of the years contained a week of only two days, one to work and one a Sabbath. We have also overthrown the "papal Sabbath" by proving that the Sunday-Sabbath existed for centuries before there was a pope, and that God made it, as he had foretold he would, by removing the changeable Jewish Sabbath at the crucifixion and instituting the Christian Sabbath at the resurrection, or by reinstating the creation, or Sunday, Sabbath.

Notwithstanding Paul plainly teaches the limiting of the Jewish Sabbaths, he certainly teaches the institution of a Christian Sabbath, not for Jews or Gentiles, but for "the people of God," the Christians, all Christians. In Heb. iv, 9, he declares, "There remaineth therefore a rest (*σαββατισμὸς*) to the people of God." We quote the following authorities to prove the correct meaning of *σαββατισμὸς*: Marginal reading of Authorized Version, "a keeping of the Sabbath;" Catholic Bible, "a day of rest;" Young's translation, "a Sabbatic rest;" Uriah Smith (Advent), "literally a keeping of the Sabbath;"

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* Bailey's *Complete Sabbath Commentary*, p. 173.

Bailey (Seventh-day Baptist), "a keeping the Sabbath;" Robinson, *New Testament Greek Lexicon*, "a keeping the Sabbath;" Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, "a keeping of a Sabbath;" Schrevelius, "observance of the Sabbath;" Greene's *New Testament Greek-English Lexicon*, "a keeping of a Sabbath;" Cruden, "a keeping of the Sabbath;" Strong's *New Testament Greek-English Lexicon*, "a Sabbatism." Authors could be multiplied to prove that this passage unmistakably means that the Christian dispensation has a "Sabbath observance" remaining in it. Why? Paul answers in Heb. iv, 10: "For he [Christ] that is entered into his rest, he also [as well as the Father] hath ceased from his own works [of atoning for the sin of the world], as God did from his [of creation]." This agrees with history and tradition, which proves that, ever since the Sunday of Christ's resurrection, Christians have regarded the day as one of rest and worship to commemorate Christ's resurrection.

Christians cannot look back to the Saturday that Christ lay in the grave, in which his enemies rejoiced over their seeming victory and when the hosts of hell held high carnival, and which reminds them of the darkest, saddest day of all history, and rejoice; it would be utterly impossible. Therefore it is not surprising that all Saturdarians are always sad and continually predicting "great calamities" or "perilous times." On the resurrection Sunday morning the whole situation was changed by the rising of "the Sun of righteousness" with "healing in his wings." Hell was chagrined, and Christ's earthly enemies were disappointed, while Christians began to comprehend the divinity of Christ and a light began to dawn which enabled them more and more to say, "This is the day which the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it."

A W Gamble

Art. IV.—ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE JEWISH PASSION IN LITERATURE.

Among the ancient nations was one to whom the world owes its visions of God. Poor in numbers, territory, and political power, but rich in patriotism and exalted ideals of righteousness, justice, and mercy, Israel was the exponent of the power of the spirit, a nation of poets, lawgivers, and seers. A wonderful literature testifies to the intensity of their natural life, to the depths and fervor of their emotions, and to their passionate devotion to their ideals. The Greek may have had a clearer vision of the beautiful, the Roman a broader vision of conquest and empire, but the Hebrew saw the noblest vision of all, a vision of the good. "Of the trinity of ideals the good is the most important, the one without which life is impossible." And Israel's vision of righteousness was no cold morality, but a faith warm and living with love to a personal God. By a miracle of history the race whose poets and lawgivers wrote a holy book for Christendom became wanderers and outcasts among the nations. But, though the Hebrews lost their fatherland, they remained "sons of the law." And while we look in vain to the Greek of to-day for the poetry and art of his ancestors, while the proud Roman has been absorbed in modern Europe, Israel has preserved intact, through centuries of persecution, his race characteristics and emotional intensity.

When the English drama arose, in the sixteenth century, the Jew reappeared in literature—this time, however, as a subject, not as a writer. Three plays show his prominence on the Elizabethan stage—"The Jew," mentioned by Gosson in the *Schoole of Abuse*, Marlowe's "Jew of Malta," and Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice." Both the earlier plays were popular, and fed the people's hatred of the race. "The Jew of Malta," said Charles Lamb, "is a mere monster, brought in with a large painted nose to please the rabble. He is just such an exhibition as a century earlier might have been played before the Londoners 'by royal command,' when a general pillage and massacre of the Hebrews had been previ-

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ously resolved upon in the cabinet. Shylock in the midst of his savage purpose is a man." The play of which he is the leading character has held the stage for three centuries. It is interesting to see how far he embodies the popular conception of the Jew in the sixteenth century, how far he is a typical Hebrew of all time.

Coleridge once said, "Shakespeare is almost the only dramatic poet who by his characters represents a class and not an individual." All his great characters are regarded as typical. In Shylock we certainly recognize most of the prominent national traits. Yet the enlightened Jew naturally resents the assumption that a man so hard-hearted and merciless is a just representative of his race. Some have drawn the hasty conclusion that Shakespeare is unjust to the nation. The early stage presentation of the character seems almost to justify this conclusion. As played in the eighteenth century he was a half comic figure, "grinning with deadly malice, with the venom of his heart congealed in the expressions of his countenance, sullen, morose, gloomy, inflexible, brooding over one idea, that of his hatred, and fixed in one unalterable purpose, that of his revenge." But "Shakespeare's characters," wrote Coleridge, "like those in real life, are very commonly misunderstood. The causes are the same in either case. If you take only what the friends of the character say you may be deceived, and still more so if that which his enemies say. Take all together, not omitting a shrewd hint from the clown or the fool, and perhaps your impression will be right." Following this method, the later actors and critics have given us a new Shylock. The truth is, we have such confidence in Shakespeare's humanity that we want to think he was always on the side of the oppressed; that he was alive not only to the sense of justice of his own era, but to that of the most tolerant and enlightened age in history. But sober critics point to the hard facts of the Elizabethan stage, and with a superior smile at such "sentiment" seek to prove that the intellectual, pathetic, dignified Shylock presented by Irving was an impossible conception in Shakespeare's day.

At this point we are confronted by that much-agitated question, "Did Shakespeare write simply to please the pit?" or

did he conform to its prejudices only so far as it was necessary for the success of the play, writing mainly to please himself and a few appreciative friends, and so ministering to the finer spirits of all time that his prophetic soul must have felt would sometime hear and understand? Let those who think that such poetry as Portia's plea for mercy, Hamlet's soliloquies, and the lines,

> I know a bank whereon the wild thyme blows,
> Where oxlips and the nodding violet grows,

was penned for the sole pleasure of the tradesman's apprentices of Tudor London maintain that the character of Shylock was delineated expressly to please the pit. Why may we not think of the poet as sometimes sadly smiling at that side of human nature that found food for mirth in Hamlet's madness and Shylock's passion? Why may we not recognize the probability that the audience that mocked at Barabbas still made sport of Shylock, and yet believe that Shakespeare would find keen satisfaction in the interpretation of those actors who have made the immortal Jew a dignified and pathetic figure? In this way we may reconcile the facts of history with our faith in Shakespeare's humanity.

Those who deny that Shylock is a just presentation of Jewish character make their objection on the ground of his inhumanity and his lack of family affection, traits certainly not characteristic of the race. Some critics defend Shakespeare from this charge of injustice by saying that, in that day, a really humane Jew would have been hissed from the stage, and that therefore Shakespeare dared not do full justice to Jewish character. But there are artistic and dramatic reasons quite as forcible to be found in the original plot. All the inhumanity of Shylock is inherent in the story of the bond. To produce a great play Shakespeare found it necessary to make that highly improbable story of the pound of flesh appear natural. The great difficulty is to paint a character black enough for so cruel a revenge. It is only possible to conceive of such abnormal inhumanity in a Jew whose heart is quite dead. In what more effective way could this be shown than by disclosing the home that Leah's early death had left quite loveless? For, unlike most Jewish parents, Shylock had never won the love

of the little girl who might have blessed his household, but seems to have fed, or rather starved, his soul on the affairs of the Rialto and the wrongs of his race.

Having met, in this way, the difficulties imposed by the old story, Shakespeare makes some marked compensations to the Hebrew nation. He reveals his sympathy for Shylock by the impartial way in which he has depicted the injustice and cruelty which had sapped his humanity and driven him to revenge. He shows how the flight of Jessica embittered his hatred and inflamed his passion until the Jew, usually so cautious in working out his ends, overstepped the bounds of prudence and found himself in the clutches of the law. In Jessica herself Shakespeare "throws a veil of sweetness over the national features." She is in this respect his compensation to the race. Again, in a passage which certainly was not emphasized in the early conception of Shylock, Shakespeare has thrown the weight of poetic justice on the side of the Jew, almost justifying his revenge. To those eloquent words, tingling with his passionate sense of wrong,

> Hath a dog money? Is it possible
> A cur can lend three thousand ducats?

note Antonio's reply:

> I am as like to call thee so again,
> To spit on thee again, to spurn thee too.
> If thou wilt lend this money, lend it not
> As to thy friends;
> . . . .
> But lend it rather to thine enemy.

Moreover, the poet has put into Shylock's mouth that immortal plea for the humanity of his race, "Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?" which by its sublimity and pathos wins the sympathy of any audience not hardened by centuries of prejudice. And when he closes with the words, "The villainy you teach me, I will execute," many are inclined to feel that justice is on his side.

Much has been said of the immovable pitilessness of Shylock; yet his eloquence and mental vigor are fully as striking. Surely

it is no small compensation to his nation that he is the most intellectual character in the play, able to confound the duke and the learned men of his court with his masterly argument. If the poet's attitude toward the Jewish race admits of varying interpretations, the same is true of Shylock's character. "A man's character," says Professor Moulton, "is the shadow of his past life; it is the grand resultant of all the forces from within and from without that have been operating upon him since he became a conscious agent. Character is the sandy footprint of the commonplace, hardened into the stone of habit." It would be difficult to find, either in history or literature, a more striking example of the result of a strong personality warped and intensified by peculiar customs, isolation, and general outside repression than is furnished by Shylock. The more we study the man, the more amazed we become at the masterly way in which the dramatist has embodied in him the race characteristics, which are true to all time, and the results of the tragic history of Judaism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He is Jewish in his phrases, in his arguments, and in the cast of his thought. His race prejudice comes out in the first five minutes' talk with Bassanio, in which he shows himself willing to endanger his gains, rather than to hide his feelings. He possesses in an eminent degree that capacity which Emma Lazarus called the most characteristic feature of the Jew, whether considered as a race or an individual—"the faculty which enables this people, not only to perceive and make the most of every advantage of their situation and temperament, but also, with marvelous adroitness, to transform their very disabilities into new instruments of power."

It has been mentioned that the early actors presented Shylock as a man of one predominant passion, that of malice and revenge. But his is far from being the passion of one idea. His dislike for Antonio is a striking mixture of personal and national feeling, so curiously blended that critics can never agree which is the stronger. It is the more common opinion that avarice was his ruling passion. But Coleridge says, emphatically, that "Shylock was no miser. It was not the great feature of his character." Rightly to comprehend Shylock's devotion to his money bags we need to recall the position of

the Jews in the Dark Ages. "In the early centuries," wrote Emma Lazarus, "the Jews were agriculturists, merchants, soldiers, showing no tendencies to those sordid occupations which are said to be innate in their character and essential to their social institutions." The Jewish law forbade usury, and they never followed this occupation until it was forced upon them by Christian rulers. Driven from all other industries, they found in this a means of sustenance and a defense against persecution. Charlemagne and later princes protected them from the priests and the mob because of their usefulness to the State. While the Jewish money lender fitted out crusades and built cathedrals and palaces for Christian monarchs he was erecting for himself a stronghold of defense and opening an avenue to influence and prosperity. When Shylock defends interest it is not merely a personal thing, but as the castle of his race. In his hatred of Antonio for lending money gratis he is blind to the Christian merchant's humane purpose. He looks upon it simply as an insult to his nation. "What's his reason? I am a Jew," he exclaims with all the intensity of an outraged sense of justice. From this point of view the national feeling in Shylock appears more intense than his avarice. But his love of money comes out strongly and offensively in contrast to his affection for Jessica. One can easily believe that this scene was written to please the London apprentice. Yet even here we find that delicate, humanizing touch about the turquoise that reveals Shylock's love for Leah and almost redeems the hardness of his character. Throughout the play the most striking characteristic of Shylock is the strength of his passion. All the stifled affection of his heart, all the pride of an ancient race, all his religious zeal, all the force of his intellect, wit, and imagination are concentrated in the mad effort to show for once that the Jew cannot always be trampled upon. For this he was willing to sacrifice his gains and to risk his life. He is the Jew at bay.

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries no Hebrew character appeared in English literature worthy to stand beside Shylock. "The dark ages of Judaism," says Zangwill, "lie between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries."

The Jews were confined in ghettos, and in no country did they find a refuge from persecution until after the French Revolution. In England they were emancipated in 1829. Continued injustice and life in the ghetto had engendered some unlovely qualities. Cunning, covetousness, and servility had developed in the struggle with superior forces, but a love of home, a strong feeling of brotherhood, strength, tenacity of purpose, and marvelous adaptability to circumstances had been fostered as well. With the withdrawal of persecution came swift commercial success, a loosing of the bonds of ceremonial religion, and general intellectual expansion. A few decades of freedom effaced most of the traces of two thousand years of persecution. The generation following their emancipation produced a Felix Mendelssohn, a Beaconsfield, a Heine.

Of the effect upon Jewish character of a free contact with modern civilization and culture we have a notable example in that New World poet, Emma Lazarus. Bred an orthodox Jew, she found little spiritual food in the creed and ritual of her people, and early abandoned their rigid ceremonial as having no bearing upon modern life. Yet we may trace her rich Hebrew inheritance in the depth of her family affection, in a restless seeking after truth, in her precocious and spontaneous poetic gift, and especially in the melancholy of her early verse, the stamp and heritage of a race born to suffer. But, as yet, the Hebrew fire was latent, and she turned for inspiration to pagan myth and early Christian legend. As this sadness wore away nature soothed and almost satisfied her, yet without inspiring her to say, with that other "sweet singer in Israel," "The heavens declare the glory of God." This first period of her literary life illustrates the tendency of the Hebrew to identify himself with the interests of the country in which he lives. The civil war inspired her earliest verse. Later she longed to free American poetry from Old World models, and to sing the New World song of freedom and of labor. Her friendship with Emerson was a distinctly forming influence. We may be sure that, while instilling spiritual ideals and encouraging freedom of thought, his aim would be to lead her soul to expand naturally its individual gifts and race instincts. That, previous to 1881, she had

failed to discover any ideal spiritual force among the dominant characteristics of her race, and had little enthusiasm for her people, is evident from her article on Beaconsfield. At that time the brilliant, worldly, and rather materialistic politician appeared to her a typical Hebrew. But, soon after the writing of this article, two almost simultaneous events aroused the dormant race passion and made Emma Lazarus another woman. Heine's ballads of 1881 touched a vibrating cord of sympathy. But the far more potent force was the persecution of the Russian Jews. The cry of suffering that aroused the indignation of enlightened Christendom thrilled her, for the first time, with the sense of her birthright.

Her early poetry was that of an "idle dreamer" finding her delight in artistic form, in the glamour of romance, and in the beauty of nature. But true poetic fire flashed forth in such poems as "The Banner of the Jew" and the "New Ezekiel." A newborn enthusiasm for Hebrew history glows in her powerful drama, "The Dance of Death." The last stanza of her poem, "Gifts," voices a new conception of Hebrew ideals :

> O Godhead, give me truth, the Hebrew cried.
> His prayer was granted; he became the slave
> Of the idea, a pilgrim far and wide.

In a series of papers contributed to the *American Hebrew*, in 1882–83, she strove earnestly to arouse a spirit of Jewish enthusiasm which she longed to see expressing itself in a "closer study of Hebrew history and literature, in a truer recognition of the large principles of religion, liberty, and law upon which Judaism is founded." She indorsed enthusiastically the national idea of the return to Jerusalem set forth in *Daniel Deronda*, believing it to be the only real solution of the Jewish problem. In the first of these epistles she wrote :

> Every student of the Hebrew language is aware that we have in the conjugation of our verbs a mode known as the intensive voice, which, by means of an almost imperceptible modification of vowel-points, intensifies the meaning of the primitive root. A similar significance seems to attach to the Jews themselves, in connection with the people among whom they dwell. They are the intensive form of any nationality whose language and customs they adopt.

This intensity is apparent, both in the prose and verse that she poured forth in behalf of her people and in her zeal for the relief of the suffering emigrant. "The brotherhood of Israel" had asserted its power over her.

But her time of activity was short. The year from May, 1882, to May, 1883, was her most productive period. After 1883 sickness and sorrow interrupted her work, and from the time of her father's death in 1885 she never found complete and spontaneous expression. Perhaps her shrinking, womanly soul had leaned too heavily upon his sympathy and pride in her work to recover from the loss. Or, was the Jewish passion too consuming a fire for the tenderly-sheltered, beauty-loving spirit? Her long illness, and death in 1887, robbed America and the Hebrew race of a rarely gifted poet. Her *Songs of a Semite* thrill with genuine poetic passion. Had years and health been given in which to cultivate the art of song, that innate fire would have won for her a high place among the poets of her day.

The popular idea of the Hebrew has been greatly modified in our century by such conceptions as Scott's Isaac, Lessing's Nathan the Wise, and George Eliot's Mordecai and Daniel Deronda—characters which now hang in the Jewish portrait gallery side by side with Shylock and the Jew of Malta. Yet these Jews are all sketched from the outside by more or less sympathetic aliens. In the novels of Zangwill we find the life and manners of the Hebrew portrayed by one of themselves. The emotional intensity that breathes through the later poetry of Emma Lazarus is softened and modified, in this novelist, by that genial trait of his race, a sense of humor. This gift makes him alive to all the incongruities and foibles of his people; and, like Reb Shemuel, he owes to it his "kindly sense of human frailty."

In that brilliant novel, *The Children of the Ghetto*, he has not attempted a typical Jew, after the manner of Shakespeare. Indeed, his close relationship renders this difficult, for it seems to be true that as we draw near to any people the type vanishes. But he has drawn individuals illustrating racial traits, and a series of pictures representing, not merely the manners, but also the national characteristics, of a people whom he

describes as "at once the grandest and meanest of races." He is keenly sensitive to the peculiarities of his own people. In the earlier chapters the critical note impresses the casual reader as much stronger than his racial pride and sympathy. Each of the minor characters shows some Jewish trait, some aspect or result of their creed. The greed and cunning of the race is humorously portrayed in Sugarman, the lottery agent; their thrift and business methods in the sweater and in Malka; their emotional idealism in the poet who has more fire than manly independence. Their clannishness and the emotional mysticism of their religion are vividly pictured in the synagogue services of the "son of the covenant;" their "incurable love of the picturesque" in the stirring scenes of the market place, on the night before the passover. All these ghetto scenes are painted with such realism that their grotesque rudeness would be repulsive were it not for the humorous tenderness with which the author reveals the pathetic and picturesque. Some of Zangwill's coarser characters have something of that strange mixture of greed and religious fervor found in Shylock; but in Moses Ansell we have an example of true piety, a curious blending of the saint and the "schnorrer." This Polish emigrant, fresh from the land of persecution, is a typical Wandering Jew, always straying from town to town in search of better things. His whole-hearted devotion to the law and his childlike faith in God's providence sanctified for him the poverty that embittered the lives of his children and repelled them from Judaism. Reb Shemuel, the good rabbi of the ghetto, is a more refined and prosperous example of piety. But his faith, equally simple and unquestioning, seems a survival of an earlier age. While we wonder at his blindness to the drift of modern life we respect his scholarship and devotion and love him for his charity and kindly humor. His tender parental love, contrasting with the rigid formalities of his creed, helps to make his home a most attractive Jewish household. Yet this very home furnishes a striking example of the tyranny of an unbending creed in the wrecking of his daughter's happiness, and of the repelling and binding power of Judaism in the case of his wandering son.

Jewish life in the ghetto was constantly fed by emigration from Russia and Poland, where persecution still fostered the race exclusiveness and kept alive their passion and intensity. To show his readers the English Hebrew the novelist goes outside the ghetto into the heart of the conflict between Judaism and modern life. Israel has not escaped the materializing tendencies of the age. Able merchants and financiers have peculiar temptations to the worship of the Philistine god of gold. This vulgarizing tendency the novelist has recognized and illustrated in the Goldsmiths. In this family, religion, a pretended orthodoxy, a devotion to culture, art, and literature are all made the tools of worldly ambition. We seem to breathe an atmosphere of formalism and insincerity. This circle of prosperous merchants and bankers is sketched with mild satire, while the appreciative sympathy of the author is lavished upon his heroine, the child of the ghetto.

In Ester Ansell, Reb Shemuel, Raphael Leon, and Strelitzki the novelist has emphasized the poetic idealism and moral earnestness of the race. The two latter are deep in that struggle of Judaism with modern life the existence of which the good rabbi of the ghetto had never realized. In the case of the heroine the race passion is not at first so striking. But the depth of her emotional nature may be traced, not only in the religious devotion of her childhood, but in the strength of her revolt from the bondage of ceremonial law; in her repugnance for the cant which she discerned in the formalism of the vulgar rich; and especially in her craving for the true ideals which underlie the religion of her people. Yet it was not these ideals alone that drew her back to the ghetto, but the race and home instinct, and that poetic mysticism of her nature which revealed to her the beauty of the simple faith of her fathers in the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night. This beauty and pathos stirred her heart, even when her intellect was persuading her that the old story was probably but a symbol. Raphael Leon, the editor of the *Flag of Judah*, is a young Oxford man whose life and fortunes are devoted to philanthropy and the cause of orthodox Judaism. He is humorously sketched with many striking eccentricities, but his earnestness and sincerity save him from ever becoming ridicu-

lous. His ideals for Israel are along conventional lines—the purification of orthodoxy, strict adherence to the ceremonial law, the emphasizing of the ethical side of the creed, and the return to Jerusalem. It is easy to see that his sacrifice for his ideals ennobled his soul and helped him in the struggle that came between his heart and his intellect, when his former attitude toward the orthodox creed became impossible. That the author thinks Raphael's position untenable is evident from the young editor's gradually shifting ground, and from his confession to Ester that he had never really comprehended orthodox Judaism until his experience on the *Flag of Judah.* Strelitzki, the young Russian preacher, is the most intense character in the novel. He is the whole-souled idealist, yet with an intellect keen enough to pierce all shams and with a courage to penetrate into the "holy of holies" and sweep away the superstitions and meaningless forms that have enveloped the essential truths of the Jewish creed. As a boy just escaped from Russian tyranny he drew in long breaths of freedom from the English air. This freedom he never bartered in all his struggling youth, until he found himself the bond servant of a rich Kensington synagogue. Here the same abhorrence of insincerity that had repelled Ester Ansell, and the growing conviction that the god of many a prosperous Jew is gold, stirred his soul to its depths. There are few more rapid and eloquent chapters in recent literature than the one in which Strelitzki discusses freely with Raphael the burning questions of Judaism, and states in impassioned words his determination to resign his pulpit and seek free utterance for his ideals in the new world. His conception of Judaism is broad and spiritual. He abandons the national ideal which looks forward to a return to Jerusalem, not from a desire of ease or lack of faith, but because he discerns a higher mission. Not Israel for Palestine, but for humanity, is his watchword:

> We have been "sons of the law." Such may our fatherland continue, with the higher life substituted for "the law," a kingdom not of space, but a great spiritual republic as devoid of national form as Israel's God, and congruous with his conception of the divine. . . . The brotherhood of Israel will be the nucleus of the brotherhood of man.

That these are Zangwill's own hopes and philosophy there is little room for doubt. Yet Strelitzki is in no sense a portrait. He lacks the humor of the novelist, and it is not easy to believe that his spiritual history is the same. The many-sided picture which this writer has given of Jewish life suggests a shifting point of view, and gives the impression that he has sometime felt that same repulsion for Judaism which impelled Ester to write Mordecai Jacobs. Perhaps he has felt, as well as seen, the tyranny of a literal interpretation of the law. He is held, too, no doubt, by that irresistible affinity for the traditions of his race which kept Hannah Jacobs from joining her lover on Seder night. Certainly he has illustrated, again and again, what one of his characters has called the centrifugal and centripetal force of Judaism, that sometimes repels and sometimes attracts her sons and daughters, but never allows them to remain neutral. Zangwill's attitude toward the Jewish ceremonial is interesting. He is never blind to its incongruities, to the hollowness of its formalism, or to its tendency to petrify. Yet he feels the emotional power of its ritual, all the poetry and picturesque beauty of its mysticism, as he says:

> It was a wonderful liturgy, as grotesque as it was beautiful—like an old cathedral in all styles of architecture, stored with shabby antiquities and side shows, and overgrown with moss and lichens—a heterogeneous blending of historic strata of all periods, in which gems of poetry and pathos and spiritual fervor glittered, and pitiful records of ancient persecution lay petrified. . . . If the service had been more intelligible it would have been less emotional and edifying.

Despite his keen sense of the grotesque and absurd, he sees, perhaps as few have done, what a power for good ceremonial Judaism has been in fostering a sense of brotherhood and love of home and in keeping alive the Jewish ideals through ages of persecution. Hence his reverence for what to an outsider is merely hollow ceremony. He regards it all with something of the half-reverent, half-amused tenderness which one feels for the quaint furnishings of the old homestead that he loved in childhood.

With all his warm appreciation for the poetic and picturesque in the life and creed of his people, all his reverence for

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the dignity and moral beauty of their history and religious ideals, Zangwill is thoroughly modern. He sees the necessity of absorbing the culture of the day, if Israel is to fulfill the prophecy that in it "shall all the nations of the earth be blest." He claims, moreover, that "there is more in Judaism akin to the modern spirit than there is in any other religion;" that the "Mosaic code aims at all that is best in socialism, without interfering with the free play of individual activity." The artistic sense which restrains him in the novel, helping him to present a true picture of his people, gives way somewhat in his magazine articles to his race enthusiasm. His claims for Judaism, past, present, and future, breathe something of that pride and passionate assertion found in Shylock's plea for humanity. The very strength of his faith in Judaism renders him unjust to Christianity. But of this we have no right to complain until we are sure that we have been just to Judaism. We need not, however, be misled by his statements. His attempts to contrast the tendencies of Christianity and Hebrewism, in his article in the *North American Review*, are far less discriminating and satisfactory than most of his work. The faults he mentions—such as the divorce of religion and secular life, the crude conception that makes Christianity a religion of death and pessimism—have been deprecated by our greatest Christian teachers, and are no more inherent in the Christian than in the Jewish creed. If Zangwill pictures Judaism faithfully there is little significance in the phrase, "Judaism aims at influencing character through conduct, Christianity at influencing conduct through emotion." Indeed, few Christians emphasize the value and power of emotion in the religious life as Zangwill has done in *The Children of the Ghetto.* But some of his thoughts are full of inspiring suggestion for the thinking soul of both Jew and Christian, in these days of religious unrest:

> Sociology will never gain a footing in the modern world until it is touched with emotion, so that obedience is rendered, not to cold hygienic laws, but to warm religious feeling. . . . Religions are not true in the sense in which scientific facts are true. They live by what is true in the appeal of their ideals, and by the organization which they provide to link the generations. . . . When we think how the earliest of theistic

> creeds, this original Catholic, democratic Church of humanity, has persisted through the ages, . . . when we remember how he has agonized—the great misunderstood of history—and how, despite all and after all, he is living to see the world turning slowly back to the vision of life, then one seems to see "the finger of God," the hand of the Master-artist, behind the comedy-tragedy of existence.

After all, the most inspiring thing about Zangwill is his belief in the power of an ideal, in the ennobling influence which the sacrifice of material and selfish interests for the sake of our ideals exerts upon the soul. This he believes to be the great and sufficient reward for keeping the Sabbath and placing religion before worldly advantage.

It would be scarcely possible or fair to attempt a parallel between a tragic specimen of a hunted race, which has at last turned in self-defense, and the free aspiring idealists of the nineteenth century. Yet they stand before us with the same intensity of feeling. Shylock, his race characteristics as conspicuous as his Jewish gabardine, is a striking example of the hardening, maddening process of the tragedy of Judaism in the dark ages of its history. Emma Lazarus belongs to that period of transition when renewed persecution was needed to arouse the racial pride and instinct and to arrest the threatened dissolution of the nation. Zangwill represents the Judaism that has rediscovered its ideals and is determined to fulfill its mission to the whole world. In all three there is the zeal, the imagination, the tenacity of purpose, the warmth and glow of a people famed in history for the depth and fervor of their sensibilities, a race that has been called "the heart of the world."

Ellen A. Vinton

Art. V.—OUR DISJOINTED EPISCOPACY.

The rights, duties, powers, and privileges of a Methodist general superintendent are clearly defined in the book of Discipline. The organic law guards and guarantees the *status* and some of the prerogatives of a bishop, while the statutes make his functions plain. He is a very high officer, clothed with inalienable rights and protected by all the authority of fundamental ecclesiastical sanctions. He cannot be done away. It were as easy to destroy the Church as to destroy him. He is established in the constitution, and the constitution is antecedent to government. The constitution is the supreme law.

Attempts have been made to show that missionary bishops are equal in rank, permanency, and authority to general superintendents. It were as easy to prove them superior as to prove them equal. There they stand, two grades of bishops, historically, constitutionally, legally, theoretically, and practically different. It is true that a missionary bishop has a *status* fixed by the constitution, but so he has a limitation fixed by the same document. The constitution nowhere prescribes that the missionary episcopacy shall not be done away, nor that the plan of it shall be kept inviolate, nor that it shall have a share in the presidency of the lawmaking body or a voice in the calling of an extra session. So distinct are the limitations of authority, the methods of administration, and the sources of support betwixt the regular and the missionary episcopacy that those of the latter are formulated and published in a separate disciplinary chapter. In this chapter it is specifically declared that a missionary bishop is not, in the meaning of the Discipline, a general superintendent, cannot be made such except by distinct election, and that, while not subordinate to the general superintendents, he is not coordinate with them in authority save in the field to which he is appointed. He is *de facto* a separate officer consecrated by a specific formula, receives support from a different treasury, and is subject to the decisions of the general superintendents in all differences of judgment which may arise betwixt himself and the bishop

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having coordinate authority with him under the quadrennial appointment.

The purpose of this article is to show that these two grades in our Methodist episcopacy are unnecessary and embarrassing. We have no alarming facts to cite, no aggravating official acts to bring into condemnation, no disloyal or unholy schemes to expose; our desire is simply and solely to point out certain unhappy tendencies, and to indicate how our noble Church polity can be somewhat simplified, our episcopal administration better harmonized and solidified, and some of our most prominent and promising Church interests brought into more intimate and helpful relation to our general economy.

Like some other anomalous things, the missionary episcopacy had its origin in slavery times. It was instituted to serve a purpose in the fatherland of slaves and to accommodate the important demands of an aggressive Church to the whims and prejudices of proslavery leaders. Ever since this office was opened to white incumbents its course has been marked by agitation, controversy, and more or less of heart-burning and rivalry. Few questions have given rise to so much misapprehension, discussion, and recent legislation. All this might have been averted by slight modifications of the rules governing the general superintendency, or possibly by modification of their practice alone. No missionary bishop has been more constantly in his field, nor more efficient in his labors, nor more instructive and inspiring in his official reports than the same individual might have been as a general superintendent, appointed year by year continuously as the demands of his field might have required. Our missionary bishops have made their tours of inspection, their rounds of visitation, and their returns to the home land in very much the same manner as have the regular bishops. Their episcopal work has been that of superintendency pure and simple, and as "general," too, as the limitations of their office have permitted. Meantime the general superintendents have practically been excluded from these specially superintended fields; and the variety of observation, study, and conclusion which might have attended the same work by general superintendents has been denied to the Church. For ten years the prestige of our general superin-

tendency has not been felt in India, nor for fourteen years in Africa, while the only or chief official knowledge the Church has of either of these vast missionary regions has come through the medium of one episcopal officer. This is a serious disadvantage, and it is not strange that the order of the Church which has brought about these restrictions and defective operations should have been characterized, as it has been on the floor of the Central India Conference, as "a vicious system." This is not a personal attack upon the missionary bishop, but upon his office. It is a pernicious system. It is in effect a districted episcopacy, without the limitations and conditions essential to harmony and popularity under such a system. It has too much power, and has no balance wheel. The technical claims of the office encourage the assumption of impossible knowledge, and leave the Church without adequate intelligence, save as it trickles through this one-man episcopal sieve. The missionaries who ought to know the peculiar needs of their own special fields better than anyone else stand in awe of a higher local power that assumes to provide both policy and direction. Thus the missionary episcopacy is weakest where it boasts of greatest strength. It is jealous of any encroachment upon its prerogatives; and, wherever the Church has planted it, provision for harmonious and the most effective superintendency is shut out. Even the order of the last General Conference, providing that once in every quadrennium a general superintendent shall conjointly with the missionary bishop administer the affairs of the mission, has not been favorably regarded in the fields to which the rule will apply. The *Indian Witness*, of Calcutta, in a long editorial under date of August 8, 1896, expressed regret that the General Conference had made any such provisions, and designated it as "a reflection upon the adequacy of the provision made by the Church for the mission fields affected." It expressed the belief that the General Conference should have ordered the missionary secretaries to pay these desired quadrennial visits, and thus have kept the general superintendents out.

Being challenged as to the loyalty of its spirit toward the regular episcopacy, the *Witness* of November 7, of the same year, said:

> We expressed the opinion that the measure adopted at Cleveland reflected upon the adequacy of the present provision made by the Church for the supervision of our work, and we did so for the very good reason that this was practically avowed by the brother who first introduced the resolution. This brother said distinctly that in no other way could they get satisfactory reports of the work in this mission field. Not a single fact was adduced to show that there was any foundation for such a statement, but certainly it *seemed* to reflect upon the administration in India, for Africa had been distinctly excepted. . . . With the profoundest respect for our general superintendents and the highest appreciation of their commanding abilities, we avow our deep conviction that, on the existing principles on which the general superintendency over foreign fields is exercised, it is simply impossible for them to accomplish the work and render the service in really foreign fields, such as India, China, and Africa, which missionary bishops are in a position to accomplish and render. And we actually are disposed to think that men in the field, with from twenty to forty years' experience of the needs and difficulties and possibilities of the work, are in as favorable a position for forming a correct judgment on this point as any of our esteemed brethren on the other side of the globe.

The trend of the foregoing remarks is unmistakable. The arguments all make one way. They mean a disposition to magnify the office of a missionary bishop and to discredit the efficiency, in mission fields, of the general superintendency. Their logical sequence would be either the establishment in the Church of a districted episcopacy or the disintegration of our Indian work, or both. How does this suit the convictions of those who hold that a general superintendency in every field is essential to universal connectionalism?

A recent utterance by Bishop Thoburn also serves to indicate that in the minds of missionaries there is a vast difference betwixt the functions of a regular bishop and those of a missionary superintendent. He says:

> A missionary bishop in the nature of the case cannot be the exact counterpart of the general superintendent as he is now known in America. The missionary superintendent must be a leader. He must be as active in the work as Bishop Asbury was in the days when he visited every circuit in the connection and preached at nearly every camp meeting. The chief functions of a bishop in America, so far as the general public are concerned, consist in presiding at Conferences, making out the appointments, and in a quiet way exercising a more or less active supervision over the general interests of the work. He has to deal frequently with difficult judicial questions, and probably has many other cares and

> labors with which, very naturally, I am only partially acquainted. In the mission field it is very different. When I close the last of our six Annual Conferences I usually think that the work for the year is just beginning. I have less labor and much less anxiety in holding the session of an Annual Conference than that of an ordinary District Conference. In addition to the twenty-four District Conferences I must also go out among the people, attending special meetings, supervising schools, orphanages, mission presses, theological seminaries, and in the meantime keep up a constant series of evangelistic meetings. No general superintendent in America is expected to do this kind of work, and when these able brethren come to India they usually find all their time occupied in merely inspecting work. They could not in the nature of the case do much else. What is true of the bishops would be true of any other Methodist ministers who should attempt to do the work which devolves upon myself when in southern Asia. They would be absolutely helpless in the presence of a hundred schoolboys, not one of whom could speak a word of English, and all of whom are familiar with school methods which are wholly unknown in the United States.*

From the foregoing it appears:

1. That our Church work in India is subject to a supervision which is not "the exact counterpart" of the home superintendency..

2. That a missionary bishop "must be a leader" in a sense differing from the leadership of a regular overseer.

3. That the episcopal visitations from America, upon which our Church has so long placed reliance, are nothing more than mere inspections, and, under the present double system of supervision, probably more and more so.

4. That a regular bishop would be "absolutely helpless" in undertaking the work which the Bishop of India feels himself called to perform.

That the Bishop of India and Malaysia regards his office as practically independent of, and separate from, the general superintendency may be seen by the following paragraph from an article contributed by him to the *Indian Witness* a few weeks after the adjournment of the Cleveland General Conference. He says:

> A measure was enacted which defines more clearly the relation of the missionary bishop to the general superintendents. As first proposed, this measure would undoubtedly have amounted to the practical supersession of the missionary bishop by the general superintendent from

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* *Michigan Christian Advocate*, October 3, 1896.

America; but after a prolonged struggle in committee the earlier proposals were abandoned, and by general consent a measure was adopted which, while it practically gives the general superintendent more authority in a foreign field than he before possessed, in reality limits his action by reducing the number of visits which he can make to one in every four years, and also by limiting his official action by making the two bishops act "conjointly" in administering the affairs of a Conference.

May not the point of this argument be stated as follows?—A missionary bishop is supreme in his field three years out of four, and a peer with the general superintendent appointed to his field one year out of four; therefore the arrangement which makes the missionary bishop "a leader" in his domain, and renders a general superintendent "absolutely helpless in the presence of a hundred schoolboys" when he does arrive, is the arrangement fit for the Methodist Episcopal Church to perpetuate.

Far be it from us to intimate that one of our missionary bishops is actuated by disloyal, sinister, or even selfish motives in his plans of work or in its inevitable results, or in his reports of progress. We yield to no man in admiration for his heroic and self-sacrificing zeal, confidence in his high character, gratitude for his noble achievements, and hope for his future success. The officer is all right, it is the office which is at fault. As another has said:

> The missionary episcopacy must struggle hard to ennoble itself. The office humiliates the officer. It was never intended originally that it should be large enough for white men. It was ordered in fear and bestowed without favor. Its imposition, like the grief of Chryses when he walked in his sorrow and prayed to his god by the sounding sea, "was as the night when it cometh over the sky."*

The above sets forth a fact. The office not only "humiliates the officer"—the least of its evils—but it is the occasion of a hateful ecclesiastical caste spirit and of unnecessary controversy, the inevitable producer of friction which should never have gotten a hold in Methodism. Think of a Methodist "office struggling hard to ennoble itself" when there is no earthly use for such a struggle! The office should be untrammeled, that the officer may be free for duty and unburdened by conscious disabilities or humiliation. Were the

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* *Christian Educator.*

Bishop of India and Malaysia a general superintendent he would be just as capable "in the presence of a hundred schoolboys" as he is now; he could be as much of "a leader," "as active in the work as Bishop Asbury," and as efficient in all the details which, according to his ideas, differentiate missionary supervision from the American superintendency. Moreover, he would be quite as likely to welcome the visitations of his episcopal colaborers, and to feel that their character is his character, their *status* his *status*, their report his report, their experience his experience—a unity of aim, effort, understanding, responsibility, and success.

But to criticise a system without suggesting a remedy would be worse than folly. We therefore propose the following course of procedure:

1. Amend the third restrictive rule by striking out the words, "but may appoint a missionary bishop or superintendent for any of our foreign missions, limiting his episcopal jurisdiction to the same respectively," and substituting, "but may provide for the appointment of a general superintendent for a term of years successively to any of our foreign missions."
2. Rescind the entire chapter on missionary bishops.
3. Elect our present effective missionary bishops to the general superintendency, and elect any other experienced missionaries to the same office when the exigencies of the work require it.

Such a modification of our polity and practice would restore unity and harmony to our episcopal system, eliminate some unhappy factors and tendencies, relieve friction, allay feeling, promote peace and good will, bring the prestige and form of our general superintendency to bear upon all mission fields alike, and help to knit together the vast and complicated interests of our world-wide Methodism.

James H. Potts.

ART. VI.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT.

THE late John Miley, D.D., whose writings now constitute probably the most prominent and accepted authority in Methodist circles upon the atonement and related subjects, almost, if not definitely, proclaims the unsatisfactoriness of the statements of the past and present, including his own, when he disclaims identity of doctrine and fact. He assumes, or affirms, that the fact is that the vicarious sufferings of Jesus Christ are the grounds of forgiveness and salvation, thus putting a doctrine for a fact and making the benefits of that affirmed fact available, although the explanations may differ, which explanations he calls doctrines. The doctrine of the atonement must be a statement of the facts, or it is false. The three formulated explanations—the satisfaction, moral influence, and governmental—have each by skilled hands been held up to, if not against, the Scriptures and Methodist or Arminian discoveries in revealed religion. In Methodism they have been tried, and at least the two former have been found wanting. They have each successively permeated the thought of the Church. Watson was the elaborator of the satisfaction explanation, and his *Institutes* were the authorized study of the ministry for a long time. Bushnell and Raymond had the attention of a later generation, with the moral influence theory in systematic statement and writings. Now Miley has the right of way and the tacit consent of the Church, with his governmental idea. Will it stand the test?

But a still more important question is, Why should the world have been, or now be, perplexed with statements that are exclusive of each other, and which upon test need to be substituted for some other? Is the doctrine of the atonement so obscure? The satisfaction theory was manifestly a legal reason for continued abounding sin, and Antinomianism was, and is, thereby logically inevitable. The moral influence explanation was inoperative, for the subjects to be influenced were too bad to be affected, except perhaps to be hardened. The governmental is as certainly lacking in comprehensiveness of the great theme and of satisfactory results.

Its stock illustrative incident has very few, if indeed any, facts that are like the real facts. The story of a monarch whose son was the only criminal and who, for his own transgression, lost only one eye, but did lose one—the sovereign father losing one eye instead of the son's other eye—does not match the universal sinfulness of the world, the only sinless one being the Son, and he slain because they, the criminals, hated him for being from above, while they were from beneath. An illustrative incident true to the facts would be the story of a monarch every one of whose subjects were in revolt, his own son being the only loyal one, who, being sent to recover the withheld rights of the sovereign, was killed. Such is the story of the parable of the vineyard, and it must not be narrowed to apply only to the Jews. It was as comprehensive as the incident of Cain and Abel. That was world-wide, and so was the later conflict between righteousness and unrighteousness—Jesus Christ instead of Abel, the whole world instead of Cain, the different dispensations only making the difference as to effects. The blood of Abel cried for vengeance; the blood of Jesus speaks of pardon, as each is authoritatively interpreted by God himself.

Now, if there can be no satisfactory statement, even by skilled thinkers, from a given standpoint, is it not proof that the standpoint is wrong? The effort has been to formulate the unscriptural idea of a plan to reconcile God to man. The scriptural statement always is the reconciliation of man—who against instruction, warning, and prohibition sinned and thereby became estranged or separated from God—to God. There was a time when God and man were at one, and conversed as friend to friend. Sin entered by disobedience, and immediately man, not God, was estranged. His death was immediately assured. Not physical death, for that was always his portion except for the tree of life, from the fruit of which he was excluded, after sin entered, "lest he put forth his hand . . . and live forever;" the death was separateness from God. The problem has always been how to reestablish that severed relationship, and that is atonement. The Scripture statement is, "That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in

us;" for the restored privilege is, when it is fulfilled which the Master taught, "I say not unto you, that I will pray the Father for you: for the Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me." The general import of the records makes a plain story and true to all the facts. God created man in his own image, which is a large image. He charged him that to know good and evil was instant death. Man committed, if not the unpardonable sin, the fatal one. His seed by nature separated from God must wage a pitiful contest with the adversary. The triumph of evil was soon so manifestly appalling that Jehovah affirmed, "It repenteth me that I have made them." He found one man and his family through whom there was promise, and sent a deluge of waters and drowned all the rest, which was the most far-reaching and not-to-be-repeated method of the extermination of evil to make way for good that characterized the old dispensation. It was a failure, for the spared ones and their descendants were not one with God. The blunder with the best of them was that they always excused themselves from participating in the privileges and responsibilities of the reinstatement, though God over and over again proclaimed his power and willingness to forgive and make a new heart and life.

How sacrifices came to be instituted as a transaction between God and man there is no information in Holy Writ. That it was a method of worship is historical. When they became a substitute for obedience it was an offense to God, and he forbade them. "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit;" the "conclusion of the whole matter" is, "Fear God and keep his commandments." Jesus Christ was a necessity, if indeed by him could come the atonement. "The darkness comprehended it not." He explained that all divine ideas were presented in him, not of go-betweens or sacrifices—these were human ideas—but of life. He demanded repentance and a new birth. He reaffirmed redemption by the compassion and power of God, the Father Almighty—he, Jesus Christ, being set forth as the embodiment of that compassion and power. He did not, for he could not, bring in the kingdom by machinery. It was at hand, but could only come in as there was the radical change to righteousness from

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unrighteousness. It all depended upon the still alienated and unreconciled man. The aggregate alien man made a revolted world which was not of God's kingdom. Why talk of God being the Sovereign and Governor of the world, whose condition was the exclusion of his kingdom and whose inhabitants, instead of loving the heavenly visitor, rallied the best elements to choose a murderer in his stead, and in the savageness of depravity killed him? Why talk of redemption by machinery, when he who came from the Father and in oneness with him raised the question whether, when he should come again, he would find faith in the earth? It is and ever will be an open question, Will man be one with God?

Unitarians have seemed to desire to answer, but their faith has not been so much in God as in man, who is not altogether bad and only needs to be properly cultivated to be right and in such rightness appropriately and acceptably to worship God. They have no recognized need of being born again, and hence their rightness is not wise, being of the order that results from comparing man with man. They have no way to climb to the perfectness that is possible, because, being really born of God, one is like him in that practical law that like begets like and in which reborn man is even as his Father which is in heaven; in which life, and only in which, can there be oneness with God. If the communion was when man was in the likeness of God, and the separation was when that image was lost, the communion can be again, and when that likeness has been regained. That is possible. God makes, and he only can make, it possible. He who created has the power, and offers upon conditions, to recreate after himself, as a pattern to work to, "in righteousness and true holiness." In such recreated life only is the cause of estrangement removed. It is a matter of common knowledge, and a part of the simple story that "whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin." We have a right to be shy of Unitarians, Socinians, Pelagians, and Universalists, chiefly because they deny the facts, first, as to man's condition by nature—that is, in sin—and, second, as to man's possibilities in grace, which last involves the great doctrine of atonement.

Other men have seemed earnestly to desire to answer the

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question by teaching a trinity of persons in the oneness and unity of the Godhead. Among these have been the contentions regarding sin, redemption, and regeneration with which we are more or less familiar—which contentions have always centered in theories of the atonement. The larger numbers of parties have practically accepted the doctrine of one person of the Trinity demanding, and all the persons of the Trinity consenting to, the foreordained death of another person of the Trinity, in order that the other might thereby be appeased. Now, no true doctrine of the atonement can be founded upon the theory of God reconciling God. He was "in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself," not himself unto himself. The adjustment was and is not needed within the divine life. It was and is needed between God and man, and the necessitated adjustment is a readjustment of man. How?

First, man must be convinced of his sinfulness. The darkness does not comprehend the darkness. He does not realize how depraved he is. There was no necessity for the death of Christ on the divine side. It was necessary to prove to mankind how bad sin made them. His death was the deliberate murder that Peter charged them with, and the men who did it were no worse than every other sinner. They could not fasten the guilt upon their children by their proposed brutal covenant. But, alas! their children by nature would be as bad as they, and so as guilty. Repentance is the inevitable result of recognizing the exceeding sinfulness of sin. If men will know how bad they are they cannot help repenting. It is a great privilege granted to men. John, the forerunner, preached it. Jesus Christ's first recorded preaching is, "Repent: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." His closing instruction is that "repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." The death of Jesus Christ is related to the atonement only as it is the indisputable evidence of the depravity of the race. It was permitted to convict men, not to appease God. The manifested hateful rage of the world was impotent, for—though he was not taken out of their hands, or they were not destroyed, and in that sense they were permitted to go to the length of their impulses and put to death

the flesh—he, God incarnated, was not subject to death, much less "holden of it." They did not, for they could not, kill him, but it went far enough to show to all intelligences what a sinner is. He took again the body they had killed, and triumphed openly over them and all sinners. Lost, blind, ignorant sinners made an atonement, themselves for themselves, by murder, if atonement be by the death of Jesus Christ.

Second, man must be convinced of the possibilities for him in divine grace, and St. Paul rightly says, "If, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son; much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life." The "if" expresses the great contingent whether man thereby will concede the awful facts of man's total depravity so incontrovertibly demonstrated in the death of Jesus, thus surrendering the controversy against the righteousness of God if he turn off into hell every sinner. But the salvation is not in this reconciliation or consent of the human to the righteousness of the divine in the condemnation of such beings, for the salvation is by the life of Jesus Christ. "What the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh: that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." The doctrine of the atonement is the teaching which, if accepted and obeyed, restores man to oneness with God, both in consciousness and fact. Its theme and symbolic phraseology are concerning the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. The death of Christ proved how utterly estranged from God man is. His life proves how perfectly one with God he may become.

The mistaken idea of atonement in the old dispensation was "to cover." The new dispensation idea is correct, being "to thoroughly change." The apostolic effort to enforce the spiritual lesson must not be crowded to putting this new wine in old bottles. The symbolisms of blood and body must not be literalized in sacrament or doctrine. Cleansing by the blood comes only to those who by spiritual interpretation and apprehension have the channels of life renovated by Christ's life, as symbolized by his blood. The blood "shed for you, and for many, for

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the remission of sins" might be misunderstood to be the condition of forgiveness, had not God forgiven sins time and again without it. Witness the stories of Nineveh and the prodigal son. But this being an undisputed truth leaves the meaning to be sought for elsewhere than as the immediate condition. As reaching remission of sins, and indeed necessary on the human side, it must be the convincing proof of necessity of repentance and how thorough it must be.

The atonement is by Jesus Christ, not to cover by his death, but to thoroughly change by conformity to his life. Great care must be taken lest the only and invariable condition of remission of sin be made void through faith. Faith must not be substituted for repentance, when true faith inevitably leads to godly sorrow for sin, and repentance of that kind makes available for any sinner all mercy and power. The ministry of Jesus Christ and of the Holy Ghost to sinners is to convince of sin, righteousness, and judgment. The prerogative of God, the Father Almighty, is and always has been to forgive and make new truly repentant sinners. This being true, the atonement is not an initial, but an ultimate, fact in redemption. The steps are faith, conviction of sin, repentance, forgiveness, and regeneration. All which, being as real as the Scriptures portray, reaches the great fact, at-onement. It is by Jesus Christ, not as he is for us as a substitute, go-between, or intercessor, but as he is in us, which makes one with the Father, and is a well-founded hope of glory.

A specimen of hymnology that voices this unity is Paget's beautiful hymn that ought to be in all collections of hymns, while more of like doctrine ought to be written and used, instead of very much that is. We quote one stanza:

> Near, so very near to God,
> Nearer I cannot be,
> For in the image of his Son
> I am as near as he.

W. S. H. Hermans

ART. VII.—A LETTER FROM GEORGE WHITEFIELD TO COUNT ZINZENDORF.

THREE years ago, while spending some time in Herrnhut, in order to read John Wesley's correspondence with the Moravians, we found in the same portfolio a long letter from George Whitefield to Count Zinzendorf, carefully written on large paper. We made only a few notes from it at the time, not doubting that it had been published in full in Whitefield's letters or biography; on returning to America, however, we were surprised to find that the letter seemed to be entirely unknown, both to English and German authorities. Last January we wrote to Herr Glistch, who is in charge of the archives at Herrnhut, requesting that the letter might be forwarded to us for use in the royal library in Berlin, as is usually done with manuscripts in the great German libraries; he replied that the archives contained but one letter from Whitefield to Zinzendorf, and that that was one of four pages written in Latin. He also said that the rules did not permit the sending away of manuscripts. We then sent a fuller description of the letter we had seen in 1894, when Herr Glitsch wrote that he had found it, and later that he had had it exactly copied, and had himself collated the original. Two unimportant passages which could not be clearly read are indicated in the letter as given; we do not doubt that a further study of the original would elucidate them.

Hon^rd^ S^r^

I received your letter from Gravesend dated March 27th and thank you for it with all my heart: Our Saviour gave me to read it in much calmness and simplicity of soul, and I trust in the same spirit I now sit down to answer it. The contents shew me that matters are come to this Crisis, that I must wholly give myself up to Your Church, or that Your Church will have nothing at all to do with me, no not so much as to help me by Your advice—but on the contrary directly oppose me. Whether this be agreeable to the gentle Spirit of the Lamb of God, or that Unfeigned simplicity which the Brethren outwardly profess I leave Yourself Hon^rd^ S^r^ and the Brethren to Judge.

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I think it is not, and so it w^d appear in the eyes of every *Impartial Hearer.* Not that I can say I am very sollicitous about it, since I know in whom I have believed and who has led me hitherto in and out before his people, and conducted me safe and comfortably thro' the many fiery furnaces of affliction which I have been in since I have been sent out to preach the Everlasting Gospel. He will be my Guide and Counsellor unto death. I call him to witness I have done to my very Uttermost to promote a Union of the Churches, . . . and in respect to Your Church in particular have done all I could with a *clear conscience* to be United to her. Indeed Your Lordship is pleased to say, "*This is the fourth Change my d^r M^r Whitefield since Your latin letter to me.*" But what change do You mean, Honrd S^r? Why? Your Lordship says, "I got a letter from Philadelphia the day before Yesterday from a Brother whom one may depend upon. The same had read a letter of Your own hand, wherein You have recanted again what You had said concerning our ways." Indeed Honrd S^r this is a *wrong information.* I have copies of all the letters I sent abroad, and if I live to see London You shall see them too and then Judge, for Yourself. But You say I refused You my great meeting-house again, I know not that I ever refused it before. . . . Honrd S^r be pleased to give me leave simply to relate the whole matter. Many months agoe Brother Nobel sent me word "that You had been asked to preach in the New-houses, but did not care to do it till *You had my leave.*" I answered "I was willing if the *Other Trustees* were, but thought it w^d be best to defer preaching in it till I came over." Sometime after this I heard that one of the Calvinistical Ministers had been denied subscribing the Articles, and that the Brethren had made *too strong a push* to preach in that place—I finding what confusion it w^d still occasion for two different schemes of doctrine to be taught in one house, and with all thinking it unjust to have the Articles altered which I believed were founded on the word of God, I wrote to the Trustees a letter which I will show Your Lordship, and thought it best for the Glory of God that the Brethren should preach elsewhere as we did in London, and yet continue to act friendly to those that differed from them. In the mean while as I found after-

wards our Saviour was leading the Brethren this way. For the next letters informed me that they had declined striving any more about that house and preached elsewhere—or had left Philadelphia till the door should be more open. This pleased me because I thought it w^{d} make for peace, was acting like Yourself and w^{d} do service to the Common Cause. This I think is the whole matter. But as for recanting again what I had said concerning your ways indeed Honrd S^{r} it is no such thing. I never did yet approve of all Your ways or all Your doctrines, because according to my judgement some of both were contrary to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. This perhaps I might say but no more. However the letters will speak for themselves. I have recommended You and the Brethren Honrd S^{r} in the strongest terms, tho' I was in danger thereby of losing almost all my former friends and Fellow-Labourers, and if the *threatened breach between us* be brought about, I think I can call our Glorious High-Priest to witness that it lies at the Brethren's door not mine. When I went first to Georgia, I entertained a most favourable opinion of them. I thought to be wholly governed by them. But then a bar was put in our way—a Brother called Doctor John w^{d} not shake hands or converse with me because *He suspected* I held election. This conduct Brother Boehler disaproved of and yet afterwards revived the Dispute for which He afterwards confessed himself a Sinner. Brother Hagan was received into my family with all love in my Absence. When I returned they were in such a condition as almost broke my heart. I before this had the Brethren to Nazareth, but when I found we were likely to disagree so very much, I thought it best to separate. Since that we have been sweetly United again. But now since *I cant come into all things You say or to renounce my principles*, a greater separation than ever perhaps is likely to ensue. I know not what the world will say if it should hear of it. But I say Father thy will be done. Honrd S^{r} I cannot part with what I believe to be truth, nor say that is true which is entirely false. This is the reason (and not out of a *spirit of contradiction*) why I desired You to recant the Parenthesis wherein You called me a *Son of Your Church, because Peter*

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Boehler brought the blood of Christ to me. Glad should I be to have confessed it publickly had it been so. But I dare not let a falsehood be propagated in the world. Indeed Your Lordship seems to hint *that the thing may be indisputably proved*, and P. Mr. Spanenburgh insinuates that our Saviour has been *humbly asked and that You have been faithfully directed.* But if our Saviour was consulted by lot or otherwise in this matter, and the lot came out *that Peter Boehler brought the Blood of Christ to me or that I was properly a Son of Your Church*, for *once* I am sure He has *suffered* You to err. For He himself by his blessed and eternal spirit sealed me to the day of redemption in my little study at Oxford, about nine Years agoe, before ever I heard any mention made of Your Honrd Self or Brethren. When at Oxford Mr. Gambol said He wonder'd I had more success than the other methodists tho' I was the only one that was so wrong, because I held *Justification by faith alone.* This is likewise to be proved by my first sermons and journal—all which plainly shew that I was acquainted with the Lamb of God and walked in the abiding comforts of the Holy Ghost long before I conversed with any of the Brethren. And I remember near two Years before I saw Brother Boehler I wrote him a letter telling him how glad I was to find, upon my Arrival at London that He had been preaching the doctrine of Justification by Faith in London and how the Lord had shewed me that some time agoe. Indeed I cannot say I was so clear as I am now. I hope dayly to grow in light and heat. But I was as *really* acquainted with the blood of the Lamb as I am now at this present writing. This is my reason Honrd S^{r} for desiring that paragraph to be altered, because my Friends know it to be false and therefore if it be not recanted publickly now You have better Evidence it will do hurt to the Common Cause. But I am easy *upon my own account* and leave it to Your judgement to act as You shall think best. *As for owning my ignorance Honrd S^{r} in Church-matters, and in that publick Church affair of our Saviours*, I freely do it, as well as in many other respects. But then I cannot *immediately and implicitly* follow Your *wholeplan* because I have not yet sufficient proof that it is in all respects *entirely apostolical.* To

require me to do this, or to break with me because I cannot do this is using me too like the Seceders in Scotland, whose conduct I have heard Your Lordship more than once condemn. I thought the Brethren were of a *Catholick spirit* but if this be the Genuine effect of a Catholick spirit I know not what it means. But indeed Honrd S^{r} I see the Brethren are men of like Passions with other believers and I fear an overweening fondness for Your own Plan and ways sometimes diverts You and them from the simplicity of the Gospel. I trust Your Lordship will not be Offended at this plainness of speech. I hope I write with some degree of humility, as a younger Brother, but yet as one employed in the same Embassage, and who according to Your Lordship's own publick confession *have made way for You to preach the Gospel through the world.* I am become a Fool in boasting. Your Lordship has compelled me—as for altering my principles, or *coming over to the Universal* scheme I cannot bear the thought of it. If I do that, I must make shipwreck of my *faith*, and deny what *I think* the *Lord* hath taught me. If because I cannot believe "*Universal Salvation and that the whole world is really justified by Jesus Christ*," if I say because of this, *Your Church* (to use Your Lordship's own words) *cannot help looking upon me as a Laodicean and are resolved to oppose me directly*—then indeed Honrd S^{r} You must have no more to do with me and hereafter I shall give You no further trouble, but love You as a flock of sinful, fallible yet redeemed sinners, pray that You may be guided into all truth, prospered in all that is good; and stopped in every step You take contrary to the Artless Guiless spirit of the *truly Simple and ever blessed Jesus.* Whether I am a Laodicean, the last day shall discover, when You and I Honrd S^{r} appear before his dreadful tribunal. Tho' I abhor the scheme of Universal redemption and own *particular Election and redemption*, yet I offer Jesus as freely and promiscuously to all as You Honrd S^{s} can do, and give Sinners as much encouragement and that too very consistently with my principles. But I am sorry the Spirit of Disputation is likely to arise from a Quarter where it is most exclaimed against, and that a *true Catholick spirit* is not found where it is *most professed.*

Such conduct I never expected to meet with. But all is well and all shall work for good. I thank You Hon^rd^ S^r^ for any councel You or the Brethren have at any time given me. Our Saviour will reward You. If I can serve the Brethren I shall rejoice to do it. But since matters are likely to be as they are, I think it advisable that You should not enter any more into my labours, or that any Brethren should go to Scotland lest the souls be brought into Confusion. For if the trumpet give an Uncertain sound who shall prepare for the Battle? Thus Hon^rd^ S^r^ I have written You my whole heart. I hope all the while I have had it in my Eye that I have been writing to a Count and what is greater a Bishop of the Church of Christ. I love and greatly Honour You, but cannot think in all things as You do, or believe all You say and do is absolutely right. I am persuaded to the contrary and therefore desire to follow You as You do Jesus Christ but no further. But I fear I detain You too Long. But as it is the last letter Your Lordship may desire to receive from me I hope Your Lordship will excuse it. I wish this letter may be read in Conference, and weighed before our Saviour. I commit this and my whole concerns to Him upon whose shoulders the Government of the Church lies, and am for his great names sake Hon^d^ S.

Your most Affec: tho' most Unworthy Younger Brother
and Fellow Labourer and willing servant

WHITEFIELD.

It will be noted that this letter does not contain the date or place of writing, or any direct mention of Zinzendorf's name. Its time may be inferred from two allusions, namely, to Whitefield's conversion "about nine years agoe," in Oxford, and to a letter written by the Count on March 27. Whitefield was a student in Oxford from 1732 to 1736; Tyerman puts the time of his conversion at about 1735. In the earlier half of 1743 Count Zinzendorf, who was in London from the 11th to the 24th of March of that year, wrote to Whitefield calling upon him in the following words to renounce his Calvinistic doctrines: "You must first formally recant, and preach openly free grace in the blood of the Lamb, and an election of grace as

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taught in the Scriptures, which is quite different from the doctrine of predestination which you teach ; and if not, our Church must necessarily be opposed to you." * The above letter is manifestly in answer to this demand. It was written at a time when Whitefield was absent from London, and later than March 27—probably during April, 1743, when Whitefield was engaged in very successful evangelistic work in the region of Gloucester. He returned to London in May of the same year.

The temperate, though eloquent, tone of the reply ; the light which it casts upon Whitefield's standpoint toward the preaching of doctrine ; the declarations as to the priority of his conversion to his acquaintance with Moravian influences, as well as the allusions which it contains to the relations between the Methodists and Moravians in England and America, make the letter one of general interest.

James Taft Hatfield

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* D. Benham, *Memoirs of James Hutton*, 1856, p. 112.

Art. VIII.—THE ANCIENT AND THE MODERN FEELING FOR NATURE.

One of the most striking features of modern art is the universal interest which it manifests in nature. Whereas the early Italian masters introduced only the most meager details of natural phenomena, the artist of to-day spends his life among the mountains, or on the ocean shore, or in travel over distant lands, in the endeavor to render a complete picture of the multitudinous forms of the world about him. Literature, likewise, has felt the impulse, and the romantic movement which marks especially the advent of the nineteenth century—with its religious revival, its new interest in man, its subjectivity, and melancholy—shows itself in nothing so different from its classic predecessor as in its passionate love for all nature. The causes of this new love are many and varied. Science with its scrutinizing glance, its indefatigable curiosity, the breaking down of natural barriers and the opening up of the whole globe by means of steam and electricity, the modern love for travel, the interest in foreign lands that comes from increased education—these and many other things have undoubtedly exerted great influence. Here, as elsewhere, the great poets are only the exponents of the spirit of the times, and yet they too have helped to modify, strengthen, and expand that spirit.

In speaking of the modern love for nature, however, we must remember that it is by no means universal or always the same. To say nothing of the difference between the narrowness and monotony of Lamartine's eternal descriptions of melancholy autumn scenes and the deep yet sane feeling and wide sympathy of Wordsworth, we find at the present time a vast difference in the attitude toward nature of civilized and uncivilized nations of the North and the South, of the Latin and the Teutonic races. Even in England and America the representatives of this so-called modern nature worship are comparatively few. In the ever-increasing struggle for the material things of life the multitude hurries on with no eyes for the

charm of nature. It is of such people that one of the most recent of English poets * writes in the following lines:

> Above, the bland day smiles benign,
>   Birds carol free,
> In thunderous throes of life divine
>   Leaps the glad sea.
> But they—their days and nights are one.
> What is 't to them that rivulets run,
> Or what concern of theirs the sun?

While it is not necessary here to go into details, yet for purposes of comparison we must briefly mention some of the characteristic features of the modern love for nature as seen in its highest development. In the first place it shows a wide and deep sympathy for all phases of the world in which we live, for all manifestations of life, and for all varieties of scenery. The grassy lawn and the limpid stream are scarcely more attractive to the poet and the painter than the snowy Alps or the sandy deserts of Africa. In the second place it is essentially self-conscious. The poet realizes the power and influence of nature; he knows its immense importance in art, and devotes himself to the careful and earnest observation of it. Thirdly, the impressions made are not mere states of sensation, but the mind and soul as well as the senses are deeply stirred. "Tears, idle tears," rise in the eyes of Tennyson,

> In looking on the happy autumn fields,
> And thinking of the days that are no more.

The steady light of the stars seems to have the power to quiet and calm the mind; and the silent mountains and the ocean with its tumbling billows affect the heart with that deep feeling which we call sublime. Lastly, to the modern lover of nature she is not a dead, inert mass of matter composed of chemical elements, but a spirit of light and holiness pervading all we see. It is not easy to separate this from pantheism, yet with Wordsworth, at least, the spirit of nature is not God, but the medium of communication between him and the soul of man.

There are three ways in which nature may arouse the interest and gain the affection of man: first, by appealing to the

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* William Watson.

physical or purely animal part of his being; secondly, by awakening a scientific or intellectual curiosity; and, thirdly, by stirring the deeper and more personal emotions. These three phases are more or less represented at the present day by childhood, by the scientist, and by the poet. There is no innate contradiction between them, but it is not often that all three are found together in the same person. The third, or emotional, phase is almost entirely characteristic of modern times, and especially of the nineteenth century. The so-called "soul of nature" was practically unknown to the ancient world. They had not learned to know her power to calm and elevate; the spiritual element had not yet been revealed, and they had not caught a glimpse of that "light that never was, on sea or land."

It is not our purpose here to discuss the vexed question as to whether the ancient feeling for nature was purely naïve or—in germ at least—more or less sentimental. Be this as it may, the most casual reading of the *Iliad* or the *Æneid* will reveal a wide difference from modern poets in this respect. Homer's joy in the world about him is to some extent like that of a child—utterly unconscious; it is the delight produced by blue sky, fresh breezes, and sweet odors affecting the senses of a race of men developed in all physical strength and health. The more healthy the body, the sounder the senses, the deeper and purer will be this physical pleasure, which modern nations, by the increase of sedentary occupations, by the excessive cultivation of intellect and soul at the expense of the body, have undoubtedly lost to a large extent. The view of nature among the Greeks and Romans was largely influenced by mythology. Of course this changed with the times. In Homer's day, although the formative period of religion was past, men still believed in the existence of the gods. In the days of Virgil the old faith was dead; all the stories told by mythology were but fables, good for decoration, for illustration and allusion, but no more stirring the heart of the Roman than Grimm's *Fairy Tales* or the northern mythology stir our hearts to-day. We must bear in mind, in speaking of the ancient feeling for nature, that a wide difference existed between the Greek of the days of Homer and the Roman contemporary of Virgil. In

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Homer we see the direct intercourse with nature; what he describes is the result of his own observation. Virgil was steeped in Greek literature, and the *Æneid* was composed in direct imitation of the *Iliad;* hence there is a learned atmosphere about it which seems to stand between the reader and nature herself.

But in the Greek and Roman alike the love for nature was narrow. Only certain phases appealed to them; it was the plowed field, the meadow good for pasture that they admired. The wild and sublime did not exist for them. The elements of usefulness and ease and comfort are very prominent in the landscapes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and in nearly every metaphor we catch a glimpse of the practical affairs of life—agriculture, pastoral life, commerce, hunting, war, religious ceremonies. Homer's descriptions are general, and more plastic than picturesque; the colors are few in number, and there is none of that arrangement of minute details producing an harmonious whole which is so marked a feature of modern times. The phenomena that are alluded to in metaphor and figure are those which the poet must have seen hundreds of times himself, and which were retained by no especial effort of memory. These phases of nature are constantly repeated, and later merged into the common stock of literary property, many of them passing through Virgil and Ovid and the Middle Ages down even to the present day.* Mr. Shairp tells us that Virgil was the first great poet to show anything like the modern love for nature; and yet it is a far cry from the elegant writer of the "Eclogues" and "Bucolics" to Wordsworth. The "Eclogues" are plainly an imitation of Theocritus, and the country scenes they describe are rather those in the neighborhood of Syracuse than of Mantua. Hence there is a certain artificiality about them. The "Georgics," however, are entirely original, and here we seem to catch a glimpse of nature studied and loved for herself—only a glimpse, however, for we look on nature through the eyes of the farmer, and the elements of usefulness

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* Such are the frequently occurring metaphors drawn from the pine or oak on the mountain top, cut down by the woodman's ax or uprooted by the storm; such also is the description of sunrise and sunset expressed in terms of mythology, the moon outshining the stars, the lion and wolf leaping upon the sheep, the boar crashing through the wood, the fire in the forest, and the various phases of storm.

and comfort meet us again here. The stars, the clouds, the days and seasons are referred to from the standpoint of their probable effect on the crops, and we are told the best way to plow, to sow the grain, and to raise horses and cattle and bees.

Indeed, the idea of nature for and by herself * was practically unknown to the ancients. She was a background, a stage upon which man moved about. The business of the poet was to tell of the actions of his heroes; hence we see only so much of nature as was necessary to show those actions in their proper setting. Ancient literature was thoroughly objective; it flourished chiefly in the epic and drama. Stories of adventure, a representation upon the stage of life in action—this is what the poet and public sought, the one to compose and the other to see and hear. To-day a great change has taken place; drama and epic are out of date. All literature is subjective, and this subjectivity finds its expression in lyrical poetry and the novel. The mind of the ancients was simple, that of moderns is complex. The world of religion, politics, society, nature, man produces deep and complicated emotions. Poet and painter, while they strive to reproduce every phase of nature and life, strive likewise to express the feelings which these things produce in their souls. The personal feeling for nature is one of the most intimate that the heart can possess; hence we need not wonder if we find but little trace of it in an age when deep feeling rarely showed itself in literature.

L. Oscar Kuhns.

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* This expression is so constantly used that we retain it here. In reality, however, nature without man has no existence. With Homer she is the stage for heroic adventure; in the Middle Ages she was the probation place for man, who saw in her the handiwork of God. In our own day, wherever nature is described man is there too, not objectively, as in the past, but subjectively; and nature is seen reflecting the soul of the poet.

What we call nature, all outside ourselves,
Is but our own conceit of what we see,
Our own reaction upon what we feel.—*Lowell.*

Art. IX.—IS THE MILLENNIUM AN EVOLUTION?

It is astonishing to behold the narrow and hazy views not unfrequently met with on the subject of the millennium. The doctrine pervades all the Bible, as does that of salvation, but perhaps the Old Testament more than the New; and yet many never seem to discover it until they find it specifically mentioned in a single passage in the Revelation of St. John. The millennium is as much a part of the plan of God for man as was the call of Abraham, or the giving of the law, or the preaching of the Gospel; indeed, all these are preparatory to that grander event. It is the ulterior and consummating purpose of all previous divine operations, the end aimed at from the beginning of time, in God's plan for the race.

No one may describe the millennium before it comes to pass. In general, however, it may be represented as a time when great changes will take place, not as natural sequences, but from the immediate action of God, like that which took place on the day of Pentecost. It will be a time when there will be a more immediate government of God than has ever been known, even surpassing the theocracy of the Jews. It will witness Jerusalem restored and enlarged and glorified as never before. It will mark the time of the fullness of the Gentiles and the return of the Jews from all lands to the home given them of old. It will be a time when all nations, some wholly and some partially, shall become submissive to the faith "once for all delivered unto the saints." Most beneficent conditions will prevail, rendering a state of happiness possible on a scale never before known. The physical creation will undergo a change as radical as it did at the fall of man. Man's physical and intellectual nature and his moral powers will also be correspondingly changed. It will be a time of the "restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began." It will be a time of the immediate personal presence and reign of Christ, "whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things." It will be a time of immense, universal, and rapid progress by the human family back again

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to its Edenic state. The grand realization of the Lord's Prayer will appear, and the will of God will "be done in earth, as it is in heaven." Then Christ will say, "Behold, I make all things new." The time of Solomon, which was one of splendor after the warlike period of David, cannot be compared to this, though it may be a type of it; for Solomon's grandeur was on a narrow scale, while this will be universal. And, still further, it will be a time of the fulfillment of all the greater prophecies concerning Christ and his kingdom. Many will find here their last and complete realization. Joel's prophecy, quoted by St. Peter on the day of Pentecost and partly fulfilled at that time, will here find final fulfillment and will be one of the forces that shall help inaugurate this great period. The promise made to Abraham, "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," will here be completely fulfilled; and, if the patriarch is then present, as we believe he will be, he will rejoice more than ever to see this day of Christ by immediate vision. And the great promise made to Moses under such circumstances, "As truly as I live, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord," will then—and not till then does it seem possible—be fulfilled: and the lawgiver, we must think, will be present and behold the "glory" he so prayed for when on earth.

It is one of the most mysterious features of the millennial time that, at its close, Satan is to be let loose again. But it is no more mysterious than is the fact that he was permitted to enter the earthly paradise in the beginning. Explanation in part may also be found in the fact that God in the human race is creating character, under the law of free will, sometimes under the supremest tests, and that in the continuance of the race he is giving to millions the opportunity to win the prizes of eternal life. After the last dread conflict, compared with which no other in the annals of the universe is to be likened, the planet is to be left to the undisturbed reign of Christ and the growth of his kingdom, which is to continue "as long as the sun and moon endure."

The question before us is, Will all this tremendous consummation be brought about by evolution? By evolution in this connection is meant the currently received notion of that

natural progress in things by which they proceed from incipient stages to their perfection, such as is found in the case of the leaven and the mustard seed. By such a law it is maintained that there is to be a gradual development of Christianity until the whole mass of humanity is reached and the whole world converted to Christ and "the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ." This is the view that has always been held, and is now held, by all the Protestant Christian Churches of the world. We are not aware that any single Christian organization antagonizes this view, though many devout and learned men in all the Churches dissent from it and, we think with large reason, stoutly maintain the opposite belief. Indeed, we sorrowfully concede that this evolutionary view underlies all the missionary operations now carried on from Europe and America.

We shall venture to call this view in question. We believe it is radically erroneous. Moreover, we believe the whole cause of God in missionary matters would possess new life and power and rapidity of movement if the false view could be eliminated and the right one put in its place. We think the evolutionary view of Christianity is as great a mistake, even greater than was the Ptolemaic view of the constitution of the universe, which for over a thousand years held the human mind in bondage until Copernicus presented the true view. Or, it is like Judaism which, at the very beginning, would have smothered out Christianity and prevented a knowledge of the true plan of salvation. Or, it is like the doctrine of fatalism in theology that for a thousand years opposed the doctrine of the free grace of God and the free will of man, until Arminius arose and set forth a truer view of biblical doctrine as to man's salvation. What kind of a condition the world would have been in to-day, if any of these systems had succeeded in holding sway, it is impossible to tell. That there has been an immense progress in science and religion, as a result of their overthrow, there can be no kind of doubt. Until the true view of the place of the millennium in God's plan is brought to the front, Christianity will not achieve her greatest triumphs, nor move forward with the acceleration that should characterize her in these "last days."

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That the evolutionary view here considered is not the true view is evident, we think, from many considerations. Our limits will allow the presentation of only a few of these:

1. If we look at the system of Christianity we see at once that it has not an evolutionary character. It is not a part of the course of nature. It is a power of God introduced into the world in the interests of mankind as against all other interests. Its ultimate aim is the regulation of all things. The incarnation of Christ was no nature process, and in no sense was his resurrection or ascension. Nor was Pentecost an evolution, in any of the senses that may be attached to that term. Nor did the conversion of St. Paul have in it a single element of evolution; on the contrary, it was accomplished in opposition to all the forces of evolution. The power that came upon the first band of Christian believers and that remained upon the apostles and preachers of the Gospel was a power which uniquely belonged to Christianity, which came down from on high, and which was above all nature. The Old Testament is a part of the Christian system, as well as the New. Here, all the characters are utter strangers to the principle of evolution. The call that came to Abraham was no nature call. The burning bush, before which Moses stood and from whose lambent flames he received his commission, was no nature process. The whole line of leaders under this dispensation are such by a special call of grace, and the principle of evolution nowhere touches their sublime lives.

But some one will say, Does not grace, after it has once been deposited in the soul, in its spread there have the nature of evolution? By no means. Such an inference is a strained one, and comes of a misapprehension of the teaching. And it leads to "necessitating grace," and to the doctrine of "once in grace, always in grace," both of which have long since been driven from the arena. When grace is introduced into the soul, if permitted to remain there, it will soon reach all the powers. Grace demands universality, as well as the outward kingdom of God. It tends also to development rather than evolution, and, like the mustard seed, will proceed from the smallest to the greatest development in every nature, determined only by the richness of the soil. But, that the

leaven deposited in one measure will by evolution work its results in other disconnected measures, or that the mustard seed will produce an indefinite number of great trees, is beyond the meaning of these parables, and the interpretation evolutionists would place upon them is preposterous.

2. If the millennium, which must be regarded as one of the greatest of God's works on earth, is an evolution, then it is out of harmony with all previous methods of divine working in conserving and forwarding the interests of the human race. The beautiful scene at the beginning of human life on our planet had none of the features of a formative process of nature. On the contrary, it had all the appearance of an immediate divine creative work. If God's plan in the universe is evolution, there is a signal departure from it here. Man and paradise are not parts of long processes; they are immediate divine works, not unworthy the Maker of the world.

3. And then, the great dispensations in their origin and development do not seem to have any of the traits of evolution about them. The one with which our world commenced possessed no such trait, unless evolution is something that works backward as well as forward. Man started gloriously, with an endowment only less than angelic; yet from this state he lapsed, whereas, if evolution be the law of development, he should have gone forward. After sixteen centuries the whole race was swept away by a dispensation of the Creator that made the world. The confusion of tongues at Babel, which so largely affected all subsequent human history, was an immediate divine judgment with not the remotest trait of evolution. In the overthrow of the Egyptian empire, one of the greatest events of all ancient history, there is something stupendously unique, with reference to which evolutionists must perforce be skeptical. The rise to power of the emancipated people, so that they became a dominant force in the world, is beyond explanation on the principle of evolution. And, in all the long history of this people from Abraham to John the Baptist there is to be observed only an extraordinary divine providence as the key to their history.

4. We next direct attention to the thought that, if we are to depend upon evolution for the millennium, we must fix the

event at a hopelessly distant period in the future—at a point, indeed, where it is utterly useless as a motive power to present action. To reason and faith this great event in matter of time is hazy enough now; but, on the theory of evolution, its occurrence tasks all belief in itself as a coming event. The gist of evolution is slowness of movement. In *Vestiges of Creation* the thought is that practically the universe has been in eternal process of formation. And all the evolutionists tell us that man, as a part of universal nature, is under the same law. If so, no estimate can be formed as to the period of the millennium. From the operation of all forces yet seen no approach to it is apparent, and no basis of reckoning is possible. The natural law of progress does not indicate that we are approaching a state of human blessedness.

5. For we come to a still graver consideration. The general aspect of present conditions, especially of things more immediately about us in Christian lands after nineteen centuries of Christianity, does not favor the supposition that we are coming, by the operation of evolution in human life, to a universal happy state of any kind. The aggregate wickedness of mankind and the aggregate wretchedness were never more widespread or intense than at the present time. They seem to be on the increase, with the multiplied population of the globe. Adherence to facts compels this observation and makes its statement a necessity in any full discussion. We grant that these are the grandest centuries which have ever passed over our planet. They include the rise and growth of influences that have changed the face of society, and exhibit the perennial power of laws which show no signs of exhaustion. We quote the words of a profound thinker:

> These centuries tell the solemnizing story of vicissitudes of pitiless revolutions overthrowing the greatest consolidations of strength, of conquest, of statesmanship. They have witnessed the fall of Rome after a decade of centuries of dominion, and the survival of human society, notwithstanding the widespread faith of her best minds that the fall of the empire would bring the end of all things. These centuries, too, have witnessed the often recasting of the map of Europe. They have witnessed the discovery of the New World, vast in areas, vigorous in life. These centuries have witnessed vast achievements in literature, in science, in invention, in enterprise. What further enterprises, what

larger discoveries, what still mightier achievements, what still vaster vicissitudes remain, or shall burst upon us in the remnant of the present one, who may tell? We know that in the latest one there is no lineal descendant of the first. One society which began then exists now, and but one. One kingdom alone can claim to have unbroken historic and vital continuity. This is the kingdom of Christ. It is the new and divine society which had its appointment of God in the bosom of the great empire. These two, the one an evolution and the other a creation, represented the opposites of majesty and meanness, of splendor and sorrow. The giant shadow of imperial Rome was cast over the cradle of European nationalities. It fell forward upon the tenantless spaces of ill-known regions. But the other has a vaster shadow. It belongs to a still more colossal and enduring creation. It is the shadow of the Church of Christ. It has fallen upon the kingdoms of Europe, upon the teeming masses and millions of Asia, upon the tribes and countries of Africa, upon the unknown population of the New World, upon the savages of the islands of every sea.

And yet, after these many and splendid centuries of Christianity, where is the sign that society is graduating into the millennium? After the long duration, the protracted conflict, the splendid march, there ought now to be—if the theory of gradual development be true—somewhere, on some island, on some of the great continents, in some of the great cities of the globe, some harbingers of the millennial dawn. But can evolution point to a sprig, a floating weed, a flower from any quarter that tells of an embosomed Eden on the earth? Or, to put it differently to our Christian friend who is a devotee of the theory of gradual development, where is there one Christian nation upon the earth? Surely, if this theory be correct, there ought to be by this time, somewhere, a leopard and a kid lying down together, and a wolf and a lamb living peaceably in some fold. There ought to be, somewhere, a land where they do not hurt or destroy. On the bosom of this great globe there ought to be one land by this time that is full of "the knowledge of the glory of the Lord." In the heavens above, in all the wide world beneath, not one sign of such a State can be found. In our own country, the best the nineteen centuries have looked upon, nine hundred millions of dollars are expended annually for intoxicants from which our government receives an immense revenue. In this best government—the light of the nations, the star of mankind—

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there is bold and open violation of the great principles of righteousness and the divinely established institutions of religion which Christianity in vain seeks to correct. The country to-day is far worse morally than when she commenced her career, and the wisest fear we cannot stand the ever-increasing strain of unrighteousness. And is there a country on this planet where the Gospel has had a fairer chance?

6. The Scriptures all converge at the point that the millennium is to be a consummation of the kingdom of heaven, under the immediate and extraordinary act of Jehovah. It will not, therefore, come to pass by evolution of any kind. Then the handful of corn upon the top of the mountains "shall shake like Lebanon," and "they of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth." Then idols shall be utterly abolished, and their devotees shall "go into the clefts of the rocks, and into the tops of the ragged rocks, for fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake terribly the earth." Then, "on the seacoast"—undoubtedly the Mediterranean is here referred to—shall be "dwellings and cottages for shepherds, and folds for flocks. And the coast shall be for the remnant of the house of Judah; they shall feed thereupon: in the houses of Ashkelon shall they lie down in the evening: for the Lord their God shall visit them, and turn away their captivity." And then shall be fulfilled the promise, "I will shake all nations, and the Desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts." This is also the time our Lord describes when, "after the tribulation of those days," the sun shall "be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven;" when, upon the earth, there shall be "distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming upon the earth;" and when "the powers of the heavens shall be shaken." "And then," he continues, "shall appear the sign of the Son of man . . . coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory."* Now, no evolution is traceable in

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* Further corresponding Old Testament views are: Joel iii, 15; Ezek. xxxii, 7, 8; Joel ii, 10; Zech. xiv, 13. Further New Testament views are: Acts ii, 19, 20; 2 Peter iii, 13, 14; 1 Thess. i, 10; ii, 19; iii, 13; iv, 16; Mark xiv, 62; Luke xxii, 69; Jude 14; Matt. xvi, 27; Rev. i, 7; xiv, 14; Acts i, 9-11; 2 Thess. i, 7-10; Mark viii, 38; Luke ix, 26; Matt. xxv, 31.

these tremendous and extraordinary proceedings. The power that created the world, that originated all the dispensations, that promised eternal life to mankind before the foundation of the world, originates and presides over the millennium.

It is curious to note the genesis of the kingly idea in the Scriptures: (1) The first government ever organized on the earth was a government by Jehovah. (2) This was not related to the world, but to Israel. (3) After the deliverance Moses calls the ruler who guided him a king "forever and ever" (Exod. xv, 18). (4) The real beginning of the kingly rule was after the giving of the law (Deut. xxxiii, 5). (5) The king was the one who was the creator of Israel (Isa. xliii, 15). (6) This king will not be king over the nations until a yet further time, when he comes in the times of the final consummation (Zech. xiv, 9–16; Isa. xxiv, 23; Psalm xciii; xcvi, 10; and xcvii, 1; Obad. 21). (7) The references in all these cases is to one and the same king. (8) In prophetic diction there is a time that marks the consummation of redemption.* (9) The king referred to in these passages is the same as the one referred to in the New Testament (Matt. ii, 6; Luke i, 31–33; and many other places). (10) In prophetic diction, also, a David sits upon the throne in the last times, ordering all things and securing the triumph of the kingdom. The divine kingship abides in the house of David forever (2 Sam. vii, 16–25; Ezek. xxxiv, 24). Oehler says that 2 Sam. vii forms in two respects the starting point for the more definite form of the Messianic idea: first, because the consummation of the kingdom of God for which Israel was chosen is from that time forward connected with a king who, as the Son of God, is the representative of Jehovah and—fitted by him to be the depositary of the divine sovereignty on earth—stands in the relation of most intimate connection with God; and, secondly, in that it is established for all time that this king is to be the son of David. In a note on the above Oehler says that "the continued right of the race of David to the throne is never called in question by prophecy, though it often passes sentence of rejection upon individual kings of Judah." (11) This king in

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* In addition to the above references see the following: Isa. xi, entire; Micah iv, 1–7; Jer. xlviii, 47; Ezek. xxxviii, 16.

person sits upon the throne in the millennial period. This is a crucial point. Let the reader who is anxious to reach correct conclusions judge whether this is David—Solomon's predecessor and the son of Jesse—or Jesus Christ. One or the other is to sit upon the future throne of the world forever. The Scriptures alone can settle the matter.* And, from them is it not evident beyond possible doubt that it is the Lord Jesus, the creator of all the dispensations, who is at last to be manifested in transcendent glory? If so, how far away are we from all ideas of evolution, in this advance of the human race?

7. We hear much about the preaching of the Gospel in all the world "for a witness," as if that were the key-point determining the coming of the kingdom of God. This is a splendid half truth. The other half is the conversion of the Jews. In the order of providence they are connected with each other, and will attain completion in the same great consummation. Isaiah, after picturing the happy effects of the preaching of the Gospel in chapter xxxv, immediately adds: "And the ransomed of the Lord"—the Jewish nation—"shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away." When the apostles asked the question, "Wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" the Master replied, "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power. But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." This was all the reply, and the last reply the Saviour gave to this ever-recurring inquiry. Before this he had spoken of the fall of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews to the uttermost parts of the earth. He knew the greatness and duration of that dispersion. He could give no other answer to the anxious apostles. His thought seems to be: "No, not at this time. Not till the hour strikes for the return of the scattered and rebellious people. The Gospel world, in the

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* See the following: Amos ix, 11-15; Micah v, 2; Hosea iii, 4, 5; Jer. xxx, 9: Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24, and xxxvii, 24, 25; Rev. v, 5; Gen. xlix, 9, 10; Isa. xi, 1-10; Rom. xv, 12; Rev. xxii. 16: Psalm cx, 1, and Rev. xi, 15, should be read together.

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meantime, shall be a witness for me—at length a powerful and overwhelming witness to the obdurate Jew. Then the kingdom shall be restored, and not till then."

The preaching of the Gospel is to have its direct and its reflexive effects upon the Gentiles and upon the Jew. But the conversion of the Jew is the key to the final consummation. It is not until both events are effected that the Lord makes a feast unto all peoples, "a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined;" destroys "the face of the covering cast over all people, and the veil that is spread over all nations;" swallows up "death in victory;" and wipes away "tears from off all faces," and "the rebuke of his people . . . from off all the earth." The happiness of all the kingdoms of the earth is connected with the regathering of the Jew. God's purpose in the human family is bound up in this race. His benediction upon all cannot be pronounced until his purpose in the Jew is fulfilled. The Jew is forever first in God's thoughts, and his gifts and callings to them are irrevocable forever. Can they, then, be cast aside by the Christian Church with the same cold feeling with which the world discards them? The last question the apostles asked our Lord, as we have seen, was, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" In our hurried study of the Scriptures we fail to note that this was a most natural question. Their prophets had given them the hope of restoration. Isaiah had said, "I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counselors as at the beginning: afterward thou shall be called, The city of righteousness, the faithful city." Amos, one of their earlier seers, had said, "In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof; and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old." Daniel, one of their latest prophets, had said, "The kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him." There was a deathless animation in their hopes, gathered from the fascination of the prophetic diction. "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that the plowman

shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed; and the mountains shall drop sweet wine, and all the hills shall melt. And I will bring again the captivity of my people of Israel, and they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof; they shall also make gardens, and eat the fruit of them. And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled up out of their land which I have given them, saith the Lord thy God."

The kingdom is to be restored. If the Scriptures do not teach this truth—both the Old and the New Testament—then they teach nothing that can be relied upon. And it is to come as a consummation of the divine plan and purpose in mankind upon the earth, and not as a capricious evolution. How the eye of the Church ever lost sight of so conspicuous and stupendous a teaching is passing strange. How it is there are no large organizations in Christendom devoted to the conversion of the Jews is also strange. No grander work before the kingdom comes in its full splendor remains to be done. And it is "high time to awake out of sleep." For now is the salvation of the world not only nearer in time, but nearer in purpose, than when it was undertaken by the preaching of the apostles. If preached now with due intelligence and intensity the Church may soon sing as never before, "The morning light is breaking."

B. F. Rawlins

Art. X.—A VITAL THEOLOGY AND ITS COGNATES.

To some physicists the atom is a storm center, and the storms their mind's eye can see arising therefrom are amazing. Similarly, some good people see in theology a species of storm center peculiarly liable to give rise to storms of moral disaster and religious unsettling. Prejudice sleeps lightly and wakes bristling with apprehension if theological doctrines do but thunder in the distance never so low. During a series of years of examination of undergraduates the writer has found among students not a few who seem to regard the study of systematic theology with a sort of *cui bono* air, or that it is meagerly, if at all, beneficial.

Yet we are all theologians in some degree. Cosmic forces exist, act, and produce results just the same, whether we have or have not a cosmology. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the humblest thinker is a cosmogonist, whether conscious or unconscious of the fact. In like manner men are all theologians, whether consciously so or not. Intuitively some concept will be had and will be more or less formulated. Imperfect it will be, no doubt, but, nevertheless, theological. It is important that a wholesome, vital theology be taught and studied, as the exponent of a necessary factor in God's economy of grace to man, and because it is worth while to be able to guard against the unbaptized logic of magazine and newspaper theology, the speculative vanity of small philosophers, and the nondescript vaporings of novelists of the Elsmerean type.

All kinds of knowledge are interesting, and some kinds are fascinating. The theology of the Bible invites us to a kind of knowledge which is peculiarly fascinating. But when we are commended to this study under the titles of "systematic theology," "dogmatics," and other formidable terminology there is danger of losing ourselves in preliminaries, in devoting too much time and thought to that part of the house made with hands and never reaching that part of the house not made with hands, in going in pursuit of an impossible perfection by beginning so laboriously. Just as a student in Greek

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may be kept so long in the philological vestibule that he may never reach Greek literature at all, so the student of theology may be put to the hazard of never getting out of the shop-made vestibule of theology into the great living temple itself. To revert to the figure of a storm center, the theologue begins with a vigorous shower of terminology. There are exegetics, hermeneutics, isagogics, irenics, patristics, symbolics, ethics, dogmatics, apologetics, catechetics, polemics, Christocentrics, cyclopedics, anthropomorphics, anthropology, soteriology, Christology, eschatology, and methodology, and more in sight—a very tornado of terminology indeed! It is not strange that the student asks, If the virtuoso in these things scarcely be saved where shall the novice and the amateur appear?

Besides this downpour of nomenclature there blows a strong gale of empirics, together with cross winds of strongly asserted opinions—only opinions—some of which come to us across the chasm of centuries from councils fatherly, and others but recently let loose from lairs of rationalism, agnosticism, and bald materialism, all mingled with the keen claps of polemic thunder born mainly of the pugnacious element in human nature. It is not surprising that the young student of theology looks askance and entertains something akin to doubt of the utility of the study. And, if he be not firmly fixed on that foundation other than which no man can lay, his house may fall. How happy that student who finds his feet on the solid rock when the rains cease and the winds lay and the thunder moans away into silence, and from the theological sky there shines into his soul, bright and beautiful, the one sweet Star, Christ, "the power of God, and the wisdom of God!"

It will be remembered that the text-books which teach theology must, in the nature of the case, do so in the academic terminology. Terminologies do not make systems and laws, but we must be content to regard them as the necessary exponents of the already existing systems, laws, and truths which have been discovered and which are ever larger than language can express. It will be remembered, also, while modern thought makes merry over what it is pleased to call "dogma," that it is not the peculiar property of theology. There is no science known to man but has "dogma," for it is

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only another name for reliable certainty in any science, and theology is no exception to be twitted for established truth. Moreover, every science expresses itself in the peculiar cult and terminology of its school. He who charges theology with dogma, in any derisive sense, seriously impairs his standing for intelligence.

All science has broadened and developed by the discovery of great fundamentals which already existed. Astronomy has reached the value it has by the revelations of the telescope. Biology has led us on with the microscope, from the time we did not know the circulation of the blood to this hour when we are sitting at the gateway of that mysterious thing called life and expecting every day to solve the mystery. So the Bible has been both telescopic and microscopic in the enlargement of our vision, the revelation of the great outlines of theology, and the discernment of fundamental truth, its relations, system, order, methods. Thus the study of Christian truth has developed into systematic arrangement, and its name is "theology." Its fundamentals are born of God, its nomenclature of man.

Theology is a science, and as such posits the attributes of God, his eternity of being, and the methods of his grace from revelation that is from without the known, and not from data within the known, as is the method of what we know as pure science; yet theology is a science none the less. A vital theology is one in which the revelation of what has been will never be at war with the revelation of what ought to be. What God has been to men he still is and will be. And the right relation of man to God and of man to man is what ought to be. This is the religion of a vital theology.

The book without which all other books would lose standing and influence is charged, as no other book can be, with the first principles of a vital theology. Instance that magnificent utterance in the first sentence of the book, "In the beginning God created." It is not too much to say that every hue, every fragrance, every possibility of the divinely unfolded Gospel lies capsulate in that wonderful sentence, as the oak lies locked up in the acorn. Here is the prophetic credential of a vital theology. Joseph Parker interprets beautifully thus: "To

create is to protect; to protect is to redeem; to redeem is to prize; to prize is to complete; to complete is to glorify. This is the protoplasm of revelation; what comes after this will be attenuation of itself, God going into detail to meet our ignorance." Is it any wonder that theology gets its right to be? Its fundamentals of blood and life are the postulates of the Bible and none other.

To this perennial fountain of peace and kindness we go for God's deepest thought of man. We are not going to the Thames for rationalism, we are not going to the Rhine for agnosticism, we are not going to the Seine for bald materialism, we are not going to the Tiber for infallibility; but we are going to the "river, the streams whereof shall make glad" the whole earth, to be "the city of God"—the eternal word of salvation. This is theology so vital, so select, so holy, so beautiful that no other can live in its presence. It is the theology of God in Christ, "reconciling the world unto himself," fitting human society on earth to become his eternal society in heaven. We shall learn much else, but if we learn not this we shall have learned nothing.

Never in the world's history has Christian theology had a literature so rich, so clear, so strong. It is also true that never in the world's history have there been such crucial tests made and such facilities offered for getting astray. This is an age of things new—the "new education," the "new conscience," the "new faith," the "new orthodoxy." The new everything has been attempted, except the "new heavens and the new earth," and perhaps some are only waiting for a little more data to attempt that. This age is nothing if not ambitious.

Knowledge to-day must be technical; it must speak in fitting terminology of the new and glow with the sunlight of the old—the faith "once delivered unto the saints." It can have too much abstract intellectualism, but never too much intelligence. Intellectuality must be set on fire. Its torch must be lighted at the altar by the Holy Spirit; the natural man must be transformed into the spiritual man, to discern the things of the Spirit. Then theology will lead the great volunteer army of the Church, will become the interpreter of our aspirations, and be as a chariot in which the soul may mount

upward to God. This is inspiration, the first cognate of a vital theology.

Theology based on revelation is the truth of God. If he chooses God may reveal without inspiration, but man must discern spiritually. "There is a spirit in man: and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding." It is not the inspiration that writes a Bible revelation as holy men of old, but the quickening that "helpeth our infirmities," that leads into the way of "all truth," that guides into right construction of history, into a right grouping of the facts of revelation and coloring of the facts of life and experience, into the right use of the moral sense, and into all true knowledge of the culture of the soul. Inspiration is not a mechanical term, any more than theology is a metaphysical cobweb. It touches the highest and lowest grades of faculty. God speaks, and the inspiration of his speech giveth understanding. We get the inspiration where we get the fundamentals of theology.

Actualization is another cognate of vital theology. Not a scriptural term, you say? No; but it is a scriptural ideal. Not in the accredited books of the schools? No; but it is the highest ideal of theology. Ideals are better when transmuted into thought; they are best when transmuted into action. Rosencrance wrote, "The student must not only learn to think, he must learn to actualize his thought," to transmute it into action. Knowledge, like corn, may be cribbed, and never be let out broadcast. Creed must become deed. Hearing the sayings of Christ and not doing them are so vastly different as to foreshadow overthrow of an unspeakable kind. The science of theology is not only to be learned, but must be made to glow with the deeds of actualization. Mozart and Handel climbed up close to the heart of the Infinite through the beautiful art of music. The actualizations of these masters makes the music of the world. Raphael and Angelo nestled close to God in the creation of their great paintings. If, like a Raphael, an Angelo, a Rembrandt, a Mozart, a Handel, we actualize the love of the Father, the genius of the Gospel; if the Church of God put on its strength and its beautiful garments, and show forth the mind that was in Christ, which is the fundamental of our

theology, how the pace of the poor old world would be quickened! The Church would make a path of light for herself broader and more splendid than she has ever known.

In the highest actualization of Christianity, Christlikeness of life and intellectual culture go together. Who so fine an illustration of this fact as Paul? In whom did Paul glory so much as in Jesus? Who has ever said, with so much force as Paul, concerning his daily life, "Yet not I, but Christ liveth in me?" And yet, with an intellectual eminence second to none, Paul is easily the greatest theologian in Christian annals, and the first to elaborate the great capsulate truths of Bible theology.

We must not underrate the forces that antagonize the Bible and Christian theology to-day. It is necessary that the theologian have the highest possible equipment intellectually; for, what with certain "higher critics" within the Church and agnostics without the Church, he will be brought in contact with men of the highest intellectual eminence. To rely upon pious self-complacency without the keen blade of intellectual culture is to invite defeat.

On the other hand, to defend Christianity by intellectual culture alone is to afford opportunity for unbelief and moral aversion to make merry and grow fat. The Christian theologian must see to it that he is able to meet the skepticism and spiritual aversion of even the highest names of civilization and shout them on to the limit of investigation, and at the same time be an incarnation of spiritual beauty and power in daily life.

C. W. Jacobs

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

No man is of much use to the Lord until he learns that he himself is of no account, but that his God-given work is the all-important thing, and buries himself in it. Then he begins to be of value.

Justin McCarthy, commenting on the fact that Dr. Temple, the present Primate of all England, was seventy-five years old when Lord Salisbury made him Archbishop of Canterbury, says that in the case of great functionaries like an archbishop, or a lord chancellor, or a commander in chief, it is simply ridiculous to fix an age limit and enforce retirement by a universal rule. He thinks Dr. Temple eminently qualified for all the work of his position, and adds: "If Count von Moltke had been withdrawn from active service according to the rule that is now favored in England the world would never have known that he was the greatest continental soldier since the first Napoleon. If Marshal Radetski had been withdrawn from public service at seventy-five the world would never have known what a splendid soldier he was. . . . If the ordinary rule had been applied to Lord Palmerston we should never have known that he was one of the greatest parliamentary debaters of his time."

THE NORMAL AGE FOR CONVERSION.

Man's spiritual constitution is scientifically ascertained to be as real as his bodily frame. Ethnologists and anthropologists report that religion is included in the cosmic order, having undeniably an essential place in sane and normal human nature; and Christianity itself is perceived to have a large and demonstrable basis in universal law, being an integral and indispensable part of the system of things.

Attention is at present specially drawn to the nature and significance of adolescence, and many facts testified to by experience are collated, the most valuable results of which research belong

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to the spiritual side of life. Those facts require to be freshly impressed upon the Church, which sometimes in past periods has manifested woeful ignorance thereof or guilty indifference thereto. Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children" for pity, justice, and help rose into England's ear; up into our Zion comes the cry of adolescence for comprehension and due attention to its spiritual needs. Even primitive savages condemn us by their example for our failure to appreciate the sacred significance of adolescence; an epoch regarded among rude barbarians with a kind of awe, marked by rites of the most solemn import, and surrounded with ceremonies distinctly religious, the object of which is to prepare the mind of the boy or girl for the wider life on which they are entering. Among the native tribes of South Australia and the Indians of South America and parts of North America the boy was sent away into the woods to remain there alone, exposed to all weathers, and enduring hunger and thirst, to spend solitary days and nights in expectant meditation, awaiting "the divine revelation which entitles him to call himself a man." The girl was subjected to similar severely impressive discipline, being sent on the incipiency of womanhood into long seclusion in the hills or forests, to commune alone with her guardian spirit, who might be expected to make known to her in visions something of the meaning of life; which revelations she sometimes recorded by symbols on the rocks, where traces of them still remain for us to study. Even the dull barbarian has, it seems, the spiritual discernment to surmise and signalize the special nearness of God to the young life at its crossing of the line which marks the beginning of adulthood. Perceiving in the world and feeling in himself signs of a mysterious divine Presence, he believes that a sacred threshold is under the tender feet where the vestibule of childhood opens into the great temple of mature life, and that the divinity of that temple meets the entering novice with some secret token of welcome and some impartation of wisdom. A shameful and humiliating contrast it is, that, under the very shadow of church spires in centers of Christian civilization, parents often fall behind the aboriginal savage by their failure to reverence the sanctity of adolescence, to recognize the presence and power of God at work in it, and to give attention to its deepest, intensest, and most critical needs. Frequently this period is regarded chiefly with admiration and pride in its developing beauty and

strength, and filled only with thoughtless play, frivolous gayety, ornamental accomplishments, or, at best, with merely secular instruction. The crisis which God makes great with meaning, and holy with intimate spiritual visitations, is minified, desecrated, perverted, ignored by parents and friends, too shallow, sensual, sordid, or uninstructed to realize the sacred nature of the time, with its momentous and far-reaching issues.

The moral nature is found to have its times and seasons as distinctly marked as any physical stages or states. It is commonly well understood that, in general, adolescence is the time of most acute spiritual as well as physical sensitiveness and impressibility. It is also fairly well ascertained that within the general period of adolescence, extending from the twelfth to the twenty-fifth year, we are able to specify more definitely certain probable times of special religious susceptibility, earlier in females than in males, as might be expected, the age of maximum spiritual manifestation and receptivity for girls being first at twelve and again at sixteen, and for boys first at fifteen and again at eighteen.

That this psychical awakening is simultaneous with similar epochal physical developments neither accounts for it nor detracts from its divine quality and spiritual implications, but is in various respects clearly appropriate and beneficent. A provision that moral adolescence shall keep step, *pari passu*, with physical adolescence is promotive of symmetric balance and a rhythmic movement of part with part in the unfolding of man's complex nature. That the soul should be awakened to its universe and have developed in it perception and power for the relationships and responsibilities thereof just when the body is unfolding into fitness for its world with the relations, duties, and tasks thereof, seems a wise, orderly, and natural arrangement, and, moreover, for the safety of the individual and of society, a quite necessary provision. The physical powers and propensities alone by themselves are a senseless and conscienceless mob. When they receive sudden and startling development into strength there is instant need for raising to superior power the moral sense, the reason, and the will, by whose firm and solemn dominance impetuous blind impulse may be controlled and the baptismal prayer have a chance of being answered, that youth "may never run into folly nor into the evils of an unbridled appetite." Heaven does not leave man's nobler nature

in its most perilous emergency to fall a victim to rampant and ungoverned passions, as Gladstone's government left Gordon at Khartoum to be slain by savages. The good God has arranged for punctual support with a sufficient force, so that the young life may be able to fight the good fight and lay hold on eternal life. In adolescence as at Dothan a supernatural Power masses horses and chariots on the heights above the soul when the citadel of its life is menaced from below. In that seething and else anarchic time of agitation and transition the Holy Spirit actively befriends the human individual by seeking to empower the conscience and put it on the throne, so that reason and the will of God may prevail by the subduing of turbulence and insubordination and the ruling of the realm legitimately into order, peace, and safety perpetual.

At the vivid crisis which opens adolescence—a time of confused desires, fluttering alternations of hope and fear, premonitory reverberations from unknown heights and depths, when the inexperienced, undecided, exquisitely susceptible nature is like a sensitive needle whirled about in the stress of a magnetic storm, moved by conflicting impulses the nature and source of which it does not understand—then it is ineffably important that the quivering and wavering spirit shall be settled decisively without delay, by the interaction of divine and human power, in the right direction, securing thus the punctual, normal, and permanent polarization of the soul through its own preference upon that revealed, discerned, and reverenced Right which it is typographically proper to capitalize because it is divine, because behind it, in it, and inseparable from it is God, its eternal substance, support, and revealer, so that loyalty to it is fealty to him. The maiden

> Standing with reluctant feet
> Where the brook and river meet,
> Womanhood and childhood fleet,

is entitled to tender, earnest, intelligent, and godly guidance, that those pathetically inexperienced feet may immediately find the path of purity, pleasantness, and peace to walk therein lifelong, mounting to "those high table-lands to which the Lord our God is moon and sun," and on to being's splendid final goal in the consummate likeness of the Lord. The Church of Christ exists upon the earth for nothing more certainly than for befriending the lad when he stands bewildered at startling revelations of unsuspected contents in his own nature, dazed with sudden light,

filled with troubled wonder at life's enlarging and unmeasured meanings, newly conscious of being involved in wide relationships, regarded by exacting expectations, and beset by many dangers, all as yet dimly realized or vaguely understood ; disturbed and mystified by strange goings on within and without; visited by visions and dreams and unable to distinguish dream from reality ; ignorant how far his subjective states are caused by or point to objective reality in earth or heaven :

> In that first onrush of life's chariot wheels
> We know not if the forests move or we.

He then, that expanding, uprising, adolescent, intellectual and moral being, is entitled to have the sublime and awful new universe he is becoming aware of, with heaven at the top and hell at the bottom of it, explained to him; to have the meaning of his inward crisis and commotion interpreted for him in the right spiritual way; to be shown how he may relate himself prosperously and happily to all things in spiritual, intellectual, and physical realms by a right self-adjustment with Him who is the supreme ruler and center of all, making peace and forming an alliance with the system of things in which he finds himself by signing a prepared and proffered treaty with the Lord of all, seeing that for him the central subjective facts are conscience, free agency, accountability, while his supreme obligations are pointed out in the great twofold commandment of Christ on which hang all the law and the prophets.

Most obviously the divine intention is that when the young life at its transition time sees curtains rising on many new perspectives of earthly reality and temporal option there should also open for its clear beholding the vista of life everlasting and all veils be drawn back from the face of the heavenly Father whom we must love and obey. As it is plainly provided for that spiritual facts shall be revealed to the soul as soon as faculty for apprehension is developed, so also it is manifestly expected that so soon as those facts make themselves known to the awakening individual he will adjust himself thereto in heart, and will, and conduct, in accordance with their august nature and legitimate demands.

It is as certain that he who would win souls must be wise as that he who does win them proves himself wise and will shine as the stars forever. Cherishing a respectful sense of the sanctity of each individual soul, and of the inviolable prerogatives of the

divine Spirit working therein, the intelligent and tactful Christian shepherd will, and any pastor who wishes to succeed must, discern the times and seasons, discriminate cases, and deal delicately with sensitive young souls with a firm purpose to be faithful to them for their salvation. From the before-mentioned earliest times of probable spiritual awakening for girls and boys no risk is run of being premature in urging them gently but earnestly toward conversion. We may assume in almost every case that the Holy Spirit, undelinquent and undilatory, antedates us in its initial operations, as it surpasses us in its infinite solicitude, expecting us who by superior age or relationship are the responsible guardians of youth to render punctually that outward assistance of instruction, encouragement, and direction which is our share in the divinely initiated work. Just now it is being pointed out with increased positiveness, and from unexpected quarters, that we best cooperate with the manifest intention and push of the divine Spirit present and active in humanity for its sanafication and sanctification, by making a determined effort to bring girls of about twelve, and boys of about fifteen, to an intelligent consent to God's requirements and a decided religious life. Parents, pastors, and teachers must see to it that this first marked epoch of spiritual sensibility does not pass unnoticed or unimproved; all possible means should be used to foster the work of the Spirit in the heart and guide to the right decision. Sadie's mother held her back when at the age of thirteen, being inwardly moved, she besought permission to make a public profession of her faith and purpose by joining the church as other girls of her age were doing. "Wait till you are sixteen," said the sadly blundering mother, a woman of social ambitions but deplorable ignorance of spiritual things. Sadie, being checked, discouraged, discredited, denied, fell into indifference or worse, and before she was sixteen met sudden death.

If for any cause the first epochal opportunity unfortunately passes by without such decision and action as commits the life to God's control, a probable recurrence of maximum sensibility and interest in spiritual things may be looked for when the girl is nearing sixteen, and the boy approaching eighteen, at which times an immensely urgent emergency is on. We are summoned then to a supreme effort, that with all skill and power we may help to crowd and steer the young soul safely over the bar on

the high tide that is lifting it. God makes it his time, and if with holy anxiety, prayer, entreaty, and endeavor we make it ours the great work will in almost every case be done.

Anywhere within the period of adolescence, from twelve to twenty-five, a word may easily save a soul, if the word be made so fit and timely as to seem like an authentic call from Heaven. Such a word was spoken to the young cadet, O. O. Howard, when in a spirit of banter he was making light of religion: "If I were you I would stop ridiculing religion. I would just begin and be a Christian." That unexpected friendly word opportunely spoken gave the United States army its Havelock. Such a word was spoken by a college president in time of special religious interest and activity to a student who was impressed but reluctant : "Make one honest effort for your soul's sake ;" and that word, added to the Spirit's inward work, sufficed to push the young man hard up against the heavenly Father, who closed his arms of power and love around the no longer unwilling but penitent and consenting boy.

While conversion should be confidently and insistently expected within the period of adolescence, and its failure to occur regarded with sorrowful concern as a delay unnatural, unhealthy, and alarming—like the failure of some physiological function to make its appearance at the divinely appointed time—it is yet needful to say that the emphasis here laid upon that period by no means implies the impossibility of conversion after or before what is correctly termed the normal age. There are instances, on the one hand, of earlier spiritual sensibility and capability—as there are of precocious physical developments and manifestations—and a genuine religious life is sometimes observed as early as the eighth or seventh, or even the sixth, year, "at which time," says a materialistic teacher, "the child begins to have a soul;" which we deny, holding with Lotze that the child has a soul as soon as it has a body; but as early as six there is sometimes unmistakable religiousness. Bishop Wiley, one of the saints and heroes of modern Methodism, could not remember the time when he did not love God and his people. There are also, on the other hand, belated religious awakenings, reactions to some extraordinary stimulus, and recurrences of spiritual sensibility beyond adolescence, and we are bound to labor, undiscouraged, for men and women of all ages, even for the old, in the hope that so long as life lasts there may be a possibility of the moral magneti-

zation of man's spiritual nature by the divine Spirit into such sensitiveness and holy affinity that it may answer the call of the true Center of attraction and acquiesce in its divine authority. From his study window a minister watched through the spring and the summer a rusty weathervane, which paid no attention to the winds of heaven. It lived a stolid, dogged lie, and only by accident ever pointed true. But in the late autumn, one gloomy and threatening day, there blew across the scowling sky a mighty wind which wrenched the old vane loose from its false position, and from that time it was responsive to the breath of heaven, moving obediently as it was moved upon from above.

Without doubt we are harping on familiar truths and repeating platitudes, but they are holy truths, tremendous platitudes; and the forcible reiteration of a pile-driver would not be excessive to send some slighted lessons in as deep as they need to go. While all who hold any responsible relation to youth should be admonished to watch for the smallest signs of religious concern or appetency, and to aid by sympathetic encouragement, interpretation, and advice, instead of neglecting, dismissing, or repressing those manifestations as immature, imitative, or superficial; and while, because a spiritual leaven indubitably works in the ferment of adolescence, all Christians may be bold to say always in the presence of youthful sensibility, disquietude, and craving, "This is your day of grace and the time of your visitation. It is God that worketh in you," yet the particular burden of this present writing is to emphasize the admitted fact that the minister's most distinctly marked and imperative duty is to make the most of the inviting opportunity which adolescence gives. In his book or in his mind every pastor should keep a list of the names and ages of all young people within his reach. Toward them his soul should yearn, over them he should brood, for them he should pray, near to them he should manage to be—inside the circle of their respect, confidence, and love, as near as possible to the center of it. Before the coming of the periods of special susceptibility and probable awakening he should have established himself in genial friendship with them, so that they may be willing to be guided by him, believing themselves to have no sincerer, nobler, kindlier friend outside the home circle.

In the Sabbath school, besides seeing to it that the superintendent is a man of genuine piety as well as blameless life, and

the teachers earnest-minded and devout persons, he should, by his regular presence and stimulating leadership, by his prayers, expositions, exhortations, and appeals, do all in his power to make the session impressively and persuasively religious. He should urge upon officers and teachers in their meetings a prayerful effort for the immediate conversion of all pupils of sufficient age and intelligence. In the Epworth League he should be one with the young people, influence quietly and wisely the selection of leaders and the adoption of methods, develop a true, intelligent, and ardent religious life, and infuse an aggressive evangelistic spirit. In the Church at large he should prevent or extinguish divisions which promote unfriendly rivalries and contests between old and young or which set the official board and the Epworth League or the Sabbath school in disagreement and opposition.

The weekly prayer meeting should not be weakly, but be made alive, profitable, and attractive to the adolescent. One of several reasons why Friday evening is the best time for it is that school is then over for the week, and the young people, having no lessons to prepare for to-morrow, are free to attend. In his study every morning he should have his mind's eye on them, studiously adapting the sermon he is preparing to their needs. In house-to-house visits parents should be impressed with the spiritual significance of the period of adolescence, and their instructed attention turned to this crisis in the children God has given them, especially urging the importance of bringing up children to habits of church attendance from a very early age. Gross ignorance abounds. One woman told the pastor that her daughter, aged seventeen, a Sabbath school scholar for a dozen years, was not old enough to understand properly what she would be doing in confessing Christ and uniting with the Church. In a certain church one man, an official member, refrained from requiring his boy to attend church on the notion that it was better to leave him free to choose for himself, so that he could not complain of being constrained or overinfluenced. The adversary of souls approved the father's policy of noninterference and made the most of the opportunity thereby given him. Not being himself deterred by any delicate scruples, he appropriated that boy and twisted him the other way, where he remains warped to the evil one's will. To leave a child to select his own associates, without counsel or supervision, or to refrain

from requiring him to go to school lest he be unduly influenced toward education, would be less fatuous and fatal. In addition to making the Church profoundly and tenderly anxious for all children and youth, this solicitude should be brought to the notice of those toward whom it yearns by such services as shall manifest the Church's anxiety and readiness to help—services adapted to surround with friendly atmosphere and favorable opportunity for expression and relief the adolescent soul, sure to be frequently, however secretly, visited and admonished by the Father of Spirits, moved by spiritual unrest, compunction, and wistfulness, and possibly by vague and infinite alarms. In his intercourse with the young the minister should, in fit time, place, and manner, make each one aware of his concern for their spiritual well-being, and his prayers for their speedy conversion; seeking also to discover their condition, attitude, and tendency of mind, in order that he may successfully influence them to heed those inward motions and monitions which are known to proceed from the Holy Spirit by their urging only to holy things.

Possibly these pages in the autumn issue of the *Review* could not find better use under the gray skies of coming winter than in a plain and practical reiteration of such sacred truths, stupendous platitudes, solemn duties.

THE WHITMAN CRAZE IN ENGLAND.

The special envoy of the United States to the Queen's Jubilee Festival, Mr. Whitelaw Reid, in his speech at the Cordwainers' banquet in London last July, referred to "the quite extraordinary appreciation" given to the writings of Walt Whitman on that side of the water. It was there that his fame first arose, and the rage for him now amounts to a craze. The London *Bookman*, publishing a list of the best-selling books in a recent month, reported that in the metropolis of the world Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* led the list. At Whitman's death the London *Times* said that his work "is bound to exercise considerable effect on the future of American literature;" the *Standard* called him "a great and original genius," and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "the poet of democracy." There is, or was, in Birmingham, England, an association calling itself "The Labor Church," and holding services in a music hall, in which hymns, readings from Walt Whitman, and the Lord's Prayer were mixed together. Visiting

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English clergymen in American pulpits frequently quote from Whitman with evident appreciation.

Dr. Robert F. Horton, in his Yale Lectures to the Divinity School, speaking of "The Word of God Outside the Bible," held up Whitman as inspired, and said part of the word of God is in him.* Whitman's works have a wide vogue in respectable circles in Great Britain, and praise is lavished on him as on no other American author. We have called it a craze in agreement with Brander Matthews, who says that a British critic capable of estimating Whitman with sanity is rare. Of the author of a recent volume of essays a reviewer wrote, "As a matter of course, being an Englishman, he regards Walt Whitman as a great and typical American poet." Colonel Higginson says that no Englishman, except perhaps Hughes and Bryce, has been able to appreciate or even to understand "Lowell's magnificent 'Commemoration Ode,' which is the high-water mark of American poetry." Swinburne, who has personal reasons for praising Whitman's daring insolence, led off the chorus of British adulation by calling him "a strong-winged soul, with prophetic lips hot with the blood-beats of song," though afterward in an unguarded moment Swinburne lapsed from loyalty by comparing Whitman to a drunken apple woman rolling in the gutter. Close after comes Robert Buchanan, who invites the wrath of his contemporaries by consigning most of his acquaintances to the madhouse with the statement, "I have known only two really sane men in my life—Walt Whitman and Herbert Spencer." To Robert Buchanan Whitman is "the greatest of Americans in his day," though his day was also Lowell's and Emerson's and Whittier's, Bancroft's and Motley's, Lincoln's and Stanton's and Grant's. It begins to dawn upon us why a judicious London critic spoke of some one as happy in not having had the misfortune to incur Mr. Buchanan's praise.

Even such acute and accomplished critics as Dr. Edward Dowden and Mr. Rosetti are Whitman's panegyrists, hailing him as the typical American poet, the latter writing a commendatory preface for a selection of his poems. It is reported that Tenny-

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*If Whitman is affirmed to be one of the modern seers and prophets through whom up-to-date inspiration is making authoritative new revelations, we take to our heels in alarm and make a breathless run for shelter to the old-fashioned doctrine that the canon was closed some time ago, and that *Leaves of Grass* cannot lawfully be added either to the New Testament or to the Old; and in that ancient citadel we purpose remaining, at least until all such frightful dangers shall be overpast.

son, having a desire to see him, once sent the shaggy barbarian an invitation to spend a month in summer at the laureate's country home. We believe Edmund Gosse, having seen him, never invited him. When Mr. Gosse traveled hundreds of miles to call on Whitman in Camden the "good gray poet" came down stairs to see what the stranger wanted. Learning who he was, he led the way up to his bedroom, sat promptly down in the only chair, coolly leaving Gosse to make a seat for himself by clearing some papers off a box. Mr. Gosse, going there "a stiff-necked and froward unbeliever" in the greatness of Walt—yet willing to be convinced—came away with mind unchanged. There is a newspaper report of an evening company in London where the author of *The Idylls of the King* read aloud from *Leaves of Grass*, taking care, doubtless, to be extremely cautious in making his selections. If such men as these, with R. F. Horton, Alfred W. Momerie, William Clarke, and others like them, go on thinking Whitman the representative American poet, his bust may yet be substituted for Longfellow's in Westminster Abbey. Even Edmund Gosse once trembled for a moment on the brink in the following manner: "I am inclined to admit that in Walt Whitman we have just missed receiving from the New World one of the greatest of modern poets." Happily he quickly steadied back again on the solid ground of literary sanity with the clear conviction that he and his brother Englishmen have certainly missed that boon, and in further evidence that he still retains his senses proceeds to notice Whitman's brutality, toleration of the ugly and the forbidden, terrible laxity of thought, fatuity of judgment, and the squalor which drips from some of his lines. A few other sane English critics might find a useful mission in moderating the extravagance of their infatuated fellow-countrymen whose praise of Whitman asserts that he "belongs with Diderot, Heine, Ibsen, and Tolstoï;" he "is the true successor of Shelley," only his poetry "is more absolute in expression, more real in its content, and burns brighter in the nearness of sunrise than Shelley's;" as a poet of democracy he is "brother to Victor Hugo;" he is "the greatest of American voices;" he is one of the world's "eternal peaks;" his works are "unparalleled and deathless writings," a "new gospel to the world." We think it is high time word should be sent to our kin beyond the sea that Whitman appointed himself minister plenipotentiary without any credentials from the American

people; and there are grave reasons why we do not wish it supposed that he represents us, some of which may be intimated.

T. W. Higginson having mentioned Whitman in one of his letters to her, Emily Dickinson replied, "You speak of Mr. Whitman. I never read his book, but was told it is disgraceful." Robert Louis Stevenson tells of a big Frenchman who was proud of his prowess in having halted with his gun a misbehaving marquis: "Marquis, if you take another step I fire upon you. You have committed a dirtiness, marquis." Walt Whitman would have run a dangerous chance of being shot on sight if that Frenchman had met him after reading his books, which contain the most indecent things ever put in type. Boccaccio and Rabelais are almost gentlemen in comparison, and a barroom blackguard would hardly dare insult "Hell's Kitchen" with vulgarity so wanton and outrageous. Part of the writings of this "good gray poet," as his admirers fondly name him, would have been popular in Pompeii when it was a purulent pustule on the face of the earth, and when old Vesuvius was so nauseated with the stench of its filthiness that he made a new Gehenna to burn its prurience up. The proper place for some of Whitman's "Grass" is with the relics hid in secret cabinets in the Museo Borbonico, at Naples, at sight of which civilization blushes and averts its face. Our friends across the water would not think well of us if we should speak of Oscar Wilde as their representative poet; yet the bald fact is that Wilde did nothing more shameful than Whitman wrote, though for his acts the just verdict of an English jury condemned the sunflower æsthete to two years of prison fare, a plank bed, and the treadmill. Let Frederick Greenwood apply to Whitman the true words he wrote in the *Contemporary Review:* "The violation of public decency is a certain sign of a coarse brain and a brutish character; while by all who are witnesses of the deed or hearers of the word it is felt like a blow." Whitman smote common decency publicly and brutally in the face if ever anybody did. In 1873 Richard Grant White called Fitzedward Hall "a yahoo of literature" and "a man born without a sense of decency." Hall might easily have been a misprint for Whitman. Ludwig Büchner says that savages have so little modesty that they "do not shun publicity any more than animals even for their most private acts." He would be compelled to class Whitman with savages. Even Professor

Dowden, of Trinity College, Dublin, is obliged to say that in some passages Whitman "falls below humanity—falls below even the modesty of brutes." How much eulogy of that sort does it take to establish a man in the European mind as "the typical American poet?" In one of his poems the Camden bard gives his preference to animals because, he says, they "do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins," and "do not make him sick discussing their duty to God." For such reasons he felt like turning to live with the beasts. For once he came near having a perception of propriety. If he had only yielded to that impulse early in life one advantage for mankind would have been that there are no printing presses in brutedom. But he would have been disappointed in the brutes. If he had read his manuscripts to them, and they had caught the meaning and perceived the wanton, deliberate, and flagrant indecency in them, they would have turned their sweet breath from his poisonous "Grass;" they might have tossed him and his filthy, shapeless stuff upon their clean and shapely horns and trampled both into the manure of the barnyard. No one of them was ever guilty of such self-degradation as his.

Robert Buchanan was grieved because in this country, when the body which was Whitman's chief object of worship was laid in its New Jersey grave, in Harleigh Cemetery, "only one man, an atheist by profession, had the courage to speak the funeral oration." But that man had a special, almost an exclusive right to be the spokesman of that hour. Later he lectured to raise money for a statue of Heinrich Heine. Felix Dahn and his colleagues object to the erection of a monument to Heine in Germany on the ground that "he fouled German literature with licentious poems." Efforts are being made for two monuments to Heine, one in Africa and one in New York city. What more fitting than that the advocate of the use of United States mails for transmitting obscene literature should raise a statue to Heine and stand over Whitman's body to say, "The most eminent citizen of the republic lies dead before us." What Dr. Dowden admits of Whitman's infrabestial immodesty no other panegyrist can possibly deny, not even she who wrote "A Woman's Estimate of Walt Whitman." This essay which sounds like a diatribe is founded on and justified by facts so undeniable that they are conceded by his worshipers. If he may pass uncensured, then no line of prose or verse penned by

any son of Belial can ever be condemned. It is a shame to name him for praise as even a few Americans do on the same page with such high-souled and stainless men of genius as Lowell, Whittier, and Emerson, ending by setting him above them all. Hamlin Garland puts him at the head of American poets. Mr. E. C. Townshend expresses in the *Westminster Review* his surprise that Walt Whitman when he described the sort of literature he hoped would come in the future did not know that Zola was already initiating exactly what Whitman wanted—the rank, gross sensualism for a whiff of which he was eagerly snuffing the morning air of each new day. Charcot, the French physician, used to prescribe certain chapters of Zola as the surest emetic known to him. (Science is clean, and all great physicians are noble.) Zola spreads a buzzard's banquet so putrescent that the Melbourne postal authorities refused its passage through the mails, but Mr. Townshend thinks it the kind of feast Whitman was calling for.

Marion Crawford complains that the American public will tolerate nothing that is not fit for schoolgirls. James Russell Lowell spoke for his country when he wrote that the literature it would approve must be pure enough to be fit *virginibus puerisque.* Indignation and disgust at Whitman are widespread and intense. George H. Boker showed consciousness of this when he wrote to a friend, "Print anything I have ever written about Walt Whitman, and I shall stand by it, rescue or no rescue." We see him bracing himself against the storm of contempt which he expected, and he doubted if there could be any rescue for him. Our ruling literary sentiment consigns to the depths of Tartarus whatever is profane, debauching, inflammatory. Our poetry especially has been so noble and cleanly that it is impossible to forgive the first big offender who insolently fouls it. Against his rabid eulogists it is a public duty to protest and in the name of the American people to declare that Swinburne's favorite and John Burroughs's idol does not represent them. Our indictment is framed in the spirit which prompted Milton's words: "It is of great concernment in the Church and commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and therefore to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors."

We are fallen on a day when by many persons audacity, impudence, hatred of all restraints, disrespect toward authority and

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sanctity, are praised and practiced. The defiant spirit of the red socialist and furious anarchist runs riot through many realms. The most pestiferous plague of our time is a class of men and women writers, in prose and verse, who say of all delicacy, modesty, dignity, and purity, "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us." Whitman for himself, and his idolaters for him, glory in lawless and reckless audacity. On things accepted and established he declares open war in defiant manifestoes like the following: "I confront peace, security, and all the settled laws to unsettle them; I am more resolute because all have denied me than I could ever have been had all accepted me; I heed not, and never have heeded, either experience, cautions, majorities, or ridicule; and the threat of what is called hell is little or nothing to me; and the lure of what is called heaven is little or nothing to me." An admiring Georgian says, "He galloped through our literature like an untamed stallion—unharnessed Walt." He seems to have been a sort of centaur. One of the things Whitman is thanked for by Symonds is that he cured him of daintiness by shocks of coarseness. Gabriel Sarrazin wrote of Whitman under the title of "The Renaissance of English Poesy." A manuscript translation of it was submitted to Whitman for modification or comment.. When the huge egotist reached the following sentence he underscored it as our types indicate: "Walt Whitman is *not* an artist, HE IS ABOVE ART." The natural next sentence in eulogy of such a striding and overstepping colossus would be, "He is *not* a moralist, HE IS ABOVE MORALS." He also supposed himself above law, but in Massachusetts there was a statute tall enough to tackle the stalwart culprit, and his works were suppressed by action of the attorney-general. A back-country versifier, in the double capacity of poet and funeral director, rhymed his admiration thus:

> Then bear, with dead hands on his breast,
> This shaggy old man to his rest.
> A strong audacious soul has fled,
> Now Walt is dead.'

Audacity like Whitman's is very taking with those who have his disposition without his courage. Gilbert Harrison, the actor, wrote a life of Payne, the author of "Home, Sweet Home," and sent Whitman a copy with this inscription: "To my dear old friend, Walt Whitman, who dared to show his naked soul in heroic utterance of guileless truths." The actor admired Whit-

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man's nudity because it is worse than the public will tolerate on the modern stage; one must go back to Nero's circus to find anything equal to it. The tragedian also knew full well that Whitman's most daring exposure was not of the soul; it was the sort of daring which fanatical policemen interfere with on the streets and Puritanic laws treat as a felony. The writer who, in answer to complaints against his lewd license, vociferates that he "will not hold his pen with handcuffs on," is conceivably a citizen whose wrists may ere long properly feel the "nippers."

Whitman's startling braggadocio has imposed upon many of our British cousins. "No other man," says Maurice Thompson, "ever had such a reservoir of unfiltered, unsterilized, and altogether amazing egotism upon which to draw for floods of resonant and high-rolling absurdities." Whitman calls himself a new type, the latest great original, and thinks it would be fine for the great masters of the past if they were eligible to come back and study him. He writes of himself as if he were a god: "Divine am I, inside and out; if I worship one thing more than another it shall be the spread of my own body, . . . plumb in the uprights, braced in the beams, stout as a horse, haughty, electrical." He says he "takes the exact dimensions of Jehovah —him and the other gods—for what they are worth, and not a cent more." Whitman's proclamation reminds us of the Mexican Nagualist who, when he has wrought himself into a frenzy, fancies himself a god and shouts: "Lo! I myself am here! I am most furious! I make the loudest noise! I respect no one! What god or demon dares face me?" The alienist is familiar with talk resembling this in the asylum wards. These modest claims seem to have been conceded by John A. Symonds as completely as the Mormons accepted Joseph Smith and his revelation. Of Whitman, Symonds wrote: "He is an immense tree, a kind of Ygdrasil, stretching its roots deep down into the bowels of the world, and unfolding its magic boughs through all the spaces of the heavens. . . . He is the circumambient air, in which float shadowy shapes, rise mirage towers and palm groves. He is the globe itself; all seas, lands, forests, climates, storms, snows, sunshines, rains of universal earth. He is all nations, cities, languages, religions, arts, creeds, thoughts, emotions." Truly a remarkable being, if he himself and Symonds are to be believed. Hear how the world's most flatulent and bombastic egotist

announced himself to the public. "Self-reliant, with haughty eyes, assuming to himself all the attributes of his country, steps Walt Whitman into literature. . . . Every word that falls from his mouth shows silent disdain and defiance of the old theories and forms." And further: "An American bard at last! One of the roughs, large, proud, affectionate, eating, drinking, and breeding, his costume manly and free, his face sunburnt and bearded, his postures strong and erect, his voice bringing hope and prophecy to the generous races of young and old. We shall cease shamming, and be what we really are. We shall start an athletic and defiant literature." Then, in lines entitled "To Foreign Lands," he wrote: "I heard that you asked for something to prove this puzzle, the New World, and to define America, her athletic democracy. Therefore I send you my poems that you may behold in them that you wanted." After that he wrote to a friend: "I am selling a few copies of my volumes from time to time. Most of them go to the British Islands." He was his own voucher, and "Foreign Lands" took him at his own valuation. Hearing the raucous, audacious voice, they cried, "Listen! That is the voice of the New World. The native genius of America is singing now." Up in Maine one day a man very hard of hearing was walking near the railway with his back toward the track. A passing locomotive whistled for a crossing—a shrill, piercing scream. A smile passed over the man's face, pleased at a sound which he could hear, and he said, "That is the first robin I have heard this spring." When Whitman announced himself to foreign lands as the laureate of democracy, embodying and comprising the New World in himself, many were ready to believe him. And why not? This man, shameless as a savage, snorting defiance, and tearing up the earth like a ramping buffalo on the prairie, falling like a Modoc with tomahawk and scalping knife on the customary decencies of civilization—Europe heard him bellowing, looked at him and said, "That is the typical American, no mistake." But if to the lands east of the Atlantic this Buffalo Bill of literature is the representative American poet, how does it not occur to them that George Francis Train is the representative American statesman? The most recent expression of the notion that the American spirit, ideas, and institutions have had but one adequate exponent is from Zangwill, writing of the Chicago World's Fair:

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> It is perhaps a pity that Whitman did not live to see the spectacle—he whose inspiration came so often from synthesis, from a vision of the All. The cosmopolitan cataloguer, the man who made inventories almost epical, is the one to whom the Fair would have been a magnificent stimulus. Judging by the Fair, Whitman would seem justified in claiming to be the voice of America. The Fair was like him both in its moral broadness [this is a glance at the Midway Plaisance] and its material all-inclusiveness. In his absence no poet has risen to the height of this great argument, so that now the insubstantial pageant has faded, now that the cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces, the solemn temples have dissolved like the baseless fabric of a vision, they have left not a rack of real literature behind.

An article of twenty pages in the *Contemporary Review* on "The Development of English Metres" refers to the work of no American poet except Whitman, who as to meter and music was a cretin or a mutineer. He defied all accepted canons of poetic art. His spirit and style have been called Greek, but he "exhausted the resources of formlessness," concerning which W. D. Howells says: "In formlessness everything spills and wastes away. This is the fatal defect of our American Ossian, Walt Whitman, whose way is where artistic madness lies." Artistic sanity characterized the Greeks, and formlessness was offensive to them. Some of Whitman's "poems" are the most amorphous agglomeration of words ever shoveled together, and much of his work is grotesque and monstrous in form. In a few of his verses there is a sort of swimming majesticalness as of a walrus sporting, rolling, wallowing in the waves, but for the most part his movement is as ungainly as that same sea beast flopping and bumping and thumping about on the shore. His unwieldy gracelessness suggests the megalosaurus or the iguanodon, and his species may well disappear like them, so that future generations brushing the dust from a copy of his works in some library belonging to the legal heirs of our present-day Whitmaniacs shall remark, "This seems to be the spoor of an extinct monster." Verlaine, who, writing of the "Renaissance of English Poesy," declares that the poetry of the future will be calm, simple, grand, "when it emerges from the orgie of rhythm" which has long prevailed, should dote upon Whitman as a case of early emergence and harbinger of poetry's emancipation, for he had little to do with rhythm; his thought was seldom rocked in that cradle of the deep. His verses were jangle, not jingle, with hardly as much rhyme and meter as cowbells beat out in flytime. In spite of all this J. A. Symonds thought Whitman the most Greek of modern poets; John Burroughs praises him for being like the

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Greeks in making much of the body—"The body," wrote Whitman, "is the main concern;" and Mrs. E. C. Monck finds the Hellenic nature in him—she thinks Apollo loves him more than Milton, Keats, or Tennyson. But can the apostle of the rough and the uncouth be a Greek? It is a slander on people unable to defend themselves through being many centuries dead. The old Greeks would simply have abhorred him, and he certainly despised the things most dear to them. If he had taken some lessons from them it would have been well. There is no reason why we moderns should try to be Greeks or Romans, but no man is more American for despising certain great lessons which those ancients taught, certain principles they tested and approved, certain inestimable works they left as models and inspirations for all time. Reverence for their perfect literary and artistic ideals and for the fine, refined, and finished results of those ideals is one of the best ways of defending literature from such lounging and swaggering literary slouches as Whitman.

The Greeks would have shunned the author of *Leaves of Grass* also for the reason which made Charles Lamb wish no fellowship with the soul of Byron—"he was not respectable." The Whitmanists might profitably bark back to the Phædrus which declares the visions of true poetry to be those in which "beauty is beheld dwelling with modesty in a holy place as in a shrine;" and again, "The divine is beauty, wisdom, goodness, and the like; by these the wing of the soul is nourished and grows apace, but, when fed upon evil and foulness and the like, wastes and falls away." Possibly *Fliegende Blätter* had those words in mind when it printed its three-story cartoon entitled "The Metamorphoses of Pegasus"—in the upper panel "The Ancient Pegasus," a winged horse standing eager on the keen hilltop with stamping hoof and swelling nostrils and an eye of fire, pluming his great wings for flight into the empyrean; in the next panel "The Modern Pegasus," a winged ox half way down the hillslope, a spiritless drudge harnessed as a beast of labor and stupidly chewing the cud, the wings diminished into a mere inconvenience and manifestly incapable of lifting off the ground the wide, flat hoofs that hold up the heavy hulk; in the lowest panel "The *Fin-de-siècle* Pegasus," a fat hog waddling about in the hollow at the foot of the hill, the dwindling wings nothing now but reminiscential stubs, nosing with swinish satisfaction in a mud puddle. Whitman was no more Greek than he was the

typical American. The notion is absurd enough to go with Horton's idea that he is an inspired prophet speaking the latest word from God; with Savage's idea that some of his passages need not fear comparison with the finest in the Old Testament, one passage in particular being as sublime as the opening of Genesis; with John Burroughs's opinion that he must be classed with Job and Isaiah; and with the New York Unitarian preacher's belief that Whitman was, as he claimed to be, more profoundly a disciple of the Man of Nazareth than are most of the Churches which require men to say, "My Lord and my God." Whitman said his mission was to bestow upon any man or woman the entrance to all the gifts of the universe, and that he understood Christ better than they who name his name and profess his religion. Surely the orgiastic absurdities of Whitmanolatry justify us in calling it a craze; they have culminated in a perfect triumph of inanity, insanity, asininity, in the assertion of one mad devotee that the author of "Children of Adam" is "the Christ of the Nineteenth Century." We must not be understood as implying that all literary England is Whitmanized. To prevent such an impression we present herewith the protest of British sanity which is voiced by none better than by Mr. Bayne:

> Nature in America is different from nature in Europe, but we do not in crossing the Atlantic pass from cosmos into chaos; and Mr. Carlyle's expression, "winnowings of chaos," would be a candidly scientific description of Whitman's poetry if only it were possible to associate with it the idea of any winnowing process whatever. Street sweepings of lumberland—disjointed fragments of truth, tossed in wild whirl with disjointed fragments of falsehood—gleams of beauty that have lost their way in a waste of ugliness—such are the contents of what he calls his poems. If here and there we have tints of healthful beauty, and tones of right and manly feeling, they but suffice to prove that he can write sanely and sufferably when he pleases; that his monstrosities and solecisms are sheer affectation; that he is not mad, but only counterfeits madness. He is in no sense a superlatively able man, and it was beyond his powers to make for himself a legitimate poetical reputation. No man of high capacity could be so tumid and tautological as he—could talk, for instance, of the "fluid wet" of the sea, or speak of the aroma of his armpits and say that it is finer than prayer, or make the crass and vile mistake of bringing into light what nature veils, and of confounding liberty with dissolute anarchy. The poet of democracy he is not; but his books may serve to buoy for the democracy of America those shallows and sunken rocks on which, if it is cast, it must inevitably, amid the hootings of mankind, be wrecked. Always, unless he chooses to contradict himself for the sake of paradox, his political doctrine is the consecration of mutinous independence and rabid egotism and impudent conceit. In his ideal city "the men and women think lightly of the laws." His advice is to resist much and to obey little. This is the political

> philosophy of Bedlam, unchained in these ages chiefly through the influence of Rousseau, which has blasted the hopes of freedom wherever it has had the chance, and which must be chained up again with ineffable contempt if the self-government of nations is to mean anything else than the death and putrescence of civilization. Incapable of true poetical originality, Whitman had the cleverness to invent a literary trick and the shrewdness to stick to it. As a Yankee phenomenon, to be good-humoredly laughed at, and to receive that moderate pecuniary remuneration which nature allows to vivacious quacks, he would have been in his place; but when influential critics introduce him to the English public as a great poet the thing becomes too serious for a joke.

The judgment of Mr. Bayne, charging Whitman with "sheer affectation" and lack of originality, tallies closely with that of Edward Livingston Youmans, rightly called "the interpreter of science for the people," who knew Whitman well in early days, when he dressed like other folks and did not think it necessary to go in his shirt sleeves and without a necktie. When Youmans was twenty-one, struggling with poverty and partial blindness, he lodged with Whitman in humble quarters at the house of a Mrs. Chipman, in Chambers Street, New York, Youmans writing occasionally for a newspaper called *The Aurora*, which Whitman was trying to edit. Having watched Whitman's literary development from the first, Youmans maintained, to the end of his life, that "Walt" was an arrant humbug, and that his barbaric yawp and obtrusive filthiness were assumed purely for pelf, after he found that such polite and decent writing as he was able to do would not pay his bills.

This remonstrance against a pestilent delusion is, once for all, recorded here because the American people dislike to be misunderstood by their transatlantic neighbors, and because it is not desirable that Whitmanism shall be encouraged among us through extravagant laudations of it by loud choruses of European *literati;* and also because even in our own land a few devotees proclaim the matchless greatness which we deny. A Harvard professor writes of "Our dear old Walt Whitman;" and a Chicago professor says, "No one was ever awarded the title of greatness on more universal grounds;" while our most rabid Whitmaniac, a fit patient for Pasteur, rages with fierce intolerance at all who refuse to fall down and worship before his grotesque barbaric totempole, and flies savagely at a scholarly English critic who expresses dislike of Whitman's poetry and personality, calling the critic a cur and "a dirty, thick-witted, cockney blackguard."

THE ARENA.

"THE FUNCTION OF DOUBT"—A CRITIQUE.

In a recent *Review* Rev. J. H. Willey, Ph.D., of Akron, O., seeks to elucidate a more than ordinarily important problem. His task is ingeniously wrought out, but it is unfortunate that a really able article should be marred by many defects. In the interest of clearness and truth the writer calls attention to what he deems unwarranted, loose, and exaggerated statements.

1. In speaking of the struggle for existence in the animal world the fact is noted that the results of that struggle are not the product of sin. The author then says, "But the same problem meets us when we consider humanity." Is it the same problem? Not if the scriptural account of the origin of sin be correct. According to that account all the evil and suffering and hardship and misrule and pain that men suffer come from sin. In dealing with this problem Paul always kept this fact to the fore. Witness this: "Therefore, as through one man sin entered into the world, and death through sin; and so death passed unto all men, for that all sinned." It is not the same problem for the reason that in the one case the highest factor at work was animal instinct, while in the other the highest factor in the universe, the divine excepted—man's will—was operative. Now, instinct is not reason, nor is it founded on personality. Back of the will is a personality. Indeed, the will is the agent of that personality. How could one who had sat as a student at the sainted Miley's feet so readily forget this fact? Verily the human problem is different, and hence its treatment should proceed with this radical difference in mind. This distinction lost sight of there will be both confusion and doubt; but who will assert that if man never yielded to sin's seductive lure there would have been "sad lives," "misrule," and "heart-breaking experiences?" "The government of God" is "a consternation" and an "impeachment" of his goodness only when we lose sight of the human will as a factor in the problem. Nature is diseased and perverted through sin's agency, and hence it is sometimes rapacious and cruel. But neither God nor his government have entailed this suffering on the race. Sin is the vandal, and it came in through a perfect being's sovereign choice. And, ever since its advent, the divine government has sought by every possible means to nullify and overcome the results of that sovereign act; but at every turn it has confronted a sovereign, independent personality. It is a manifest error to even associate "the government of God" with the results of human evil, and much graver the blunder which charges that government with those results. If doubt there be it lies far back of the phenomena of evil, and is voiced in the oft-repeated question, "Why was evil permitted?" And yet we

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do not stand helpless nor hopeless in the presence of this problem. For, as we gaze on the mad riot and revel of sin, we hear above its din and clamor, clear and triumphant, an anthem of deliverance: "The creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God."

2. "The very existence and nature of God are surrounded by much uncertainty." Now, while it is true that the existence and nature of God are surrounded by mystery, it is a blunder to substitute uncertainty for mystery. The terms are not synonymous. The divine Being is enveloped in mystery as a "thick cloud," but that there is uncertainty as to his very existence scarcely follows. If the assertion criticised is to hold, then we must revise Paul's triumphant exclamation, "I know whom I have believed." And it will be necessary to explain his confident deliverance to the Athenian philosophers, "Him declare I unto you," as rhetorical license; for how could he set forth a being whose "very existence" is "surrounded by much uncertainty?" And we will be at a loss how to construe the Master's assurance to Philip, when he said, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." And it weakens, rather than strengthens, the assertion under discussion to add, "It has never been proved that God is. There is no attempt at such proof in the Bible. His existence is assumed, not demonstrated." But how and why assumed? Is it bare, bald assumption unsupported by facts? By no means. The Bible thus assumes because the divine existence is self-evidencing. Assumption for the sake of argument is one thing; assumption of reality that is too real to admit of successful dispute is quite another. For example, what book on physiology attempts to prove that there is such a thing as the human body? The treatise presupposes the existence of the thing treated, without which the book could not have had existence. The case under consideration is a perfect parallel. To the reverent and devout believer God's existence is in no sense a matter of doubt. As to its nature and modes of being it may be imperfectly understood and vaguely comprehended. But the subject of uncertainty and doubt? No. Herbert Spencer may prate loftily of the "unknown" and the "unknowable." Matthew Arnold may discourse of the stream of tendency, "the power not ourselves that makes for righteousness." Frederick Harrison may tell us of the God in humanity, the divine in men. We listen undismayed, for a greater than they all has said, "I know whom I have believed." He knew but in part, but he did know. And this is the surest kind of knowledge, the knowledge of personality. Paul knew a person, not something about him; and that knowledge involved personal, spiritual contact. "There is a power in personality that is greater than all powers, and the knowledge of personality is the most certain kind of knowledge." It does not depend on the seeing of the eye or the hearing of the ear; it is the conscious contact of one soul with another. If any fact in the universe is certain this fact is. It is true that the author of the article criticised later admits that

to deny the divine existence involves us in grave difficulties; but that has no direct bearing on the loose, unqualified assertions just noticed.

3. "Why does he allow war to tramp through the land and leave the print of an iron hoof in so many desolated homes? Why are the prayers of mothers and wives unheeded, while evil men and a mercenary government go on setting traps for son and husband, and blighting their lives with alcoholic poison? What earthly king could be a party to such measures without being branded as a Borgia or a Chosroes II." Further quotation is not needed, the entire paragraph is in like vein. A more irreverent, confused, pessimistic wail we never remember to have read. It may be startling rhetoric, but it is execrable logic and a mass of indiscriminate assertions. Can God in any sense, however limited or remote, be held responsible for any of the evils here catalogued? Has he not employed every expedient known to the infinite mind to curtail and abolish those evils? Has he left anything undone? All means have been tried save one, that is, force. But the abolition of evil by the application of force would reduce men to the level of puppets, who move but in obedience to him who pulls the string. Evil is against God, contrary to his law, an offense against his government, a heartless disregard of his love. It exists in spite of all his efforts to destroy it. But is he responsible for its existence? Because it is permitted to exist is he a party to it? Such is the legitimate inference from the author's assertions. As to the "prayers of mothers and wives" being "unheeded," that is horrible. Is God, the Almighty Father, deaf or heartless? We have not so learned. It is repugnant to, and out of keeping with, the history of his providence and love. No sincere, submissive, believing prayer, offered in the name of his Son, ever leaped from pallid lips into the ear of God unheeded. Unanswered for a time; unheeded, no! If the language of our heart be unheeded of God, then a truce to prayer. "What profit should we have if we pray unto him?" And is God a party to war and tyranny and oppression? So it would seem. This is strange doctrine indeed. Permissive providence is made to mean participation in the evils permitted and responsibility for those evils. In this view all God permits he is a party to, and hence responsible for. This is utterly absurd; if true, inexpressibly horrible. But its absurdity is seen in the fact that it completely ignores the relation of the human to the divine, and leaves no margin for the operation of the human will. Thus judged the doctrine will scarcely be insisted on.

4. "There are difficulties in accepting the sacred Scriptures as the sure word of God. They have come to us from a remote past. We cannot trace an unbroken line of succession from the original manuscripts; the earlier links of the chain are lost," etc. This is neither a full nor a fair statement of the case. It makes no exceptions, but groups all the books in the sacred volume together and dismisses them with the above sweeping assertion. It thus makes the difficulties far greater than they actually are. Let us look at the facts as they exist, and see. First of all,

there is a class of evidence as conclusive as a mathematical demonstration which sustains the high claims of the Bible as being the "sure word of God." No book has been so continuously and severely tested as the Bible. It has passed through fire and flood. The merciless gaze of an infidel-wielded science has been turned upon it to discover defects and vitiate the record, but in vain. In the estimation of the world's best thinking it stands unimpeached. Not only so, but the phenomena attending the spread of this book have been uniformly the same. In lands where art and culture had reached their acme, as among the vicious, the degraded, and the barbarous, the story is the same. Wherever the Bible has gone light, peace, hope, regeneration, redemption, and civilization have appeared. This is true of the Bible alone; no other book enjoys such distinction. And this is justly regarded as the most indubitable evidence of its inspiration. And, in the next place, there is a very considerable portion of the Bible concerning which there is not a *scintilla* of doubt. So far as that portion is concerned there is an "unbroken line;" the "earlier links of the chain" are not lost. Take, for example, the four letters of Paul: the Epistle to the Galatians, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Romans. "The opinion of scholars, Christian and infidel, that these are authentic, and that we possess the genuine copies, is unanimous." Concerning their acceptance as the "sure word of God" there would seem to be an utter absence of difficulty. Almost as much may be said of nearly the entire New Testament. Respecting a large part of the sacred Scriptures, then, and a most important part, too, we do not "depend upon fragments gathered here and there in tradition and in patristic literature to supply the deficiency and prove the genuineness of that which we have." In the light of these facts do not the "difficulties in accepting the sacred Scriptures as the sure word of God" seem a little antiquated?

5. The following deliverances sound a little too Ingersollian to pass unchallenged: "These Scriptures are full of strange, unprovable things, . . . unnatural situations. . . . The Bible is not a reasonable book. It does not attempt to convince, nor even to conciliate." More misleading, indiscriminate, unfair statements it would be difficult to find. Let us look at them in detail. The Bible is "full of strange, unprovable things." That there are some strange things in the Bible no one questions; but that it teems with "unprovable things" and "unnatural situations" is a gross exaggeration. Presumably some of the many strange and unprovable things which the author had in mind are mentioned by him as follows: "The new birth of the soul," "three persons in one God," "fire in a furnace which did not burn," "a man who walked the waves and did not sink," and "the dead coming to life." One is a little puzzled to know on what principle of classification the above list is based. But to the facts. What fact known to human experience is more thoroughly established than the new birth of the soul? Is not every soul that is redeemed and recreated by contact with the Christ a proof of the doctrine?

And it is the most powerful sort of proof. Is a furnace of literal fire that did not burn more wonderful than the hotter fire of human passion and appetite and temptation through which thousands pass unharmed? And is not the rising of a soul from the death of sin to a new life in Christ Jesus more wonderful than the coming to life of a dead body? Yet these are matters of common experience and are familiar to countless thousands. If they present no difficulty in relation to human experience, why should they create any difficulty in relation to the word of God? But is the Bible full of "unnatural situations?" The one virtue always claimed for, and almost universally conceded to, the Bible is its naturalness. It is preeminently natural. Whence then come the numberless instances of unnatural situations? The writer recalls but one effort of recent date to overthrow this claim. The champion blasphemer of this age has held up the Bible to ridicule as an unnatural book. But so coarse and clumsy is his attempt that it has served but to tickle "the ears of the groundlings;" reputable thinkers have given scant attention to his tirades. The Bible is supernatural if it is anything; but we will hardly make supernatural synonymous with the term unnatural. Once more, it is asserted that the Bible is "not a reasonable book." In what sense is it unreasonable? It transcends reason, it goes beyond it; but it is never contrary to it, it does not contradict reason. It refuses to submit its claims to reason as the ultimate court of appeal. But why? Because reason is not a competent judge of revealed truth. "The Bible is its own best commentary and corrective." But its teachings, its claims, its experiences, its injunctions, its nature are thoroughly rational. It is the grossest rationalism to insist that the Bible is an irrational book.

Aside from such defects as we have mentioned the article is to be commended. If the writer has through mental obtuseness or stupidity done Dr. Willey an injustice he will gladly stand corrected.

Laurel, Del. ROBERT WATT.

THE MORAL FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL ORDER.

WE need to recognize that there are moral issues and conditions now demanding our attention as American citizens, the right meeting of which must sooner or later prove to be as important as the life of the nation. Of individuals and nations alike it is true that indifference to moral issues and irresponsiveness to the demands of conscience are the most serious and sad of the effects of sin. These symptoms locate the disease at the vital center. They indicate a "fatty degeneration" of the moral heart, which, "when it is finished, bringeth forth death." It is the alarming feature of this disease that it sounds no alarm. It is rather a passive adjustment to the processes of death.

The most formidable foes at once to integrity of individual character, to social order, and to the spiritual health and vitality of the Church are the insidious influences that are often largely unsuspected, but are nevertheless slowly and surely undermining all moral foundations. The

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moral responsibility and culpability for the existence of such conditions have their only alleviation in the ignorance of those who, if better informed, might have prevented them. This alleviation, however, is but slight. Where the issues of life and death are involved, whether they relate to the moral trend of an individual or to the destiny of a nation, ignorance is inexcusable. "Evil is wrought for want of thought as well as want of heart," it has been said; but to neglect to think on moral lines is a negligence that cannot be less than criminal. Yet how few are "giving all diligence" to be sure that they are not "destroyed for lack of knowledge!" Long ago God's word called for our thought by the question, "If the foundations be destroyed,' what can the righteous do?" But most of us have been unmindful of this implied warning. Indeed, many of us have never once asked ourselves the question what these "foundations" are—these moral foundations of social order.

It has been said by Dr. T. L. Cuyler that "underneath the foundations of both Church and State lies the household." So great a truth will only grow truer and greater to our thought the longer we study it. In the family we first come to a recognition of governmental relations and of ourselves as subjects of a government of blended law and love. It is God's training school, to prepare the child, not only for good citizenship in the State, but for his larger and more enduring citizenship—his membership in God's "whole family in heaven and earth." To the blended institutions of marriage, the family, and the home we cannot give too much or too earnest thought, as they together form the divinely appointed shrine and school and stronghold of every virtue and the earthly inspiration of every noble passion. Too much cannot be said of the family as a moral support of social order. The homes of a people mold the national character. But the family is a twin. It is one of two primeval institutions given by the love of heaven, to blend in benign influence and to bring human hearts into filial relations to God and into oneness of affection one to another.

But the all-Father not only "setteth the solitary in families," and not only provides for the moral training and affectional nurture and spiritual instruction of children, through their earthly parents. He has also set apart a "children's hour" in the week, in which all—children of a larger growth as well as the little ones—may become better acquainted with him, their Father in heaven. God intended the Sabbath to be a day when home life should be at its best, because brought into closest touch with heavenly love. Earthly love can only be at its best when most keenly alive to relationships which are spiritual and eternal. The transfiguration of the household—which Christ came to accomplish by his abiding presence in the home, turning "the hearts of the fathers to the children" and of the children to their fathers, causing truly Christian family life to glow with a light of unselfish love unknown to households in heathen lands, and making the truly Christian home to be the holy of holies of the Church of God on earth, as well as the type of heaven—

this blending of the Christ love and the parental love, and the tender response of filial love in the children, is only possible where God's holy day is used as he intended. Having in mind the privileges which the Lord's Day affords, may it not be said that underneath the foundations of household and Church and State lies the Sabbath ?

Yet thoughtlessness and consequent indifference have allowed the authority and the sanctity of the Sabbath to be undermined, until at length those who would sweep away its restraints have become emboldened and have set the battle in array. The enemies of the day we love are now determined, wily, and unscrupulous. They hesitate at no extreme of stealth and cunning, on the one hand, or of audacity or insolent aggressiveness on the other. The lawless saloon knows that the desecrated Sabbath is its opportunity and harvest time. Infidelity knows that a day of rest and worship is the stronghold of vital Christianity. Satan knows that the Lord's Day, utilized for its divinely ordained purposes, is the stay of morality and the life of the Church. The enemies of God's Day are "in their generation wiser" than we are. They direct their efforts with desperate earnestness to the secularization of the Sabbath. Some of God's people, on the other hand, have been negative or acquiescent. Some of us have been apathetic and passive for want of intelligent apprehension of the fact that the moral education of our youth and the spiritual vitalization of the Church are dependent upon the improvement we make of the privileges which are God's gift to us in the Sabbath. Albert Barnes has said: "Where there is no Sabbath there can be no Church." And yet the gradual transforming of the holy day into a holiday, which has been going on all about us, has been little heeded except on the one hand by the faithful few among God's children, and on the other by the children of the wicked one, who take encouragement from advantages gained to press the battle more fiercely. Only a few are awake to the facts or realize what they mean. Were the real significance of the situation recognized indifference upon the part of the true-hearted would be impossible. Many of us have been lacking in intelligent and healthy convictions; and some who name the name of Christ have been nerveless to resist, because enfeebled by sympathy with the spirit of the world. If any of us have lapsed in our practical regard for the Lord's Day it is because we have not so lived our loyalty to God and his law as to have that loyalty live and grow in us. Not more true is it that by works is faith "made perfect" than that the reaction of inaction is death. The prevalent apathy with regard to the sanctity and the moral utility of the Sabbath is not a matter that we are at liberty to sigh over and then forget. The only remedy is a retracing of steps—thinking where we have been thoughtless, praying for forgiveness and for eyes to see and hearts to feel, and then, in renewed consecration and faith, bringing forth fruits meet for repentance.

An hour of opportunity has come to us for the rescue of the Sabbath such as was never before presented. Labor is making organized demand

for its day of rest. If we, as Christians, will promptly and efficiently cooperate we can be instruments in God's hands in rescuing the Sabbath from the incoming tide of iniquity that is sweeping it away; and the Sabbath that is saved to labor as a rest day we can give to religion as a day of worship. And, in saving it for both, we can save our homes and our country from moral deterioration and decay; for if, as American citizens, we utilize God's Sabbath for its high purposes of moral education and spiritual vitalization, for the rest of the body, and for the uplift of the soul, we can then maintain the supremacy of that righteousness which exalteth a nation. We shall, as a people, "ride upon the high places of the earth," for "the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." But if we fail to protect, to delight in, to honor, and to utilize God's holy day, the light that is in us will become darkness; and amid that darkness there shall flame upon the walls of the palace of our pride and our revelry the handwriting of God, declaring our country doomed.

Des Moines, Ia. C. F. WILLIAMS.

"KNOWLEDGE AND FEELING IN SPIRITUALITY."

THE Webb-Crowder discussion on this intricate subject ought to close. The more that is said the more unintelligible the subject becomes. This lamentable phenomenon arises, not from a lack of ability in the gentlemen who write, but from the backhanded and awkward way in which they approach and handle their topic. The expression, "Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality," does not mean anything; it is a mere jargon of words. It is probable that the two writers are aiming at the notion of the influence of the spiritual element upon man's intellect and feelings. St. Paul's "natural man," in 1 Corinthians, chapter ii, possesses intellect and feeling, and in conversion or regeneration spiritual life is imparted to him as an additional life element. Wherein he was dead, he is now quickened. Intellect and feeling *per se* remain unchanged. The question now is, What effect does the ingress of the new vital element exert upon the intellect and upon the feelings of the man? It is absurd to suppose that man has somewhere blundered into "spirituality," and put knowledge and feeling into it. It is easy to understand, when the question is properly stated, that the entrance of spiritual life into the mind of man would be to the intellect a special spiritual light, extending to all parts of the realm of spirituality, and at the same time would give to his emotional nature a mighty moral elevation. It is the province of the spiritual life which the Holy Spirit imparts to the penitent believer to act on him and make of him a new creature in Christ Jesus.

The question whether the intellect or the feelings yield the more readily and fully to the modifying power of the new life is undebatable and of no consequence. The relative power of intellect and feeling, as they existed before regeneration, will probably remain afterward. Two of the most unemotional men we ever knew we place among the

most spiritual and best we ever knew. A man by nature highly emotional may as a Christian become excessively and spasmodically so. In such cases a little weight added to the intellect would enable it the better to balance the feelings. In short, the entire intellect and all the varied emotions of the mind must necessarily experience the modifying power of the presence of spiritual life. We shall fully recognize this fact if we bear in mind that it is this presence which makes man the temple of the Holy Spirit and qualifies him to hold fellowship with God.

Another trouble with these champions is they confound feeling and sensibility, and chaos is the result. It does not change the fact that they walk in the footsteps of psychologists. To see the truth we must be true to nature—yes, true to nature, though it make men fools. What are feelings? Love, hate, desire, aversion, joy, sorrow, hope, fear, delight, madness, remorse, with all their degrees and modifications. What are sensations? Taste, smell, touch, the toothache, hunger, thirst, a burn, cold, headache, neuralgic pains, etc. Feelings are rooted in the mind, and are the stirrings of the conscious self. Sensations are rooted in the life of the body outside of the mind and objective to it. These different phenomena have nothing in common, and to confound them is to utterly pervert them. By grinding together wheat, rye, oats, barley, and corn in the product you can see nothing of either grain. To be seen clearly intellect and feeling must be seen in their own light, distinct from everything else.

Chautauqua, N. Y. H. H. MOORE.

"ALPHABETIC WRITING."

THE article on the above subject, found in the archæological department of the *Review* for July, represents that "the oldest undisputed specimen of alphabetic writing so far discovered is that in Phœnician characters on a portion of a bronze cup found in the island of Cyprus and dedicated to Baal-Lebanon, perhaps in the time of Hiram I, some ten centuries before Christ." Any proof of a more ancient use of alphabetic writing is not only of value to the archæologist, but even more so to the Old Testament student. Now, I find the following in the well-known work of Mariette Bey, the noted Egyptologist: "Hitherto the Thera inscriptions in the Archipelago, or those on the leg of the Colossus at Abou Simbel have been regarded as the oldest Greek or Græco-Phœnician characters in existence, belonging to the ninth century B. C.; but some linguistic marks made by certain prehistoric settlers, who planted themselves in the Fayoum in the time of Usertesin II, have left at Illahun the rudiments of an alphabet at least a thousand years earlier. These characters are not pictorial, evidently not Egyptian, but are clearly alphabetic. We now know, what we have never known before, that the elements of an alphabetical writing were in existence at least two thousand years B. C."*

Santa Cruz, Cal. C. V. ANTHONY.

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* *Monuments of Upper Egypt*, pp. 324, 325.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

REGULAR MINISTERIAL WORK.

THERE are two departments in the work of the ministry. Both are useful, and both have important relations to the salvation of the world. One of these is that which we denominate the regular work of the minister. By that term we understand those services which are provided for in the Discipline of the Church and are regulated by specific laws. There are other departments of work into which ministers enter that, for want of a better name, we may designate as irregular, in that they are not governed by specific laws and, while under the appointment of the Church, are not regarded as in the line of its normal work. In general, it may be said that bishops, presiding elders, pastors, presidents and professors in institutions of learning, editors, and secretaries are engaged in the regular work of the ministry. Then, too, there are frequently ministers appointed for specific purposes in Annual Conferences, such as evangelists and agents empowered to raise funds for necessary and important Church objects. That, however, which may be designated more directly as regular work we would call pastoral, and includes those different departments of Church service which are more immediately related to the pastorate.

The point we have in view is whether the tendency to leave the normal work of the minister—the pastoral office—for any other Church position is not a disadvantage alike to the pastor and to the Church as a whole. If a man is a scholar there is often in his mind the thought that the place for the exercise of his scholarship is in some institution of learning, and not in the pastorate. If he has a capacity for collecting money it is at once assumed that he should be in a secretaryship or agency which demands such abilities. If he is a revivalist of great power it is supposed at once that he should be set apart for that service, and go from church to church in the conduct of evangelistic services. We are not for a moment depreciating these positions of usefulness; but we raise the question whether it would not be wiser for the minister to adhere to his regular work. Is there any place where scholarship, ability to collect money, or power as a revivalist is more potent for good than in the pastoral office? What position demands higher qualities of mind and heart than the preaching of the Gospel, the bringing forth of "things new and old" out of the Scriptures? Then, too, what a field for usefulness in the regular life of the church is the raising of money to carry forward its various enterprises, such as its contributions to the missionary cause and educational work. The evangelist, too, has ample scope for the exercise of his abilities in the home church. We have in mind a pastor who for a quarter of a century preached the Gospel in appoint-

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ments situated on the same District, and whose evangelistic labors were so efficient that there are a number of churches whose present membership were mostly converted under his ministry. What a power for good would the ministry of the Church be if such instances were largely increased!

The problem in the minds of many promising young ministers seems to be, not how they can perform the specific form of work which the Church assigns them, but how they can get out of it into what seems to be a more prominent, if not a more useful, sphere. Yet what position can be better, or higher, or nobler than the regular ministry of the Gospel, and what institution of more profound importance than the individual church which he is called upon to serve? The power of association and the influence of example, as well as the direct preaching of the word, all combine to make the regular ministry a position of great usefulness. In the judgment of the writer there is a greater sphere of usefulness in the pastorate, if not a broader one, than can be found in the more general work of the Church of God. We recall a minister of the Presbyterian Church who for forty years was pastor of the same church. An impression was made by him, not only upon the immediate church he served, but on the whole country round about, so that he was practically the bishop of a diocese; and when he passed away he was mourned by all, and his memory will long abide. This length of pastorate is not possible in our Church, but it is possible to serve the same part of the country for many years. We recall another pastor, without extraordinary talents, but a broad, well-rounded man, who resided in the same Conference all his life—it was not a large Conference—and most of the time preached in the same city; and when he passed away it was the verdict of all who had known him that he had lived grandly and accomplished far more than if his career had covered a field more conspicuous in the eyes of the world.

The value of concentration upon one single point, or one single line of work, is not sufficiently appreciated by our preachers and people. This view does not involve a depreciation of the great offices of the Church and of the special service of the minister in particular departments of Christian work. All have their place in the building up of the kingdom of God. They are not only useful positions, but it is essential that they be filled by able and consecrated men. Neither should say to the other, "Our position and service are superior to yours," but should regard the other as servants of God, in whose great vineyard all true workers are equally to be honored. It seems clear that one who is doing well in the pastoral life should hesitate before he is induced to leave it for any position whatever. The Methodist Episcopal Church, whatever the particular reason for the fact may be, does not hold her pastoral office in the high estimation which belongs to it in the mind of Christ and in the practice of some of our sister denominations. Men are filling pastorates in the Presbyterian, Episcopal, Congregational, Baptist, and other Churches

who would not for a moment think of resigning their pulpit to accept a secretaryship, an agency, a presidency, or a professorship in an educational institution. The pastorate is the central position of the Church of God. The pastor is called by Christ, is set apart by the Church, and is empowered by the Holy Ghost; and we believe that he who faithfully fills this office holds a position inferior to no position in Christendom.

THE STRUGGLE OF AN AWAKENED SOUL.—ROM. VII, 7-25.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Review* has propounded the inquiry whether the passage above indicated refers to a regenerate or to an unregenerate man. The question is a most important one, both historically and as bearing on Christian experience. Historically, it has been the battle-ground for centuries between Arminian and Calvinistic exegetes. Origen and the Greek fathers generally favor the Arminian view, which regards Paul in this passage as vividly portraying the struggles of an unregenerate man, while the Latin fathers, following the view of Augustine, have regarded Paul as describing the struggles of a regenerate man. A study of the different commentaries will show that any dogmatic answer to the iquiry which is propounded would be unwise, as so much depends on the point of view from which the passage is approached by the investigator.

Our study of a subject is often helped by the assumption of an hypothesis which may be confirmed or modified by the study of the facts that are assumed to constitute its basis. We proceed on the hypothesis that the passage under consideration is the description of an unregenerate man, a man under law, to whom the fullness of the Gospel assurance has not come, but to whom the "law is holy . . . and just, and good." We must not forget, in our study, that this chapter is one of the profoundest psychological discussions in the whole range of literature and, apart from the fact of inspiration, is worthy of most thoughtful consideration. It could only have been written by one who had profoundly studied and experienced the great struggle which is constantly taking place in all noble souls between the higher and the lower self. It is a description of the workings that go on in a human soul, when it is moved upon by the righteous law of God, in the presence of the fundamental truths of Christianity.

The facts which the passage brings to our view point clearly to the conditions of an unregenerate man. The description is that of a person whose soul is rent between two opposing forces contending for the mastery. Whedon calls it the battle of the "I's." The person here described purposes one thing but does another. He hates a given course, yet pursues it. He wishes to do the good, but is met by the evil which dissuades him. His desires for what is right are constantly confronted by a subtle enemy, the result of which is the keeping of his soul in a constant warfare. An enemy has entered the domain of his inner life, and

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keeps up a constant conflict. So far as this passage is concerned the individual described is like a sea that is torn by contending waves, and is never at rest.

In this bitter conflict raging within him it does not appear that he wins a single victory. We might imagine that he is describing his times of special weakness, such as have occurred in the case of many good men, but the apostle gives no hint that the description is a partial one. It seems to be a graphic portraiture of a condition in which he finds himself, and not of an intermittent experience, as some would argue. It is clear that it is the normal and the prevailing state, and not an occasional one which he is portraying. The whole force of the passage would be lost if it were necessary to explain it by the view that this is an "intermittent," and not his normal, experience. It is intended undoubtedly to portray the general condition of the person described at the period in his experience to which the reference is made. We cannot fail to note the language of failure pervading this passage: "When the commandment came, sin revived, and I died;" "I am carnal, sold under sin;" "For that which I do, I allow not: for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I;" "How to perform that which is good I find not. For the good that I would, I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do;" "I find then a law, that when I would do good, evil is present with me." Indeed, the whole passage is descriptive of a helpless condition, although, as it soon appears, not a hopeless one. We repeat that the conflict which is here described results in defeat rather than in victory.

The apostle further shows that his condition of inability to do the right is not chargeable to the law, for "the law is spiritual." By this the apostle means that the law is spiritual both in its nature and in its origin. It is the gift of the Spirit of God, and cannot therefore be the source of sinfulness and of his inability to perform that which his better self declares to be the good. It must be some force in himself which dominates him, and he declares it to be the sin dwelling in him. "For sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me." It was a foreign force that had entered his soul and in conquering power had caused his overthrow. Such is his consciousness of personal inability to accomplish what he knows to be his duty that, in language which breathes of intense earnestness, he cries out for deliverance, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"

Thus far it seems clear that the person here mentioned is in an unregenerate condition. His language is the language of defeat, and well nigh of despair, and such a state is not in harmony with the description of a regenerate man elsewhere given in the writings of Paul. The complexity of the problem, however, appears when we compare the fourteenth with the twenty-second verse. We place them side by side. "We know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin." And

again, "I delight in the law of God after the inward man." These verses in the same paragraph seem to be contradictory, and have been, after all, the crucial point of the discussion. It is claimed, on the one hand, that to be "carnal, sold under sin," cannot be predicated of a regenerate man. This language is expressive of the most complete bondage. It would be impossible to use terms more fully descriptive of subjection to a master than is this utterance. No explanation such as that of a modified bondage can be accepted in the case of writing where the language is so carefully chosen as it is in this epistle of St. Paul. All must admit that, if this record of the apostle is to be explained in its literal force, it cannot describe in any adequate sense a person who has "passed from death unto life."

On the other hand, "I delight in the law of God after the inward man" has been regarded as too high a state to be affirmed of an unregenerate man. It is a strong expression of satisfaction with the origin and claims of God's law "after the inward man." It is clear that the words "I delight" must not be modified, as some would do, into a general complacency with God's law. It is a strong expression of rejoicing in, and satisfaction with, the law of God. If the words "inward man" mean the regenerate man, as some hold, the question would be at once settled; but such is not the case. Sanday (*Commentary on Romans*, vii, 22) says of St. Paul: "Now he contrasts the 'old' with the 'new man' (or, as we should say, the 'old' with the 'new *self*'); here he contrasts the 'outer man,' as the body (*ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος*, 2 Cor. iv, 16), with the 'inner man,' the conscience or reason (2 Cor. iv, 16; Eph. iii, 16). It is in the latter sense, conscience or reason, that we regard it as employed here."

Before proceeding further we may note that another factor enters into the problem, namely, what is meant by an unregenerate man? By a regenerate man we understand a person whose sins have been forgiven, who has become a new creature in Christ Jesus, and who has received the witness of the Spirit. By an unregenerate man we mean one who has not attained to this state; though it may include one who has been awakened to his condition, has been brought to see the beauty of the law, but who has not yet laid hold on Christ as his deliverer from the power of sin. It is one of whom Paul in his unconverted state may be considered a representative. Of such a person it may be truthfully said that he delights in the law of God with his conscience and reason, though he is helpless to obey its mandates. The commentaries give instances from heathen writers who have recognized the good, while they have found no deliverance from the evil that has enthralled them. Many ministers of the Gospel have found in their congregations men and women whose appreciation of the virtues and high standards of duty put to shame some who have formally confessed Christ. They are those, in other words, who admire and recognize the worth of that which they are unable to grasp in their conscious experience. Many professing

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Christians will remember the time when they were still under law, but yet awakened to a sense of sin, and that they did indeed "delight in the law of God after the inward man."

There is another consideration which favors our interpretation of this passage which should not be omitted. It is that the deliverance comes with the mention of Christ and the introduction of the Holy Spirit. In this paragraph Christ is not introduced as a factor until its close, showing that the person described has not yet laid hold by faith on the Saviour of sinners. The cry for deliverance is met by the answer, "I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord." Sanday (*Commentary on Romans*, p. 186) says: "Law and love are brought face to face with each other, and there is nothing between them. Not until we come to verse 25 is there a single expression used which belongs to Christianity. And the use of it marks that the conflict is ended." While we may not assume that this is a full description of Paul himself, before his conversion, it must have had some relation to his own experience, and in a measure at least have been molded by it. Sanday in the same connection (p. 186) remarks: "It is not a literal photograph of any one stage of the apostle's career, but it is a constructive picture drawn by him in bold lines, by elements supplied to him by self-introspection. . . . Without putting an exact date to the struggle which follows, we shall probably not be wrong in referring the main features of it especially to the periods before his conversion. It was then that the powerlessness of the law to do anything but aggravate sin was brought home to him. And all his experience, at whatever date, of the struggle of the natural man with temptation is here gathered together and concentrated in a single portraiture." Reasonable is it, therefore, to assume that the experience described by St. Paul had some resemblance to his own before his conversion.

While the purport of this paper agrees in part with the words quoted from Professor Sanday, it is further intended to urge that this passage refers, not to the natural man, untouched by divine influences, but as brought in contact with God's law, which shows him his sinfulness but which is powerless to bring deliverance. Is it not a general picture of every awakened soul, brought up in the midst of sacred influences, who delights in the beauty of God's truth but has not reached the point where he opens his heart to receive Him "of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write?" It is the portrait of an awakened soul struggling heavenward.

It is, however, one of those passages where Christians may well bear with each other. It has sometimes been used as a weapon of attack upon those of unquestioned piety who held the opposite view. Both sides to this long controversy have been represented by men of profound learning and of deep religious experience. We think, however, that the above interpretation is in harmony with sound exegesis and with the experiences of many earnest souls.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

LOGIA IESOU.

THE sands of Egypt have once more yielded up some of their long-buried treasure, so that now we are able to speak of a most important find made by two Oxford scholars among the rubbish heaps of the insignificant hamlet of Behnesa, some one hundred and twenty miles south of Cairo, and not far from the Libyan Desert. History tells us that many centuries ago this place, then known to the Greek-speaking world by the name of Oxyrhynchus, was an important center of the early Christian Church. It was here that Mr. Grenfell and Mr. Hunt discovered several hundred papyri, for the most part written in Greek and belonging to the first eight centuries of the Christian era. A cursory examination of the same shows them to contain documents on a great variety of subjects, some personal, some commercial, others of a literary and religious nature. There is also among this mass of papyri portions of the first chapter of the gospel by St. Matthew. What, however, makes this late discovery of special interest is the fact that one solitary leaf, measuring five and three fourths by three and three fourth inches, and written in Greek uncials, was found along with a large number of papyri of the second and third centuries of our era. This leaf, written on both sides, and containing about forty lines in all, has several passages beginning with the two words, Λέγει 'Ιησοῦς, or "Jesus says." Hence the name given to the leaf is *Logia Iesou*, or *Sayings of Jesus.*

Facsimiles of this ancient leaf, and an emended copy of the Greek text, as well as an English translation of the same, have been published by Grenfell and Hunt, the discoverers. The English translation is as follows :

Logion 1. " . . . And then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye."

2. "Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except ye keep the Sabbath, ye shall not see the Father."

3. "Jesus saith, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them, and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart." . . .

4. (Illegible.)

5. "Jesus saith, Wherever there are . . . and there is one . . . alone, I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me, cleave the wood and there am I."

6. "Jesus saith, A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him."

7. "Jesus saith, A city built upon the top of a high hill, and stablished, can neither fall nor be hid."

8. (Illegible.)

As will be seen, Logion 1 is almost the same as Luke vi, 42, and closely resembles Matt. vii, 5. Logion 2 has no parallel in the New Testament, for the duty of fasting or of keeping the Sabbath is nowhere commanded in so many words, either in the gospels or epistles. For that reason this Logion may be traced to an Ebionite source. It is well known that the Ebionite Christians adhered very closely to the Jewish law, and insisted upon many customs and ceremonies not commanded in the New Testament or practiced by the mass of the early Church. It may be that the words to "fast" and to "keep the Sabbath" are used in a spiritual sense. Logion 3 is also different in language from anything found in the canonical gospels. It reminds us of John i, 10, 14, and especially of Christ's lament over Jerusalem (Matt. xxiii, 37, and Luke xiii, 34). Logion 4 is so defaced or faded out as to make its reading impossible. Only one word, *πτωχεία*, translated "poverty," or "beggary," is legible. This word does not occur in the gospels, and hence the inference that this Logion may have contained something new. The first part of Logion 5 is also quite mutilated, so much so as to render a correct translation very difficult. The most natural emendation is that which makes it a parallel of Matt. xviii, 20, where we read, "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." A less probable meaning is suggested by the editors, "Where all men else are unbelievers, if one alone is (faithful), I am with him." The second part of this Logion is a real puzzle. There is nothing like it in the recorded sayings of our Saviour. Various interpretations have been suggested, but none of them satisfactory or convincing. "Raise the stone" and "cleave the wood" may simply refer to the common vocation of the laborer, and the promise then would mean that Christ is ever present with the believing soul, no matter how humbly he may be employed. If the first half of the Logion refers to the act of worship, so may the second. Professor Bacon's suggestion may not be correct, but in the absence of anything better it is certainly worth repeating. According to him the phrase, "Raise the stone," may be another way of saying "build up an altar;" and "cleave the wood" may mean, "make ready for the sacrifice." The language thus poetically used yields a good sense; and as he says, "We must look to Abraham building the altar of unhewn stone, and cleaving the wood at the holy place of Jehovah-jireh (Gen. xxii, 3, 8, 9), if we would get the sense of this Logion." The tenor of Logion 6 is familiar to New Testament readers, though the exact words are not found elsewhere. This is especially true of the second part, with which, however, we may compare Luke iv, 23, where we read, "Physician, heal thyself." The word δεκτὸς, peculiar to the third gospel, also suggests either an acquaintance with the writings of Luke or that the latter and the author of this Logion had borrowed from a common source. Logion 7 seems at first to

be a conflation of Matt. v, 14, and vii, 24, 25; but, as Grenfell and Hunt remark, this is not really admissible, since there is no reference to "the rock" of the parable. Logion 8, like 4, is so mutilated as to defy any decipherment. All that can be read, with even a moderate degree of certainty, are four words which may be translated, "unto thy face" or "presence."

It is yet too early to speak authoritatively of the value of these Logia. Other leaves of the very book from which this stray leaf has been lost may yet be discovered, which may add materially to our present knowledge and throw great light upon many important but yet unsettled questions. But, as Mr. H. Frowde has said in a recent issue of the *London Times*, "The document is at any rate one which will arouse the highest interest in the religious world, and, whatever may ultimately be found to be its value in theological literature, it is impossible to exaggerate its archæological importance."

The age of the papyrus is fairly settled, and that in various ways. The fact that we have it in a book form, and not a roll, goes to prove that it cannot be earlier than about 140 A. D., while the character of the script corresponds very closely with the writing of the third century. The original authorship of this collection may, however, be much older than the manuscript itself. In any case this leaf is of earlier date than any of the codices of our gospel text. Everything in these Logia suggests the first part of the second century as the date of their composition. "The primitive cast and setting of the sayings, the absence of any consistent tendency in favor of any particular sect, the wide divergences in the familiar sayings from the text of the gospels, the striking character of those which are new, combine to separate the fragments from the 'apocryphal' literature of the middle and later half of the second century, and to refer it back to the period when the canonical gospels had not yet reached their preeminent position." So much we may now say concerning the age of the composition.

The discovery of this document corroborates the view often expressed that the early Christian Church possessed an extensive literature which has not come down to us. Indeed, the words of St. Luke in his preface to his gospel, where he says, "Many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative" concerning the words and deeds of Christ, show clearly that he had abundant material for selection. John also expressly says at the close of his gospel: "And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written." Take again the beautiful gem quoted by St. Paul to the Ephesian elders, from the unrecorded words of the Lord Jesus, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." All this, to say nothing of the various references which are found in the writings of the early fathers, shows beyond contradiction that the ancient Church was in possession of some Christian literature which is now unknown.

Papias, who lived in the first half of the second century, says, on the authority of John, the elder, of Ephesus (100 A. D.), that Matthew wrote the Logia in the Hebrew language, and that everyone translated them as he was best able. This same Papias wrote an exposition of the sayings of the Lord in five books. The Logia of Matthew, as well as the commentary by Papias, are lost, except as they are referred to in other writers. This fact has led some critics to deny the reality of the one and the other. Even as conservative a critic as Lightfoot, in speaking of the Hebrew collection of Logia by Matthew, says that this theory "is encumbered with the most serious difficulties. In the first place, there is no notice or trace elsewhere of any such collection of discourses." Then again, in discussing the meaning of the term "Logia," he says, "No one word in English will exactly express the word 'Logia,' which was used both before and after Papias to mean, not merely 'sayings,' but 'scriptures.'" Had Lightfoot seen this stray papyrus leaf probably he would not have written the above, for as Grenfell and Hunt very properly remark, "We may here have got for the first time a concrete example of what was meant by the Logia which Papias tells us were compiled by St. Matthew, and the *λόγια κυριακά* upon which Papias himself wrote a commentary." The editors, it is true, do not intimate that we have in our possession veritable copies of the two works above mentioned, but, on the other hand, they distinctly say, "It is not, of course, at all likely that our fragment has any actual connection either with the Hebrew Logia of St. Matthew or the *λόγια κυριακά* of Papias." Yet they further add : "It is difficult to imagine a title better suited to a series of sayings, each introduced by the phrase *λέγει Ἰησοῦς*, than 'Logia ;' and the discovery strongly supports the view that in speaking of *λόγια* Papias and Eusebius intended some similar collection."

What are these Logia ? Are they a part of an original work, which may antedate even our gospels ? Have we here a leaf from a collection of sayings, a work not including the deeds of our Lord ? Have Matthew and Luke drawn from these or similar collections, or have these been taken from the gospels ? May not they be, as was at first supposed, a portion of Papias's commentary ? These and similar questions will be asked and studied by the thoughtful student. In the absence of positive answers there can be no real objections to the view that we have here a stray leaf from the collection of some early Christian, such as anyone might gather together either for private or public use. The fact that we have here a small collection of sayings, differing from any of the recorded sayings of Christ in the canonical or apocryphal gospels, favors the supposition that the ancient collectors used considerable liberty in the selection and wording of their material. Indeed, these sayings may have fallen from the lips of early Christian teachers whose identity is now unknown. Be that as it may, the wise thing at present is to wait for further light, for he who now speaks most dogmatically concerning the Logia may soon have abundant reason for changing his opinion.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

OUTSIDE TESTIMONY TO MISSIONS.

Much is made from time to time of the adverse criticisms on missions by travelers who pass through missionary lands. A common rejoinder to such criticisms is that these persons have made no individual inspection of missionary processes, and that their spirit of hostility is partly accounted for by their contact with Europeans of morally oblique conduct. Missionaries as a rule are not careful to make any rejoinder to the obnoxious utterances of these critics. It is refreshing, on the contrary, to find an abundance of testimony from the highest and best-furnished secular authorities as to the good intentions of the missionaries and the practical benefits of their work, even from a humanitarian standpoint.

Captain Younghusband, author of a work entitled *The Heart of a Continent*, recently gave appreciative notices of various missions visited in his travels through Manchuria, and dwells upon the benefits to civilization and philanthropy which Christianity bestows. His work closes with a chapter on "The Missionary Question in China," in which he vouches from personal experience for the good effects of the personal presence of the missionaries. He declares that he "can testify to the fact that, living quietly and unostentatiously in the interior of China, there are men who, by their lives of noble self-sacrifice and sterling good, are slowly influencing those about them—men who have so influenced, not only a few, but many thousands of these unenthusiastic Chinese, as to cause them to risk life itself for their religion." He thinks that "the man who devotes his life to the work of imparting to other races the religion from which his own has derived so much benefit; who carefully trains himself for this work; who sympathetically studies the religion, the character, and the peculiarities of the people he wishes to convert; and who practically lives a life which those about him can see to be good, should be admired as the highest type of manhood."

Commodore Charles O'Neil, of the United States Navy, in a letter published in the New York *Herald*, also certifies as follows: "My experience with the American missionaries in the Ottoman empire was most favorable to them, and whenever the occasion presents itself I do not hesitate to commend them and their work. I can always be relied on, and referred to, as a warm friend and ally of our countrymen and women who are laboring in the cause of Christianity and education in Turkey. They have done and are doing a noble work, the far-reaching influences and value of which cannot be overestimated."

Similarly, in a recent volume on *German Southwest Africa*, by a German military officer, we find the statement, as translated in the *Chronicle* of the London Missionary Society, as follows: "What merchant, artisan, and men of science have done for the opening up and civilizing of this

country is as nothing compared with the results of missionary work, and this work means so much the more because all self-regarding motives, such as always inspire the trader, the discoverer, and are to be found even in the soldier, are absent in the missionary. It must be an exalted impulse which leads the missionary to give up comfort, opportunities of advancement, honor, and fame, for the sake of realizing the idea of bringing humanity into the kingdom of God, into sonship to God, and to instill into the soul of a red or a black man the mystery of the love of God. Self-interest is put aside, and the missionary becomes a Nama or a Herero. He gives continually, not only from the inner treasure of his spiritual life and knowledge. In order to be able to do that he must unweariedly play, now the artisan, now the farmer, now the architect; he must always give—presents, teaching, improvements—never take; he must not even expect that his self-sacrifice will be understood. And to do this for years, decades even, truly requires more than human power, and the average mind of the European adventurer, hardened in self-valuation and self-seeking, cannot understand it. I used not to be able to understand it; one must have seen it to be able to understand and admire."

Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop, the widely known and unwearying traveler, in May, 1897, also said: "Six weeks ago I came straight from some of the darkest of earth's dark places, from the empires of Korea, China, and Japan. The darkness which broods over these countries is a 'darkness which may be felt.' This Scripture phrase is the only word to describe it. . . . On this journey I visited one hundred and three mission stations. . . . I have no connection with missions and missionary effort, except a most cordial sympathy and the deepest interest. I am a traveler solely, and it is as a traveler that I desire to bear my testimony to the godly and self-denying lives, the zeal and devotion, of nearly all the missionaries of all the Churches that I have everywhere seen. This testimony from a traveler unconnected with missions may, I trust, be of some value, and I am prepared to give it everywhere."

And now comes Julian Hawthorne, writing in the *Cosmopolitan* of missionaries in India: "They are the only persons who know what is actually going on in that land of misery, for they go about quietly everywhere, see everything, cannot be deceived or put off the scent by the native subordinates. It was my great good fortune to be thrown with the missionaries from the start, and I was able to compare their methods and knowledge with those of the government people."

SLAVERY IN AFRICA.

It is impossible that any persons interested in the evangelization of Africa can be indifferent to the progress made in the suppression of slavery, in various parts of the continent and in the outlying islands. There are two special items of importance in this connection just now which are very significant—the declaration of the abolishment of the legal status

of slavery in the vast region coming to be known as Nigeria, West Africa, and a similar edict in Zanzibar by the sultan of that island. The Royal Niger Company has made a great number of compacts with native states in Nigeria, in some cases inducing them to acknowledge the absolute sovereignty of the company in turn for assured protection from the stronger tribes. They have guarded against slave raids from the stronger tribes by treaty with them to the effect that all slave raiding of the territory of the protected tribes must cease. The powerful Nupé tribe entered into treaty with the company not to raid in the protected states, but broke its treaty, and was severely chastised for the same. This must aid to impress the strong races of that region of Africa that wherever there is such a treaty with the British slave raiding in those regions must become a thing of the past. The diamond anniversary of Queen Victoria was marked by many a unique and estimable deed, but none perhaps carried more significance than the decree that, on and after that date, slavery would not be recognized as having legal status in the vast region of Africa included in the territory of the Royal Niger Company.

On the other side of the continent the Sultan of Zanzibar has also declared that the legal status of slavery shall no longer exist. The importance of this is that Zanzibar has been the depot whence slaves have been shipped to other parts of the world, this being a vast rendezvous by reason of the acknowledged legal status of slavery on this island. It is possible that no slaves in Zanzibar now manumitted may claim the privilege which the abolition of slavery by law brings to them, but that will be because they voluntarily prefer to continue relations which are no longer binding at law. Slavery is hereafter to be merely a conventional custom in Zanzibar, dissoluble at any hour at the will of the person who has voluntarily continued in it. The slave population of Zanzibar may be placed at one hundred and forty thousand, to all of whom the permissive right of freedom is now accorded. And yet it is not quite to all of these that this privilege comes fresh, just now. As long ago as 1873 the slave markets of the country were closed against imported slaves ; therefore every slave that has been imported since then has not been a legal slave, though he may have been so treated, *de facto.* A further decree of the sultan in 1889 directed that all slaves should become free by entering the country, and that the next year and thereafter all traffic in slaves, whether by purchase or exchange of any kind, should be illegal. Therefore no slave acquired by purchase or otherwise since August, 1890, has been bound by any civil obligation to recognize the existence of property in himself. The inheritance of slaves was also limited at this time to the lawful children on the death of the owner, and if he left no children the slaves became free; and, finally, this same act provided that all children born to slaves after November 1, 1890, should be free. It is evident, therefore, that a good many of the estimated one hundred and forty thousand slaves of Zanzibar were no slaves at all, in the eye of the law. It is anticipated that the new law totally abolishing slavery will probably be a dead

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letter for a long time to come, since the existing conditions and relations of the capitalists and laborers are the best practicable, just now. The total population of Zanzibar and Pemba is put down at two hundred and ten thousand, of whom two thirds are in the relation of slaves, and commercially and economically must remain so for the present. The slaves have nowhere to go, no capital with which to do differently from what they have been doing, and have little grievance with their treatment and remuneration; so that, in general, the slavery conditions will continue, though the status before the law is vitally different.

The most interesting feature of this act by which all slavery is abolished in Zanzibar is that it is the termination for the slaver of the last possible market, off the mainland of the continent of Africa. He cannot find hereafter any recognized over-sea market for his slaves.

RELIGIOUS DISINTEGRATION IN PERSIA.

It is not uncommon to read the suggestion, in one form and another, of the possibilities of a great Mohammedan uprising, throughout the world, against Christian nations. It is usual to count the Mohammedans of Persia as constituting a portion of the great Moslem world which would be in this combination. Apart from the feeble connection of Persia, at the best of times, with the rest of the Mohammedan states, there are several things which ought to be considered before giving much weight to the prophecy of her participation in a general Mohammedan war. The established religion of Persia is the Shiah form of Mohammedanism, which is by the rest of the Moslems of the world regarded as a dangerous heresy. But, while recognizing the great power and influence of the Mullahs and Mujtahids, it must be remembered that for generations many forms of religious beliefs contrary to Islam have prevailed in the country. The Sufi sect are out-and-out pantheists, besides being in a way Puritans, claiming to have the purest Moslem doctrines even antedating Mohammedanism. The poetic literature of Persia is saturated with pantheism of the strictest Vedantic type. It is asserted by those long familiar with the state of society in Persia that Islam has been rapidly losing its hold on Persia. Even the Mullahs in many parts of the country courteously receive the missionaries on their itinerating tours, and in some instances urge the people to buy their books. But the greatest disintegrating element in Persia is seen in the presence and popularity of what is called after its chief advocate, or founder, Babism. Shah Nasr-ud-deen died or rather was assassinated May 1, 1896. Had he lived five days longer he would have completed a reign of fifty lunar years on the throne of Persia. Nothing in his varied career was more marked than his persecution of the sect known as Babi, which may be said to have risen to prominence in the last fifty years. The tenets of this sect have caused them to be likened to the Gnostics of the early ages, and their teachings have been widely accepted by the people of Persia. Half the population of many

towns and villages is composed of Babis, divided in two sects. It is estimated that not less than eight hundred thousand persons in the country now hold Babi doctrines. It is claimed that the best of their doctrines are taken from the Bible, and they declare themselves ready to abandon any tenet of their faith which is shown to be contrary to the Christian Scriptures. El Bab, "the Gate," led the adherents of this faith in a revolt against the corrupt manners of the times, fifty years ago, and the doctrines spread so rapidly that the shah was led to put thousands of these people to death. The Babis almost all through the country are in sympathy with Christians, calling them their brethren, and professing to see but little difference between their faith and that of Christianity.

It is manifest, therefore, that, apart from the disintegrating force of the heresy attributed to the Shiah sect by the rest of the Moslem world, small reliance could be placed on the cohesive force of the population of Persia to aid a general combination of Moslems in any uprising proposed against the Christian powers. In all such calculations looking to any future disturbance of this sort the fact is to be reckoned with that religiously Persia is undergoing a process of rapid disintegration.

FORWARD MOVEMENT IN AFRICA.

THE *Church Missionary Intelligencer* calls attention to what it emphasizes as an epochal event in "Nigeria"—the new term for the possessions of the Royal Niger Company, which embrace various States on the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, extending northward up the rich valley of the Niger, that in size and importance, it is declared, ranks with the Nile and the Congo. This western Soudan is the home of the Hausas, a very superior people. Mohammedan bigotry has hitherto been able to exclude all missionary efforts from this part of Africa. But this portion of the great "Dark Continent," with its fifteen millions of the most intelligent people of Africa, has been recently and by a single stroke thrown open for the ingress of missionaries, and the Church of England Missionary Society proposes to take steps at once to follow this opening. The event alluded to is the battle recently fought with these Mohammedan troops at Bida, the capital of that country. The *Intelligencer* says, "What was accomplished for India by Plassey it is believed will be accomplished for Nigeria by the battle of Bida." Everybody knows the importance to subsequent history of the battle of Plassey, fought by Lord Clive in Bengal, one hundred and forty years ago. What with Uganda secured as a strategic point for missionary operations in East Central Africa, and Bida subject to Christian powers in North Central Africa, and the Congo a Christian highway from the West Central, and South Africa under Christian rulers, it looks as if the diplomacy of Providence were growing manifest in the Dark Continent. God has certainly great purposes for Africa.

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FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Ludwig Paul. The study of the life of Jesus continues, attesting both the profoundness of the mystery of his being and the recognition of the greatness of his personality. Paul is wholly given up to the thought of the development of the self-consciousness of Jesus. At first Jesus had only the consciousness of being a prophet. Gradually his consciousness became that expressed by the mysterious title of "the Son of man." But even this did not appear in his consciousness, in its final form, at first. Not until the end of his life did he rise to the full recognition of his complete Messiahship, with the certainty that he was to suffer and die and return again in glory. This last phase of his development resulted from the failure of his temple reform after the great sermon against the Pharisees. As his consciousness of his Messiahship, so also his idea of the kingdom of God was a development. He received from John the Baptist at first the conception of the kingdom as one of peace and happiness, a kingdom of righteousness, which had come near to the Jews, for which they were exhorted to prepare themselves. But he gave to this idea a more profound ethical significance. As his consciousness of his Messianic office developed the idea arose that this kingdom was, at least in part, at hand, although the idea that it was a kingdom to come was still the more prominent. The particularistic conception of the kingdom of God gradually broadened into that of its universality. At the close of his life, under the pressure of suffering, apocalyptic-theocratic ideas were more largely mixed with his former conceptions. His followers took up the parables of the kingdom, and developed them into the concept of a future heavenly kingdom in distinction from a Church on earth. In the gospel according to John this development is found in its completed form. One of the first criticisms we have to make on the foregoing outline of Paul's theories is that he seemed to feel bound to make a connected whole of the supposed development in the consciousness of Jesus. He is unwilling to leave any link unsupplied. This is not scientific reserve, but speculative boldness. It makes necessary the employment of the imagination in the production of facts which appeal to his own particular judgment of what ought to be. He leaves the impression of knowing too much, of having so much more light than anyone else that no one is willing to trust his assertions. Coming to particulars, there is not the slightest foundation for the assertion that at the beginning of his ministry he had only the nsciousness of a prophet. There is nothing in the records to suggest, or at least to substantiate, such a theory, though it has always been proposed by those who would deny his real divine commission. Similarly,

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there is absolutely no proof of the assertion that Jesus received his idea of the kingdom of God from John the Baptist.

J. Bornemann. It is to be hoped that the German pastors do not often preach to their congregations on the themes which sometimes engage their attention; for, while it is legitimate and even necessary for the pastor to think on many lines totally wanting in popular interest, they contain nothing of the Gospel. Such is one of the themes which Pastor J. Bornemann has chosen for investigation. Usener in his *Researches in the History of Religion* took the position that the baptism of Jesus by John the Baptist formed no part of the earliest Christian tradition, but arose in connection with Jewish Christianity, and was lifted into special significance first by the Gnostics. Against all this Bornemann protests in his *Die Taufe Christi durch Johannes in der dogmatischen Beurtheilung der christlichen Theologen der vier ersten Jahrhunderten* (The Baptism of Christ by John, as Judged by the Dogmatic Theologians of the First Four Christian Centuries). Leipzig, Heinrichs, 1896. In opposition to Usener, Bornemann asserts that the tradition of the baptism was repressed very early, even in the *regula fidei*, and that it was obliged to yield the field to orthodox Christology, with which it does not agree. The difficulty, he thinks, begins with the report of the virgin birth, increases with the doctrine of the preexistence, and has no place whatever in the finished doctrines of the Logos-Christology. The baptism presents an element of primitive Christianity which is not without its inherent difficulties, but which, when employed by the Gnostics to represent the descent of one of the higher eons upon man, was easily and quickly discredited. The heathen Christians lost the power to estimate aright the story of the baptism. Hence both Jewish Christians and Gnostics rejected it together. Yet there was a distinct difference in their thought. The Gnostics represented it as the descent of a new divine person to the earth; the Jewish Christians spoke, like the canonical writings, only of the descent of the Spirit of God. The reason why the heathen Christians could not understand the story of the baptism was that they had lost the true comprehension of the Old Testament thought of the Messiah. But Justin Martyr is witness of the fact that this story is most intimately bound up with that Old Testament thought. Says Bornemann, "It is altogether remarkable how in the writings of Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian the story of the baptism appears as a great difficulty for the Logos-Christology, a difficulty which they would rather have escaped." The whole discussion is one so recondite that perhaps few of our readers will be interested in it. Yet it illustrates a tendency in foreign thought, and so has a place here. It must also be said that, though recondite, it has a most practical significance in showing against all comers that the story of the baptism of Christ belongs to the earliest Christian tradition.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Gregor VII, sein Leben und Werken (Gregory VII, his Life and Work). By Wilhelm Martens. 2 vols. Leipzig, Demcker & Humblot, 1894. A character of such historical importance as Gregory VII developed will be sure to find numerous students, some of whom will write concerning him. We should not, therefore, be surprised at this two-volume biography. Martens departs from the fashion by paying no attention to Gregory's times as needful for an understanding of the man. Hauck, in a review of Martens's work, has brought out some most interesting points relative to the supposed learning of Gregory. He says that in his letters Gregory referred about three hundred times to Scripture passages, which at first might seem to prove an intimate acquaintance with the Old and New Testaments. Further examination, however, renders this doubtful. He was acquainted with the psalter, a number of whose passages he had stored in his memory. He also knew the language of the gospels. But his citations from Romans are for the most part portions that were regularly read in public worship; which fact indicates that his knowledge of that great letter was not the result of its direct study. His citations from the major prophets amount to thirty-one, but many of them are repetitions. As a matter of fact, he refers to but seven different places in Isaiah, three in Jeremiah, and four in Ezekiel. Of these he cites Jer. xlviii, 10, nine times; Isa. lviii, 1, six times, and Ezek. iii, 18, three times. In reference to the historical books of the Old Testament the matter stands no better. Twenty-four times he quotes from 1 Samuel. But he only cites four places, and of these 1 Sam. xv, 23, is quoted nineteen times. Hauck concludes that we cannot think of Gregory as a Bible student, and says that he knew the psalter and pericopes of the Church, but that the Bible, as such, he had not studied. The same conclusion as to inadequate learning is reached by an examination of his references to the fathers. In about twenty places he used the utterances of Gregory the Great. Besides this Church father he appears to have known only Ambrose, psuedo-Ambrose, Augustine, and Chrysostom, from all of whom he quotes in his writings but seven times. His use of the canonical laws is more frequent. It appears also that he knew something of the poets, Virgil and Horace. Yet these references to the Bible, the fathers, and the classics are too meager to indicate extensive learning. Gregory may have known more than he cited, but there is no evidence now available to that effect. Sooner or later history assigns every man his true place in the record of the world's genuinely great scholars.

Das Apostolikum ausgelegt (The Apostle's Creed Expounded). By Friedrich Loofs. Halle a. S., Max Numeyer, 1895. It was a courageous act for a man like Loofs, who is a modern of the moderns in theology, to publish an exposition of the Apostolicum. The work is done in such a manner, however, that he is criticisable rather for what he does not say

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than for what he says. It is significant that on the very first pages, when he is speaking of the Trinity, he affirms that formulas which are not found in the Scripture cannot be of fundamental importance. Another of his principles is that doctrine which cannot be lodged in the mind of a child or an uneducated person cannot be necessary to salvation. By these propositions Loofs does not so much assault certain, to him, questionable, direct, or inferential teachings of the creed as justify himself in passing them by as mere disputed matters. In the article on God the Father he shows by the history of the formation of the creed that the emphasis is on the fatherhood of God, not on his work as Creator, though he believes in that, of course, and on trust in him for all things under all circumstances. He declares that true faith in God constitutes the sum of Christian faith, if properly understood. It includes the idea of stewardship, of saintliness, of our demerit, and yet of joyful confidence in God, while it is also a mighty, practical impulse. Under the article on Christ he shows that to believe in Christ means to have found in him our Redeemer. Faith is more than a mere acceptance of all that is taught us of the life of Christ. He supports his view by Luther, who makes the article mean, "I believe that Jesus Christ is my Lord, who has redeemed me, a lost and condemned man." A second point in the same article attempts to show that only as redeemed in Christ can we truly confide in the holy God. In this connection Loofs insists on the possession of a real experience as distinguished from a mere acceptance of theological formulas. Under the third article he shows that true Christian faith is a work which is wrought by the Holy Ghost. This he proves by a review of the origin of faith in any soul, which, whatever the way along which we may be led, is always by means of the Church, under the control of a spirit which is distinctly different in quality and degree from the spirit of this world. On this is based, Loofs declares, the security of our personal faith—not on any virtues we have by nature or even by grace, but solely on the sense of a divine power which is at work within us. On the same basis rests our hope for the future world. He who has begun the good work in us will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ. The same God who has created us and redeemed us in Christ will sanctify us and carry the work to completion by his Spirit.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

An Evangelical Deaconess Home and Hospital in Freiburg in Breisgau. The German Evangelical Alliance has devoted itself so vigorously to the polemic against Roman aggression that many have thought it open to criticism. But, though this polemic has been conducted with vigor. it has by no means absorbed all the energies of the Alliance. Just now money is being collected, and a building is being erected, as above noted, for purely charitable, unsectarian uses. It is to be the first of this class

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of institutions under the control of the Protestant Church of Germany, in the southern portion of the dukedom of Baden. The population there is largely Romanist, but the scattered Protestants are therefore all the more in need of help of this kind from their brethren in the faith. The sum of one hundred and eighty thousand marks had been collected in June of this year, one half from Freiburg itself, and appeals are being made to Protestants of all tendencies to aid in the work of building and furnishing. The Alliance already has under its control a number of trained deaconesses; and it is proposed to provide for the training of others in the home which is to be erected in Freiburg. The result, it is evident, will be doubly beneficial to Protestantism. First, it will save Protestants from Romanizing influences in times of sickness and trouble; and, second, it will prove to the enemies of Protestantism the existence within it of a spirit of true benevolence, even toward those who are not of that faith.

The Troubles of the German Evangelical Social Congress. A writer in *Die Christliche Welt* of June 3 points out several particulars in which this Congress, composed of students and friends of social reform, finds its situation materially changed since its first meeting in 1890. At that time Emperor Wilhelm II was favorable to the movement, and the Congress sent him a message full of expressions of gratitude for his energetic and hearty adoption of the cause of social reform. In those days, whenever the Congress met in Berlin, it was always favored with visits of ministers of State. Now, while the ideas and methods of the Congress are the same as before, there has been such a tremendous change in the attitude of the higher powers toward social questions that it is and must be, contrary to its own wish, considered as opposed to the policy of the government. Again, at the beginning, the only papers which published the original call were conservative organs, though many papers of other tendencies were asked to publish it, and it was signed by five hundred and ninety-four men of the most diverse political opinions. Now, the conservative organs and the conservative party are the most bitter opponents of the Congress; not, as the writer cited says, because the Congress has changed, but because the conservatives have changed. Hence the Congress is put into the awkward position of defending certain liberal ideas which were once generally accepted, but which to-day the conservatives threaten to overthrow. A change has also taken place in the relation of the Church to the Congress. The ecclesiastical authorities were never specially friendly, but they were not inimical. To-day the Congress is under the ban of those who control in the Church. The matter has even gone so far as that the Leipzig churches were refused the Congress for the purpose of holding a religious service. This is one of the sorest afflictions of the Congress, and makes its members feel that it is wrong to forbid a church service to any class of men who desire it. They comfort themselves, however,

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with the thought that their work is no less pleasing to God because they are refused the privilege of opening their Congress with a public service. One of the chief sources of their trouble is that they are classed with other social movements and parties with which they feel themselves out of all sympathy. It seems a mortal pity that nothing can be done or attempted on a large scale in Germany without the division of its forces into parties which fight each other to the bitter end, and thus hinder the accomplishment of the object for which they apparently exist and strive. Pride of opinion is one of the chief faults of the German people. They are a militant race.

Remarkable Discovery in Connection with the Remains of Martin Luther. With those in this country who are familiar with the life of the great reformer there probably never has been a doubt that his remains lie buried underneath the Castle Church, Wittenberg, Germany. But as early as 1886 there was reason to question the general belief. When the repairs on the celebrated church were begun one of the first things to be done was the removal of the floor. At that time Melanchthon's grave and coffin were opened and his bones viewed. Upon digging for Luther's coffin at the spot marked as his grave no sign of it was discovered. During the next six years the work of repairing the church went forward, and the floor was relaid, ready for reopening in October, 1892. Meantime it became more and more doubtful to the inhabitants of Wittenberg whether Luther's remains had not been removed in some mysterious way from their original resting place. Anxious to settle the matter, and doubting whether a sufficient search had been made, two men who were engaged about the repairs removed the floor over the spot where Luther was supposed to be buried, and began to dig. After digging a little more than six feet they came upon the remains, which were found in a reasonably good state of preservation. Closing up the opening and relaying the floor, they hid all traces of their work and for a time kept the secret to themselves. Their task was completed on February 14, 1892. Gradually, however, they began to reveal to one and another their discovery, and at length gave Professor Julius Köstlin, the great biographer of Luther, the facts in the case in writing, and he has published them to the world, withholding the names of the parties. Although one of a skeptical turn might still be inclined to doubt, we may safely trust the critical acumen of Köstlin to such a degree as to believe that he has not been deceived. Besides, it would be easy to reopen the spot and ascertain whether the remains are there as described; and when to this we add the consideration—which is a fundamental principle in the field of evidence—that the men could have no motive for deception it seems certain that, though they were differently interred from those of Melanchthon and others, the remains of Luther lie buried where they were originally placed, under the Castle Church, Wittenberg.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE tragedy of the Rebellion is fast receding in the distance, and its warriors rapidly falling from the ranks. With the passing years the descriptions of its struggles are taking their enduring place in national literature with the records of the Revolution and the War of 1812. Especially are such narratives as "Campaigning with Grant," from the pen of General Horace Porter, in recent numbers of the *Century*, valuable for their accuracy and vividness of coloring. In the October issue of this periodical is found the conclusion of the series. It constitutes a war document of unusual importance, with its description of Lee's surrender at Appomattox—General Porter himself being a spectator of that event—of the "dawn of peace," and of the grand review of the returning army at Washington. From the description of the last event a few meager extracts read as follows: "At the head of the column rode Meade, crowned with the laurels of four years of warfare. The plaudits of the multitude followed him along the entire line of march; flowers were strewn in his path, and garlands decked his person and horse. . . . Then came the cavalry, with the gallant Merritt at their head, commanding in the absence of Sheridan. The public were not slow to make recognition of the fame he had won on so many hard-fought fields. Conspicuous among the division commanders was Custer. His long golden locks floating in the wind, his low-cut collar, his crimson necktie, and his buckskin breeches presented a combination which made him look half general and half scout, and gave him a dare-devil appearance which singled him out for general remark and applause. . . . Nothing touched the hearts of the spectators so deeply as the sight of the old war-flags as they were carried by—those precious standards, bullet-riddled, battle-stained, many of them but remnants, often with not enough left of them to show the names of the battles they had seen. Some were decked with ribbons, and some festooned with garlands. Everybody was thrilled by the sight; eyes were dimmed with tears of gladness; and many of the people broke through all restraint, rushed into the street, and pressed their lips upon the folds of the standards. The President was kept busy doffing his hat. He had a way of holding it by the brim with his right hand and moving it from left to right, and occasionally passing his right arm across his breast and resting the hat on his left shoulder. . . . For nearly seven hours the pageant was watched with unabated interest; and when it had faded from view the spectators were eager for the night to pass, so that on the morrow the scene might be renewed in the marching of the mighty Army of the West. The next day the same persons, with a few exceptions, assembled upon the reviewing stand. At nine o'clock Sherman's veterans started. Howard had been relieved of the command

of the Army of the Tennessee to take charge of the Freedmen's Bureau, and instead of leading his old troops he rode with Sherman at the head of the column, his armless right sleeve giving evidence of his heroism in action. . . . Flowers were showered upon the troops in the same profusion as the day before, and there was no abatement in the uncontrollable enthusiasm of the vast assemblage of citizens who witnessed the march. . . . At half past three o'clock the matchless pageant had ceased. For two whole days a nation's heroes had been passing in review. Greeted with bands playing, drums beating, bells ringing, banners flying, kerchiefs waving, and voices cheering, they had made their last march. Even after every veteran had vanished from sight the crowds kept their places for a time, as if still under a spell and unwilling to believe that the marvelous spectacle had actually passed from view. It was not a Roman triumph designed to gratify the vanity of the victors, exhibit their trophies, and parade their enchained captives before the multitude; it was a celebration of the dawn of peace, a declaration of the reëstablishment of the Union." It is to be hoped that these stirring and important reminiscences of General Porter's may be put into permanent book form.

THE *New World* for September opens with an article on "Benjamin Jowett." The writer, J. W. Chadwick, finds in the recently published life of Jowett, by Abbott and Campbell, "a spiritual presence that is full of goodly inspirations, and that will not let us go till it has blessed us with some notable accessions to our store of golden memories of fair and perfect things which never ought to be forgot." From Corpus Christi College, Oxford, F. C. S. Schiller writes on "The Ethical Significance of the Idea of Immortality." The ethical argument for immortality, he holds, is "simply this, that, if death ends all, the moral life cannot be lived out, moral perfection is impossible, and the universe cannot be regarded as at heart ethical." And, secondly, as to the value of this argument for immortality, the author teaches that it "seems logically as sound and metaphysically as legitimate as any argument can well be." In "The Terminology of the New Theology" the writer, W. Kirkus, proposes to "examine some few terms or names" of those he calls the "new theologians," to see "whether there are any real things corresponding to them; and also a few propositions, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they make, not a true, but an intelligible, assertion." The "recovery of the historical Christ," as it is phrased, first occupies his attention. The representatives of the new theology, he holds, have given a "new connotation" to the name "Christ," and, "the more the literature of the new theology is studied, the more obvious it becomes that it presents to us, not a historical Christ recovered, but a purely speculative Christ evolved." From the doctrine of the incarnation it also leaves out the Holy Spirit, and in place of the old doctrine of man it offers a new anthropology whose meaning is to Mr.

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Kirkus obscure. "Harnack's Chronology of the New Testament" is next discussed by F. A. Christie, of the Meadville Theological School. "Those who have hailed this work," he says, "as a complete abandonment of critical views may judge if its construction of tradition makes a firmer basis for a Johannine theology than the philosophical criticism of Baur." R. M. Wenley, of the University of Michigan, follows with a consideration of "The Movement of Religious Thought in Scotland, 1843–1896." The article concludes: "After all is said, the Scotch still remain in temper very much what Knox made them. Their history really 'contains nothing of world-interest at all but this reformation by Knox.' In the past it has, as Carlyle said, 'produced in the world very notable fruit,' and it is likely to continue similar production in the future. Changed as religious atmosphere and theological skies may be, the former spirit abides, little if at all abated." The next article, on "Henry Drummond and his Books," is by H. M. Simmons. Drummond's writings, says the author, "have softened 'evangelical' prejudices and helped the Church to accept much heresy and science which would have been repulsive to it without his sugar-coating." But Drummond himself was "better than his books. Warm-hearted, generous, practical, ever active in some good work, he seems to have cared less for them and his own fame than to aid others." W. R. Newbold, of the University of Pennsylvania, follows with a discussion of "Demon Possession and Allied Themes," his argument being that "many cases of possession are simply cases of insanity misrepresented." J. H. Crooker considers "The Atheism in Religions," asserting that "there is a deposit of atheism at the heart of all great religions;" and Albert Réville writes from the College de France, Paris, of "Some Aspects of Islam," and maintains its decline.

The contents of the *London Quarterly* for October are: 1. "Nelson;" 2. "Peter the Great;" 3. "The Mystery of the Incarnation;" 4. "The Treatment of Dissent in English Fiction;" 5. "The Church of the New Testament;" 6. "Mrs. Oliphant—An Appreciation;" 7. "The Fin-de-Siècle Woman;" 8. "The London Quarterly Review;" 9. "The Meaning and Supremacy of the Bible;" 10. "The Growth of London During the Queen's Reign." Mahan's life of Nelson is the basis of the first article. It has, according to the reviewer, "no important rival." In the future "this is the book to which all students of the hero of the Nile, of Copenhagen, and Trafalgar will turn, as his one authoritative, accurate, and adequate biography and psychology." The life of Peter the Great which is noticed is Waliszewski's, translated from the French by Lady Mary Loyd. The book may be "unhesitatingly classed with the signs of the times," and is "quite curiously free from the partisanship of the biographer." Its hero's "least heroic weaknesses are pitilessly set forth, and his most repulsive vices are nowise palliated." The third article reviews Canon Gore's essay on the consciousness of Jesus. The

teaching of this essay is that "in our conception of the earthly Christ limitation of knowledge must be added to the limitation of power always admitted." In other words, the Canon's "final position" is "that form of the modern *kenosis* theory of the incarnation which affirms a double life in Christ, divine and human." But the reviewer finds it "hard to see how the deity of the Christ can be held on this ground. . . . Rationalism and High Anglicanism at this point seem distinctly to shake hands." In the fourth article the portrayal of dissenters by Bunyan, Thackeray, Dickens, George Eliot, Charlotte Bronté, Mrs. Oliphant, Trollope, Miss Sergeant, and others is recalled. Hort's lectures on "the Early History and Early Conceptions of the Ecclesia" are reviewed in the fifth article. In the next Mrs. Oliphant's death is termed not only "the loss of a delightful and accomplished writer," but also, "in some sense, the close of an epoch." Peaceful was her end. "'I have no thought,' she said to one who watched her on her deathbed, 'not even of my boys—only of my Saviour waiting to receive me, and of the Father.'" The next article reviews two recent works suggestive of "that remarkable product of the dying nineteenth century, the 'new woman movement.'" The eighth article defines the literary scope of the *London Quarterly*, and its ownership by the Wesleyan Methodist Church. The next article vigorously criticises Dean Farrar's recent work on the Bible, and concludes: "We have not been able to indicate one half the dangerous misrepresentations of this most mischievous book. Nor have we been able to give any idea of the unscholarly inaccuracies which abound in its pages." The concluding article reviews six works bearing on the city of London, and notices the changes and improvements which have taken place during the reign of Victoria. London, in short, is "the Mecca of the Anglo-Saxon race."

In the *Christian Quarterly* for October the Rev. W. Durban, of London, writes of "The Massacre of Ministers," including in his catalogue of agencies in "parson killing," the "plethora of preachers," the "competition of the laity in the pulpit," the "exigencies of pastoral work," the "mania for youth," "popularity," the "passion for amusements," and "financial folly on the part of Churches." J. W. Monser discusses "The Christ of Prophecy, History, and Futurity;" J. W. McGarvey urges a larger study of the English Bible, in his article entitled "Sacred History in the Education of Preachers;" and L. W. Morgan considers "The Relation of Religion and Ethics in the Sermon on the Mount, as Recorded by Matthew." Christ's words, the latter says, "are not merely religious; they are not merely ethical; they are the revelation of life." The concluding articles are "St. Paul, the Traveler and the Roman Citizen," by the Rev. W. J. Lhamon; "The Literature of the Disciples of Christ," by W. W. Hopkins; and "Baptism," by an anonymous writer, "without editorial approval."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Veracity of the Hexateuch. A Defense of the Historic Character of the First Six Books of the Bible. By SAMUEL COLCORD BARTLETT, D.D., LL.D., Ex-President of Dartmouth College. 12mo, pp. 404. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

It is easy, says Dr. Bartlett, to deny the authorship of ancient documents. In illustration of this he instances, outside the realm of religious composition, the curious contention of the learned Father Hardouin, who died in 1729, that "the plays of Terence, Virgil's *Æneid*, the *Odes* of Horace, and the histories of Livy and Tacitus were forgeries of the monks of the thirteenth century." Yet, while the verbal and verbose denial of ancient authorship is easy, the establishment of that denial is a severe labor. Mere tradition is reckoned sufficient, in the case of Terence, Virgil, and the rest, to prove the historicity of their records. "Difficult as it would be," says Dr. Bartlett, "to formulate a case in court for them, . . . they are frankly accepted on the basis of the descending traditions, in the absence of conflicting claims or indications, together with the conviction that the monks were incapable of the composition—although this last point could not be proved." But mere tradition, accompanied by a conviction regarding the possibilities of Old Testament authorship, is not the "slender" proof on which Dr. Bartlett seeks to establish his claim for the veracity of the Hexateuch. By so much as Moses is a more conspicuous factor than Terence or Tacitus in human regeneration and the restoration of society to its pristine ideals, to that degree this present defender of the writings of Moses recognizes our possession of "all the evidence of their substantially contemporaneous origin and their authenticity which the nature of the case admits." In more detail his method is a candid and painstaking examination of the many objections to the historic value of the first six books of the Old Testament, followed by the citation of many affirmative arguments therefor, which are impressive in their weight and vigor. Taking the book of Joshua as a "starting point" from which to move backward, Dr. Bartlett urges a ninefold argument, which we may summarize with some minuteness, as indicating the general method of his treatment. The trustworthiness of Joshua, he holds, is indicated by "the baselessness and unreasonableness of the theory that its events were not put in writing till from three to eight centuries after the death of Joshua;" by the "marks of proximity of date to the events and of participation in them;" by the "lifelike minuteness of much of the narrative" as indicating "its original and contemporaneous origin;" by "the commemoration of some of the prominent events by memorial names and landmarks;" by "the minute and well-nigh exhaustive description of the land in the conquest, and more especially in the assign-

ment of the tribes;" by "the consistency and candor of the narrative;" by "the portraiture of Joshua himself;" by the "special confirmation" coming from "recently discovered ancient documents," such as the tablets found at Tell el Hesy and Tell Amarna; by the record of the burial of Joseph; and by the reference in the subsequent books of the Old Testament to "the chief events related in the Book of Joshua" as "unquestionable facts in the history of the times of Joshua." The author's position, in short, seems impregnable. Still proceeding backward in chronological course, the four following chapters examine the periods indicated in the titles, "From the Exodus to the Conquest," "The Residence in Egypt," "The Patriarchal History," and "The Table of the Nations." Devoting a chapter to the Deluge, the author finds its proof in "the widespread traditions of the human race," and quotes Lenormant to the effect that it is the most universal of all the traditions which "concern the history of primitive humanity." Particularly strong is his reasoning that "the characteristics of the Scripture account of the flood are such as of themselves to make the strongest impression of its truthfulness"—among these characteristics being "its exactness of statement," "its sobriety and consistency," "its pure monotheism," and "its marks of personal participation, and description at first hand." In his important chapter on "Antediluvian Life" Dr. Bartlett discusses ancient longevity and marriage, and hurls this challenge in the face of the critics: "The narrative presents no monstrous myth, but a series of events as credible and seemingly historical in their character and consequences as the invasion of England by the Danes." The garden of Eden narrative also finds in Dr. Bartlett a vigorous defender; and the creation story of Genesis is in his conception "neither poetry, saga, nor science, but a popular and truthful narration . . . sustained by the statements of the best modern scientific authorities." The first verse of Genesis "cuts off atheism, polytheism, pantheism, dualism, materialism, and fatalism." Thus far in his argumentation, covering thirteen chapters out of a total of twenty, Dr. Bartlett has thought it best to deal "only with the corroborative or collateral indications of the authenticity of the Hexateuch." Turning next to "the more direct evidence," though it is hard to present "the enormous strength of the case," he gives to the Hebraic documents such a measure of consideration as is possible in the further limits of the volume. From his chapter on "The Analysis" one quotation on phraseology as a proof of authorship must suffice for the whole: "Professor Stanley Leathes compared Milton's three short poems, 'L'Allegro,' 'Il Penseroso,' and 'Lycidas.' The first of them contains about four hundred and fifty different words, the second five hundred and seventy-eight, the third seven hundred and twenty-five; but there are only about sixty-one common to the three. He found in Tennyson's 'Lotos Eaters' about five hundred and ninety words, in his 'Œnone' seven hundred and twenty, but only about two hundred and thirty in common. Almost equally unsafe the somewhat broader test of

style. Almost any trained writer who has been at work at intervals for forty years on different topics and occasions, and in different states of mind, will find that he has produced writings so diverse in style and method that neither his friends nor even himself would recognize all of them for his composition except for positive evidence. Who would recognize the author of the ode on immortality in the poem of 'Peter Bell,' or the author of Webster's Plymouth and Bunker Hill orations in his letters to John Taylor?" We regret our inability to quote more fully from this strong and engaging volume. Dr. Bartlett has set forth the results of his researches in the fields of paleontology and textual study in a work so luminous and easily understood that the ordinary reader may find pleasure in its pages. His book, in fact, seems to meet the description of the ideal volume which he depicts in his Preface—a volume compact, clear, broad in statement, resting on reliable authorities, and "not overweighed with wearisome and repellent details." It is, in short, another triumph for conservative scholarship.

Four Psalms. Interpreted for Practical Use by GEORGE ADAM SMITH. 16mo, pp. 132. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

This is one of a series of little books on religion. The Psalms and subjects are, "Psalm xxiii: God our Shepherd;" "Psalm xxxvi: The Greater Realism;" "Psalm lii: Religion the Open Air of the Soul;" "Psalm cxxi: The Ministry of the Hills and All Great Things." The Cursing Psalms—like the fifth, the tenth, the fourteenth, and the fifty-second—seem to some like angry rant. The chief thing to be felt in them is the power of moral conviction concerning the deserts of the wicked. The translation "exaggerates the violence of the Hebrew at the expense of its insight, its discrimination, and its sometimes delicate satire." A more literal version of the fifty-second psalm runs thus: "*Why glory in evil, big man? The leal love of God is all day long. Thy tongue planneth mischief, like a razor sharp-whetted, thou worker of fraud. Thou lovest evil more than good, lying than speaking the truth. Thou lovest all words of voracity, tongue of deceit. God also shall tear thee down, once for all; cut thee out and pluck thee from the tent, and uproot thee from off the land of the living; that the righteous may see and fear.*" Commenting "on abundance of riches," the author quotes St. Augustine's remark that "it was not his poverty but his piety which sent Lazarus in the parable to heaven, and when he got there he found a rich man's bosom to rest in;" and adds, "Riches are no sin in themselves, but, like all forms of strength, a very great and dangerous temptation." "Trusting in riches—we all do it when we seek to drive away uncomfortable fears and the visitations of conscience by self-indulgence; when instead of . . . seeking the steep and arduous consolations of duty we look into our nearest friends' faces and whine for a sympathy that is often insincere or lie down in some place of comfort that is stolen or unclean." There is danger that pampered prosperity, luxury, and idleness will not only make men indolent, gross, and sensual, but arrogant, insolent, and brutal.

"Materialism and the temper which trusts in wealth or in success does not turn men into fat oxen, but into tigers." On sins of the tongue—lying, backbiting, and the love of swallowing men's reputations whole—is the following: "We are apt to think that sins of speech most fiercely beset weak and puny characters; men that have no weapon but a sharp and nasty tongue. Yet none use their words more recklessly than the strong, who have not been sobered by the rebuffs and uncertainties of life. Power and position often make a man trifle with the truth. A big man's word carries far, and he knows it; the temptation to be dogmatic or satirical, to snub or crush with a word, is as near to him as to a slave-driver is the fourteen-feet thong in his hand, with a line of bare black backs before him." This is about the bitterness and malice which easily breed out of man's natural selfishness: "You have been overreached in some business competition, or disappointed in getting a position, or foiled along some path of public service. You come home with a natural vexation in your heart; sore at being beaten, and anxious about your legitimate interests. It is all right enough. But sit down at the fire for a little and brood over it. Shut God out, as care and anger can. Forget that your Bible is at your elbow. Think only of your loss, which seems to you a wrong, and it is wonderful how soon you may find spite rising, and envy, and even cruel hate." But "the Bible is within reach of you. The luster is as fresh on the promises as the raindrops were under the glints of sun this morning. Walk there with God in his own garden. He is full of gentleness, and his gentleness shall make you great. He will take away the heat and the hardness. '*I will be as the dew unto Israel.*' Or seek with the Master the crowds of men. Keep near him in the dust and crush; watch how he endures the contradiction of sinners, how patient he is with men, how forgiving. Watch most of all how he prays. Bow the knee like him, and he shall lift thee up a sane and a happy man." "*Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart, and you shall find rest unto your souls.*" Enlarging upon the fact that faith in God is helped by fixing the mind on great things, the author says: "How can the sense that the living God is near to our life, that he is interested in it and willing to help it, survive in us if our life be full of petty things? Absorption in trifles, attention only to the meaner aspects of life, is killing more faith than is killed by aggressive unbelief. For if all a man sees of life be his own interests; if all he sees of home be its comforts; if all he sees of religion be the outlines of his own denomination, the complexion of his preacher's doctrine, the agreeableness and taste of his fellow-worshipers—to such a man God must always seem far away, for in those things there is no call upon either mind or heart to feel God near. But if instead of dwelling upon trifles we resolutely, and with pious obstinacy, lift our eyes to the hills—whether to those great mountain tops of history which the dawn of the new heavens has already touched, periods of faith and action that signal to our more forward but lower ages the promise of his coming; or to the great essentials of human experience that at sunrise, noon,

and evening remain the same through all ages; or to the ideals of truth and justice, to the possibilities of human nature about us, to the stature of the highest characters within our sight, to the bulk and sweep of the people's life, to the destinies of our own nation that still rise above all party dust and strife—then shall we see thresholds prepared for a divine arrival, conditions upon which we can realize God acting. . . . Amid all the cynicism and the belittling of life, strenuously take the highest views of life. Amid all the selfishness and impatience which in our day consider life upon its lowest levels, and there break it up into short and selfish interests, strenuously lift your eyes and sweep with them the main outlines, summits, and issues." That the aim of this small book is practical is evident in all its interpretations and translations. These seem more justifiable than did the new version of Gen. xxxi, 49, the words of Laban to Jacob, "The Lord watch between me and thee when we are absent one from another," which one translator, rendering the passage in the light of Jacob's character, changed into "The Lord keep his eye on you when I'm away."

The Creed and the Prayer. By J. WESLEY JOHNSTON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 284. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.20.

Fourteen discourses on the Apostles' Creed and seven on the Lord's Prayer, all expository, convincing, stimulative, and practical. They are especially welcome, because they fill an otherwise vacant place in Methodist sermonic literature. The themes are as ancient as they are sublime, but treatment and application are fresh with life and urgent with the interests of to-day. The choosing of such subjects is indicative of the level and the spirit of the author's ministry. The courage to announce and preach and publish a series of sermons on themes so high and solemn is born of a profound faith in the Gospel's everlasting adaptation to the inmost needs of men and its power to command attention and to appease the otherwise insatiable thirst of the soul; and the warm reception given these sermons has demonstrated the preacher's wisdom. In matter and style the sermons comport with the lofty themes they present. A sort of prophetic stress and earnestness mark the manner of the message, an earnestness which speaks out with force and fire, chooses incisive and telling words, and drives straight at the heart of things with every stroke. All the discourses are sufficiently and admirably illuminated with illustrations, but never waste time on needless incidents nor delay for rhetorical dalliance. They do not bid for a sensational popularity by pandering to a desire for the theatric, but command respect and are made nobly impressive by delivering great messages in a positive and effective fashion. Were space available some strong and vivid passages would be transferred to this page. They would come from the sermons on "Jesus Christ, His only Son, Our Lord," "The Holy Ghost," "The Holy Catholic Church," "Suffered under Pontius Pilate," "The Forgiveness of Sins," "The Life Everlasting," "Our Father," "Our Daily Bread." It is especially hard to refrain from quoting the

author's clear explanation and practical illustration of the difference in effect between the baptism of John and the baptism of the Holy Ghost; but it is better to refer our readers to the book itself; the whole of it is better than any part. This second volume of sermons from Dr. Johnston contains in permanent form the most mature, substantial, and sterling utterance of one who is well known to the Church through many and various expressions of his thought.

Illustrative Notes. A Guide to the Study of the International Sunday School Lessons. With Original and Selected Comments, Methods of Teaching, Illustrative Stories, Practical Applications, Notes on Eastern Life, Library References, Maps, Tables, Pictures, and Diagrams, 1898. JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT, ROBERT REMINGTON DOHERTY. 8vo, pp. 399. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.25.

It is not easy to understand how the student of the International course can ask a more complete commentary on the Sunday School Lessons of the day than is found in this volume now before us. Only those who prepare from year to year the successive numbers in a series of volumes know the difficulty in avoiding monotonous uniformity. Yet, while this handbook is much like its predecessors in type and arrangement of contents, it has nevertheless its distinct individuality. Its textual study is concise, yet clear, and scholarly, yet practical. Its illustrations are attractive, and wonderfully vivify and explain the text. The authorities quoted aggregate some two hundred and eighty writers, while the chief workers employed in its arrangement are thus specified, in an extract from its "Prefatory Note:" "Dr. Hurlbut has, as heretofore, prepared the Outlines and the Hints to the Teacher. The Explanatory Notes, Backgrounds of the Lessons, Illustrations for the Use of the Teacher, and Practical Thoughts have been prepared by Dr. Doherty. . . . The editors have had the unusual advantage, in treating of topics used as lessons in former years, of valuable special studies by Dr. James Hope Moulton, Eugene Stock, Professors Marcus D. Buell, Milton S. Terry, Charles R. Horswell, Hilary A. Gobin, and R. J. Cooke, Bishop John H. Vincent, Dr. D. A. Whedon, and Miss Sara G. Stock. . . . New maps, based on the latest surveys, have been provided; and Mr. J. D. Woodward has contributed picturesque pen-and-ink sketches made amid the ruins of Palestine." From this employment of the researches of so many prominent scholars of the Church a most complete commentary on the International Lessons would be expected, and this expectation is fully met. The volume for 1898 is, if possible, superior to its predecessors, and should be most popular among all the Sunday school helps of the day.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Religions of Primitive Peoples. By DANIEL G. BRINTON, A.M., M.D., LL.D., Sc.D., Professor of American Archæology and Linguistics in the University of Pennsylvania. 8vo, pp. 264. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This is the second series of "American Lectures on the History of Religions," the first being on the history and literature of Buddhism, by

Rhys-Davids. Dr. Brinton is an anthropologist of note, who has made special studies in prehistoric archæology and comparative mythology. He is a voluminous contributor to scientific periodicals, and two volumes issued—one in 1868, the other in 1876—present some results of his investigations, *The Myths of the New World*, and *The Religious Sentiment.* The present book offers a "study of early religions according to scientific methods;" a study of facts, "absolutely without bias or partisanship." "It seeks to lay bare those eternal foundations on which the sacred edifices of religion have ever been and must ever be erected." The directive forces at work in human progress are reduced to four—to wit, Language, Laws, Arts, and Religion. The methods employed in this reduction are the Historic Method, the Comparative Method, the Psychologic Method. By "primitive peoples" the author means savage or barbarous tribes—men in the uncivilized state from which the most advanced nations of to-day are not far removed in time. "A few hundred years ago the ancestors of the English-speaking nations were as savage as the savagest, without temples to their gods, in perpetual and bloody war, untamed cannibals;" so that we have a direct and not very remote ancestral interest in this study. On the question whether the mental powers of the savage are distinctly inferior the author reports: "This has been answered by taking the children of savages when quite young and bringing them up in civilized surroundings. The verdict is unanimous that they display as much aptitude for the acquisition of knowledge and as much respect for the precepts of morality as the average English or German boy or girl." Dr. Brinton gives this personal testimony: "I have been in close relations to several full-blooded American Indians who had been removed from an aboriginal environment and instructed in this manner, and I could not perceive that they were, in intellect or sympathies, inferior to the usual type of the American gentleman." The Australian Blacks are referred to as being, when first discovered, the most degraded people on the globe, unable to count the fingers on one hand, and evincing "an almost brutal stupidity"—"downright childishness and imbecility." In illustration of the incredibly blunted state of natural feelings and moral perceptions in them is the following incident, which happened at a frontier station: "A white family employed a native girl, named Mattie, about fifteen years old. She had a baby, which one day disappeared. On inquiry she stated that her mother had said she was too young to take care of a baby, and had therefore cooked and eaten it with some of her cronies. Mattie cried in telling this. Because her baby had been killed? O, no! Because her mother had given her none of the tidbits, but only the bones to pick!" Among several of the tribes on that great continental island it was the settled custom "for a mother to kill and eat her first child, as it was believed to strengthen her for later births." Yet these seemingly hopeless brutes had rigid religious laws and ceremonies, and wondered among themselves and had long night talks about things unseen—the past and future

of their race, whence they came and whither they were going. "Atheistic religions" seems a contradiction. The Chicago Parliament of Religions reduced the common essentials of religion to three—a belief in a god or gods, in an immortal soul, and in a divine government of the world; yet Buddhism, which pretends to be a religion, rejects every one of those items, and even on the basis of the call issued for that Parliament had no invitation or footing in its assemblies. Such a "religion" is the most misery-producing of delusions, the basest and least intelligent product of the "innate religiosity of man," which is declared to be established by the fact that "there has not been a single tribe, no matter how rude, known in history or visited by travelers which has been shown to be destitute of religion under some form." "Religion," writes the author, "is something distinctly human, and not shared by even the best developed of the lower animals. It is the only trait in which man is qualitatively separated from them. They, too, communicate knowledge by sounds; they have governments and arts; but never do we see anywhere among them the notion of the divine. This was the spark of Promethean fire which has guided man along the darksome and devious ways of his earthly pilgrimage." Only man is capable of the "beatific vision," an insight into the divine. To the human mind, groping amid brutish toils and pleasures, unconscious of grander aims, came the thought of God, which, "rising to consciousness within the soul, whispered to it of endless progress and divine ideals, in quest of which it has sought and will ever continue seeking with tireless endeavor and constantly increasing reward." Man alone has received or possesses capacity for any knowledge of God. The possibility of religion rests on one irresistible and practically universal human tendency; one and the same postulate underlies all religious thought. That postulate is the recognition that "*conscious volition is the ultimate source of all Force.*" It is the belief, however obtained or caused, that "behind the sensuous, phenomenal world, distinct from it, giving it existence, form, and activity, lies the ultimate, invisible, immeasurable power of Mind, of conscious Will, of Intelligence, analogous in some way to our own; and—mark this essential corollary—*that man is in communication with it.*" Amid endless forms of expression the one thing fundamental, indispensable, universal, is "the unalterable faith in Mind—in the Supersensuous—as the ultimate source of all force, all life, all being." Later on follows this statement: "The teachings of the severest science tell us that Matter is, in its last analysis, Motion; and that Motion is naught else than Mind." Referring the reader for particulars to the results of the physical investigations of Helmholtz and to their logical application to mental science by G. J. Romanes in his *Mind and Motion;* to Professor Paulsen's *Introduction to Philosophy*, and to Professor Dolbear's *Matter, Ether, and Motion*, the author asks who will dare to deny that "our minds may catch some overtones, as it were, from the harmonies of the Universal Intelligence thus demonstrated by inductive research

and vibrate in unison therewith?" The yearning for it is universal. Among all tribes the ethnologist and psychologist find the feeble human soul reaching out toward the divine for knowledge and fellowship. It is observed, near the end of this book, that one dangerous tendency frequently manifests itself in religion—namely, an inclination to despise the ethical, as compared with the mystical, in life; to hold an idea of holiness separable from personal character and life, as did the Anomians and Anabaptists, who were so holy that they could commit no sin, and hence allowed themselves the wildest license. Another type of fanaticism is seen in that Protestant sect of the Reformation who "opposed anyone's learning the alphabet lest he should waste his time on vain human knowledge." "They were called Abecedarians, because they distrusted even the A B C. Some learned scholars actually threw away their books and joined them." Foreign missionaries can confirm the truth of the statement that there is in every people a disposition toward any religion which they newly accept to alter it in accordance with the special constitution of their own minds, and, we may add, to modify it so as to conform more or less to their former faith. Here lies the probability of heresy in mission converts and the unsafeness of leaving a mission wholly in their hands. The spirit and convictions of the author in all his writings may be judged from the statement which closes his other volume, *The Myths of the New World:* "The more carefully we study history the more important in our eyes will become the religious sense. It is almost the only faculty peculiar to man. It concerns him nearer than aught else. It holds the key to his origin and destiny." The third series of lectures on the History of Religions will be delivered in various places in this country during the coming winter by Professor T. K. Cheyne, of Oriel College, Oxford, on "Religious Thought and Life Among the Hebrews in Post-Exilic Days."

The Poet's Poet, and Other Essays. By WILLIAM A. QUAYLE. 12mo, pp. 352. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, gilt top. $1.25.

A fine piece of book-making with contents worthy of their dress; fourteen essays on Browning, King Cromwell, William the Great of England, The Greater English Elegies, Soliloquies of Hamlet and Macbeth, "The Ebb Tide," The Jew in Fiction, Robert Burns, The Psychology of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Shakespeare's Women, "The Deserted Village," George Eliot as Novelist, "The Ring and the Book," Shylock and David as Interpreters of Life. A lover's passion for works and persons of literature and history burns in these pages. The author's themes fill and possess him, and he treats them with the power of a glowing enthusiasm. An impetuous and imaginative style marks the book. Crisp, short, ardent sentences are flung forth quivering with the force of genuine feeling. Delicate discrimination, warm appreciation of the best, and a spirit rapt away to the heights whither the best ideals have power to lift the best men—these are manifest on every page. In eight of these essays a poetic soul writes of poetry and poets. In all of them an earnest and spiritually

[illegible]

minded man speaks straight to human minds and hearts with clear, sharp utterance and the abrupt impetuosity of masculine vigor. Through many miles of travel in Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota they gave us a pleasure similar to the comfort one takes in the light and warmth and flaming of living coals of fire. The overcoat pocket which carried the volume seemed to contain something alive; one could almost feel it throb and stir. To choose what to quote is difficult, but it is safe to quote anywhere. The following strikes in upon the time when the England of the commoner and the Puritan superseded the England of the cavalier and the churchman: "Puritanism came like an apparition. It stalked upon the stage of human affairs, and men knew not whence it came nor whither it hastened. It was a strange thing; it was a great thing. What then is Puritanism? This question needs candid answer. More, it demands it. Puritanism is in the main an uncomprehended thing. Men laugh at it, make their common jests at its expense. I had as lief laugh at Niagara or the Matterhorn. Stupendousness is not a fit subject for jest, nor sublimity a theme for the humorist. The greater part of most men's knowledge of Puritanism appertains to its vagaries. It had idiosyncrasies; all greatness has. In our day looking back across that seventeenth century plain crowded with armies, misted with battle smoke, tumultuous with battle din, we behold Puritanism a peak lifting itself so high into the azure that, when all else is hid, it stands sublime, a beacon to the world. Puritanism was no tangle of incongruities. It was wise above its day. It was a revolt against falseness, hollowness, hypocrisy. It was an exodus of men from an Egypt of falsehood and insincerity into a Canaan of truth. . . . Puritanism came; asked no man's leave; stood a strong, heroic thing; championed the cause of purity and devotion to God; believed in the brotherhood and common equality of man; believed in one God and one Book. No better, no nobler tribute can be paid to those whom history names Puritans than to say, 'They were men of one Book.' These men possessed a devotion to duty, as they apprehended it, which was as beautiful as a mother's sacrifice; stern and pitiless toward Romanism and sin in any guise, but tender toward wife, mother, babe, as any heart that ever beat. They were knights in a new and illustrious chivalry. They made battle for purity of thought, lips, and life. My heart, as it beholds the Puritan, cries, 'Hail, all hail!' . . . In Westminster Abbey there is a place for Mary, who lost Calais, stained her hands with martyr's blood; but for Cromwell, no place. He sounded his guns on every shore; lost no principality; shed no martyr's blood; championed freedom of conscience; compelled respect for Anglo-Saxondom; made England illustrious as the dawn. But for him there is no place in the mausoleum where English honor sleeps. There is place for Charles II, who made the English court a brothel, who sold Dunkirk to England's most inveterate foe for money to squander on harlots—for him a place in Westminster! But for him who protected the lowliest citizen against

the world, who made the pope do his bidding, who won Dunkirk with his soldier's hand—for Oliver Cromwell, no place in Westminster Abbey!" Of the chief character in Browning's "The Ring and the Book" Dr. Quayle writes: "Pompilia is the fairest portrait of woman ever put on canvas by any artist to this hour. A bud not yet become a flower, a sunbeam glinting on a stream, no more! when suddenly her life meets scourge and fire like martyr at the stake; passes through flame and comes forth without smell of fire upon it; meets life's fearful problems; lives tragedy out to its bloody goal; struggles with every shape of shame that courts a soul; and comes through all spotless as unflecked clouds that float across the roof of heaven." Dr. Quayle is right. Nothing lovelier than Pompilia has been conceived since men began to write, and "sweeter woman ne'er drew breath" in literature or life. She, holding by her prayer; trusting in the compensating, great God, knowing life is probation and the earth no goal but starting point of man; saying, in death, "Everybody that leaves life sees all softened and bettered; to me at least was never evening yet but seemed far beautifuller than its day;" sending to Caponsacchi out of pure gratitude a cheering message which ends with these words as she ends her life:

So let him wait God's instant men call years;
Meantime hold hard by truth and his great soul,
Do out the duty! Through such souls alone
God, stooping, shows sufficient of his light
For us i' the dark to rise by. And I rise—

she is matchless in literature. To have created Pompilia is to have wrought a miracle which distances all the magicians of wonder-working art.

The Social Teaching of Jesus. An Essay in Christian Sociology. By SHALER MATHEWS, A.M., Professor of New Testament History and Interpretation in the University of Chicago. 12mo, pp. 235. New York: The Macmillan Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Appeals to the writings of the New Testament, and particularly to the words of Christ, constitute a favorite method of argument with many of the sociologists of the day. And since men find in the Scripture what their tastes desire, their deductions in some instances seem to lend color to diverse and even conflicting theories as to the constitution of the social organism. Were they all, however, to appeal to the New Testament with such apparent purpose as in the case of Professor Mathews, the science of sociology would easily and deservedly strengthen its claim upon the attention of the public. While "little that can be termed descriptive sociology" is to be discovered in the gospels, and while we cannot think of Jesus as "laboriously gathering material for a treatise upon social phenomena—a measurer of heads and a compiler of statistics," yet his teachings do set forth, in the judgment of Professor Mathews, "his conceptions of what society may become, and the means and process through which its desired consummation may be reached." In tracing these conceptions of Jesus the professor handles the Gospel with sense, vigor, and reverence. According to his interpretation, Christ's doctrine regarding

man ranks him as a "social being," with "a capacity for union"—the line of argument leading the author to pass over with little emphasis the complementary fact that man is also an individual and an egoist. The summary of his third chapter, entitled "Society," includes the following statement: "Jesus, then, thinks that an ideal society is not beyond human attainment, but is the natural possibility for man's social capacities and powers. . . . In his conception of this progressively realized social order we see that two elements are essential—the divine sonship, as seen in the moral regeneration of the individual, and the organic union of good men typified by the family." To the latter union—without giving specific directions as to the rearing of children or the solution of difficult domestic problems—Christ has "applied clearly the supreme social ideals of divine sonship and human fraternity." The fourth chapter, on "The State," closes with this particularly vigorous and pertinent sentiment: "It may well be doubted whether the teachings of Jesus are not more operative in politics than men think; and it may well be hoped, so long as this possibility lasts, that, as the conceptions of man and society and the family have more and more come under the sway of the thought of Jesus, so too politics are approaching, be it never so slowly, that justice and altruism which are to be the world's, when once its kingdoms have become the kingdom of the Lord and his Christ. And one dares hope thus in the face of European diplomacy and American municipalities!" Wealth as such was not denounced by Christ. He was "neither a sycophant nor a demagogue. He neither forbids trusts nor advises them; he is neither a champion nor an opponent of *laissez faire;* he neither forbids trades unions, strikes, and lockouts, nor advises them; he was . . . a friend neither of the workingman nor the rich man as such." Nor in the social life does Jesus rank all men upon the same plane. He "does not claim that men in the world to-day are physiologically equal. There are the lame and halt. Nor are they mentally on an equality. There are men to whom one talent could be intrusted, and those to whom five and ten." Surprising are the forces of human progress, continues the author in a succeeding chapter, upon which Jesus does "not count." Neither to physical force, æsthetics, self-interest, nor "any other hedonist philosophy" does he look for the realization of his ideals, but to man's religious regeneration. In his concluding chapter, on "The Process of Social Regeneration," the author has this to say about the parable of the tares and wheat: "Just what Jesus meant by the striking imagery in which he clothed this thought we cannot clearly see. That it may mean revolution or some other tremendous political change is not yet clear, and yet not to be absolutely denied in the light of his references to the destruction of Jerusalem. But, whatever it may be, it will mark the triumph of the new social order. . . . The world will, by virtue of man's endeavor and God's regenerating power, have been transformed into the kingdom. And the triumph of this new and perfected humanity, this eternal fraternity which he described and insti-

tuted, and for which centuries have travailed—this is the coming of the Lord." This utterance, which is paralleled in at least one other place in the volume, is the one discordant note in an otherwise admirable interpretation of the words and spirit of Jesus. There is little of mystery, we infer, for the general Church in the "striking imagery" of Christ regarding the wheat and tares. Yet, without lingering over this detail in exegesis, we may anticipate with Professor Mathews the triumph of "perfected humanity" which that great day shall usher in, and rejoice in the expectation.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

White Man's Africa. By POULTNEY BIGELOW, author of *History of the German Struggle for Liberty, The Borderland of Czar and Kaiser*, etc. Illustrated by R. CATON WOODVILLE and from photographs. 12mo, pp. 271. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

This volume conducts the reader on a romantic journey into a region of the world which is as yet unvisited by the ordinary tourist. The part of Africa described is "a very small portion of the great Dark Continent, stretching from the Cape of Good Hope for a thousand miles or so northeastward along the Indian Ocean." In comparison with the entire continent, continues the author, "it reminds one of the thirteen united colonies of America in 1776. Here is the only section of Africa where the white man has established self-governing communities. This is the New England of Africa, whose enterprising sons are doggedly conquering the wilderness step by step, carrying with them Christianity and constitutional government." At Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, Mr. Bigelow met President Kruger, and was impressed with his rugged personality. His bravery, as illustrated by stories of former conflicts with a lion and a wild buffalo, amounts to actual recklessness; his language is the Boer Dutch; his religious affiliations are with the Independent Congregational Church, of which body he is a member. "There is no man of modern times," says the author, "with whom he may be compared. We must go back to mythical days to find his parallel—to the days of the many-minded Ulysses, who could neither read nor write, and yet ruled wisely and fought successfully. Old Field Marshal Blücher was a Kruger in his indifference to grammar, but Blücher was sadly devoid of moral principle. Jahn was blunt and patriotic, but wholly lacked Kruger's spirit of moderation. Cromwell had something of the Paul Kruger, but it soon vanished on the battlefield. The men who framed the American Constitution commanded the respect of their fellow-citizens, but not one of them was a man of the people in the sense that Kruger is a burgher among his fellow-burghers. . . . He is a magnificent anachronism. He alone is equal to the task of holding his singular country together in its present state . . . the patient, courageous, forgiving, loyal, and sagacious Paul Kruger." As to Portuguese progress in South Africa, Mr. Bigelow draws the conclu-

sion that Portugal, "after three hundred years of African rule, not only made no good impression upon that country, but has left behind her everywhere traces of a government scandalous to white men of any age." In a chapter entitled "The President of the Orange Free State" are described the attractive and vigorous characteristics of Marthinas Theunis Steyn, who holds "the balance of power in South Africa to-day." His industry, statesmanship, and sturdy sense impress the reader. When of late, in a friendly gathering, surprise was expressed that one had "married another whose grandfather had been a bricklayer," Steyn observed: "I see nothing strange in that. My own father was a wagon-maker, and I am proud to think that he was a good one and an honest one." The ceremonious opening of the Parliament at Cape Town, with the accompaniment of "scarlet tunics and white helmets," the "showy uniforms representing the consuls of foreign powers," the rich dresses of the wife of Sir Hercules Robinson and the wives of cabinet ministers and other officials, and the court uniform of the governor himself, "much ornamented by gold embroidery," suggest the high civilization that has already established itself in that faraway portion of the globe. Of the customs, dress, and industries of southern Africa Mr. Bigelow writes fully and in a most entertaining vein. Natal especially pleases him, so that he is led to say: "Natal is, of all British colonies, the one in which I would most willingly spend the declining years of my life. It has more honest savagery and more complete civilization than any other part of South Africa." Under the injustice done the Boers at London, in the matter of the Jameson raid, "they are smarting." A "competent tribunal" existed in South Africa. "To drag this local matter to a point six thousand miles away, before the bar of a judgment seat which the Boers could not regard as impartial, was unfortunate;" yet in Africa, holds the writer, the flag of Great Britain represents as no other freedom of thought and freedom of trade. "It is, in short, the only flag which to-day makes possible our dream of a White Man's Africa." The judgment is one for which Mr. Bigelow is responsible. Whatever its value, his attractive book vividly suggests to the reader the great possibilities for Christian civilization in the Dark Continent which the future holds in store.

Autobiography of Charles Force Deems, D.D., LL.D., Pastor of the Church of the Strangers, New York City, and President of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy; and Memoir. By his Sons, Rev. EDWARD M. DEEMS, A.M., Ph.D., and FRANCIS M. DEEMS, M.D., Ph.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 365. New York, Chicago, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

"I set to work at once to do something." The sentence is typical of Dr. Deems's entire life. He had just graduated from Dickinson College, of which Dr. Durbin was then president, and where Robert Emory and John McClintock were professors and George R. Crooks was his classmate, and had come to New York to begin the real business of life. Here, among other Methodist celebrities of that day, he met the editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, "the Rev. George T. Peck"—the

middle initial being seemingly borrowed by Dr. Deems from the editor's distinguished brother, Bishop Jesse T. Peck; and to the *Review* for 1841, although then barely of age, he contributed two papers on the life and poems of George Crabbe. He early began to preach as occasion offered, and attracted the attention of such men as Nathan Bangs and Laban Clark, the name of the latter appearing on page 63 with a final and unnecessary "e." And in this connection we notice that the present location of the Union Theological Seminary is given on page 215 as 1,200, instead of 700, Park Avenue. In 1840 he was admitted on trial in the New Jersey Conference, but was soon transferred to the North Carolina Conference, having been appointed agent of the American Bible Society for that State; and thenceforward and until 1875, at which time he had been pastor of the Church of the Strangers for nearly ten years, he remained a member of that Conference, going over with it into the Church South, as he afterward went over with the State into the Southern Confederacy. Although not yet twenty-one he spent most of his first summer in North Carolina in preaching at camp meetings. "All young preachers," he says, "upon quitting the college or theological seminary ought to seek a round of camp meetings and preach whenever they can get a chance—at a real, genuine, old-fashioned camp meeting. . . . No man could read a little twenty-minutes' moral essay there; neither men nor angels could endure the ridiculousness of that. He has got to turn himself loose and preach with a swing." From that early start Dr. Deems continued on to the end of his life in an honorable and successful Christian service. As pastor and presiding elder, as university professor and college president, as author and editor, in many a varied field, but particularly at the Church of the Strangers, he was accustomed to "set to work at once to do something." He possessed a prompt decision, a tireless energy. He had a genius for accomplishing things, for finding opportunities for accomplishment. "The fact that he did not break down under labors to which an apparently stronger man would have succumbed was due largely to his talent for sleep and his observance of Saturday as his physical Sabbath." This book is an artless but interesting recital of an active and effective life. Much of it is in Dr. Deems's own words. The first eighty-nine pages are wholly autobiographical, and are written in an easy, conversational style, primarily for his own family only. Passages from his diary offer glimpses of slavery at its best and of life in the South during the civil war. Sincerity is apparent on every page—sincerity and a simple, ingenuous unreserve, impressing the reader with the feeling that the life recorded here had little or nothing to conceal. It is a sunny book throughout. It abounds in reminiscences of men so widely separated in time and temper as John Summerfield and Commodore Vanderbilt. Dr. Howard Crosby once playfully accused Dr. Deems of taking up collections at funerals. One extract from his journal will suggest the extent and quality of his friendships: "Spent the day on an excursion up the Hudson River with the English historian, Mr. Froude,

and the philanthropist, Miss Emily Faithfull. Delightful time. At night was at Dr. John G. Holland's, at a reception given to George Macdonald, the novelist." The funeral sermon by Dr. J. M. Buckley is found in the Appendix.

The Law of Civilization and Decay. An Essay on History. By BROOKS ADAMS. 12mo, pp. 393. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $2.

This volume is valuable to the student, not only for the results that its author reaches, but also because of his preliminary conclusions regarding history and the work of the historian. For instance, he says that "the value of history lies, not in the multitude of facts collected, but in their relation to each other, and in this respect an author can have no larger responsibility than any other scientific observer. If the sequence of events seems to indicate the existence of a law governing social development, such a law may be suggested, but to approve or disapprove of it would be as futile as to discuss the moral bearings of gravitation." Mr. Adams's reading of theology, backward through the schoolmen and the crusades "to the revival of the pilgrimage to Palestine which followed upon the conversion of the Huns," led him to such convictions as these, that religious enthusiasm was "the power which produced the accelerated movement culminating in modern centralization;" that faith, from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, spoke through architecture; that an exceedingly small part has been "played by conscious thought in molding the fate of men;" and, most of all, when he finally saw where his studies led, that the intellectual phenomena examined "fell into a series which seemed to correspond, somewhat closely, with the laws which are supposed to regulate the movements of the material universe." History, in other words, is governed by law; and the volume under notice "contains the evidence which suggested the hypothesis," though so vast a subject can necessarily be treated only in suggestion. The titles of the various chapters will show how wide a scope the author has traversed: "The Romans," "The Middle Age," "The First Crusade," "The Second Crusade," "The Fall of Constantinople," "The Suppression of the Temple," "The English Reformation," "The Suppression of the Convents," "The Eviction of the Yeomen," "Spain and India," and "Modern Centralization." All of these chapters bear the marks of the cautious and thorough inquirer, and none the less discover that power of wide generalization which is indispensable in the philosophic study of history. Chapter xii, which is entitled "Conclusion," leads the reader to results that are, to say the least, most serious. While the writer is speaking particularly of Old World civilization, yet the vital principle he announces is one that would seem to have its application to all continents. We may thoughtfully ask, in the light of the author's reasoning, whither the world's civilization is tending. Such sentences as this disclose the spirit of his argument: "Since the capitulation of Paris the soldier has tended to sink more and more into a paid official, receiving his orders from financiers with his salary,

without being allowed a voice even in questions involving peace and war." Or this: "No poetry can bloom in the arid modern soil, the drama has died, and the patrons of art are no longer even conscious of shame at profaning the most sacred of ideals. The ecstatic dream, which some twelfth century monk cut into the stones of the sanctuary hallowed by the presence of his God, is reproduced to bedizen a warehouse; or, the plan of an abbey, which Saint Hugh may have consecrated, is adapted to a railway station." Whether the reader will accept these ultimate conclusions must be left to himself. But he will at least appreciate the skill with which Mr. Adams guides his feet through the bewildering maze of history.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Southern Writers: Sidney Lanier. By WILLIAM MALONE BASKERVILL. 16mo, pp. 162. Nashville, Tenn.: Barbee & Smith. Price, paper, 30 cents.

Properly enough, a triple number is given to Sidney Lanier in Professor Baskervill's series of twelve biographical and critical studies of the most prominent figures in the literary movement of the South since 1870. The previous numbers were studies of Joel Chandler Harris, Maurice Thompson, and Irwin Russell. Southern pride and affection dote upon Lanier. Mrs. Laurence Turnbull, writing of William Watson, expresses the opinion that the English poet has been much influenced by Lanier, and traces some interesting parallels between the two. Of this we have some doubt, but as for Watson, these words concerning him are just: "He loves to muse upon the problems of our time—by the roar of the sea, in the heart of the forest, on the mountain's height—with a modern's comprehension of these present-day problems, with a Greek's calm acceptance of beauty as compensatory, but with a Christian's choice of the beauty which is wholly pure, and with a Christian's faith that all these mighty forces are overruled by the All-Father. In all our noblest artists must be such a fusion of Hellenism with Hebraism." And as for Lanier, our admiration for the poet and the man are not less than Professor Baskervill's.

Chinese Characteristics. By ARTHUR H. SMITH. 8vo, pp. 342. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $2.

This work is now in its third edition, and will probably have a still larger sale as its value becomes known. The comments from all sides indicate that the opinion is general that it is the best book now extant on China and the Chinese. Twenty-two years of life as a missionary of the American Board have given the author abundant opportunity to investigate and study China and its people. The peculiar traits of the Chinese are set forth in chapters entitled, "The Disregard of Time and Accuracy," "The Talent for Misunderstanding," "The Talent for Indirection," "The Absence of Nerves," "Physical Vitality," "Patience and Perseverance," "Mutual Responsibility and Respect for Law," "Mutual Suspicion," etc. The nature of, and reasons for, China's strength and weakness are visible

in this portrayal of the national character. It is not a book on missions, but its contents are an aid and a stimulus to missionary interest. It is liberally and finely illustrated with photographs which convey information in a vivid way. It will be interesting and valuable to anyone who takes an interest for any reason in the land or the life of the Chinese.

Champions of Christianity. By SILAS FARMER, author of *History of Detroit and Michigan*, etc. 12mo, pp. 139. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

The charge of unbelievers that "the churches are made up of women and children" is here refuted by Mr. Farmer. Christianity, on the other hand, has had its defenders among the greatest men of the centuries, in every walk of life. The successive chapters of the book treat of the champions of the faith in the "governmental world," the "social and business world," the "artistic world," the "literary world," and the "scientific world." The peculiarity and value of the author's treatment are found in the fact that, instead of "a biographer's statement" being given, there are quoted "the very words of the mighty and noble of various nationalities, vocations, and pursuits, verified in each case by reference to volume and page, so that every quotation is like a citation in a legal brief." The faces of Faraday, Farragut, Sir Walter Raleigh, Milton, Scott, and Samuel F. B. Morse look out upon us from the book; the names of many more great men crowd its pages in such profusion that any enumeration is impossible. We cordially commend the work.

From a Cloud of Witnesses. Three Hundred and Nine Tributes to the Bible. By DAVIS WASGATT CLARK. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. 4½x8. Pp. 219. Rubricated initials. Price, $1.

Such is the greatness of the Bible that even the enemies of its vital doctrines are forced at times to praise it. Dr. Clark's *Cloud of Witnesses* includes some men from whom praise was most unexpected. His range of quotation is very wide, and enters every realm of modern literature, including the newspaper. The compilation is exceedingly valuable and suggestive. It shows at a glance how many brilliant thinkers have reflected on the Bible, and gives the substance of their thought in pithy sentences. In these noble tributes, culled from every available source, many will find expression of their profoundest sentiments concerning the word of life.

A Castaway, and Other Addresses. By F. B. MEYER, author of *Light on Life's Duties*, etc. 12mo, pp. 127. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 30 cents.

For their quaint presentation of the truth, their incisive utterance, and their close adherence to the great themes of the Gospel, these addresses are to be strongly commended. Mr. Meyer is a man who has a burning message to the world, and is straitened to accomplish his mission. Notwithstanding his adherence to the Calvinistic faith, his words here included on the anointing and the fullness of the Holy Ghost, and on soul rest, are such as the generation needs. The addresses were delivered last winter in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, during Mr. Meyer's last brief visit to the American shores.

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